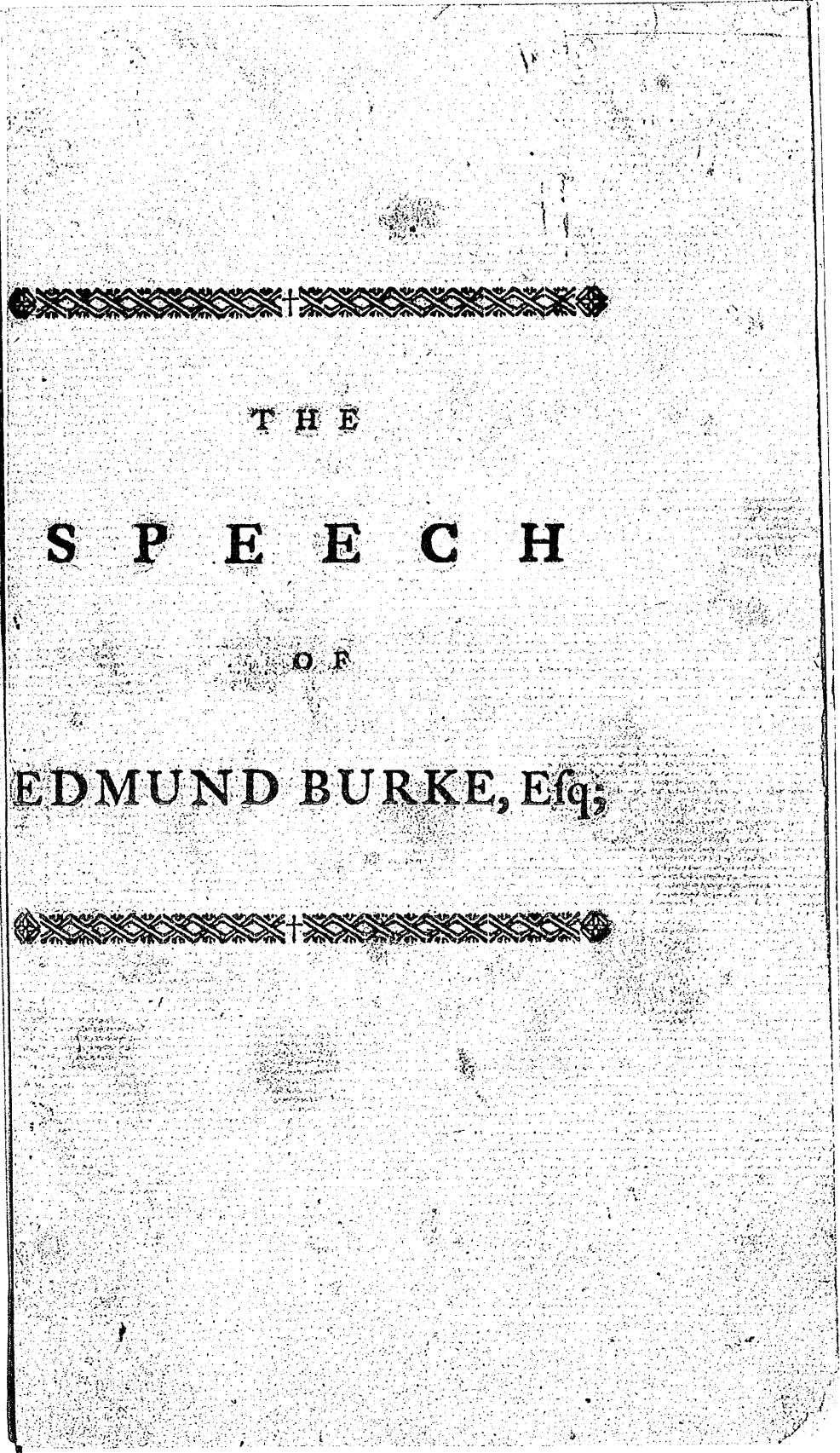


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THE
S P E E C H
OF
EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

THE
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 OF
EDMUND BURKE, Esq;
 IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
 On FRIDAY, the 11th of February, 1780,
 ON HIS
 MOTION for a PLAN of
PUBLIC OECONOMY;
 The OUTLINES of that PLAN,
 AND
 An ADDENDA, of other curious PARTICULARS.

The SECOND EDITION.

Pro Rege, et Grege.

L O N D O N,
 Printed for JOHN HAY, at No. 13, Paternoster-Row.

[Price 1s. 6d.]

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MR. BURKE'S

SPEECH, &c.

IN conformity to the wishes of my constituents, and, I trust, to those of the majority of the English nation; I am now to offer to your consideration a Plan for the Reformation of the Constitution of Public Oeconomy, by which a considerable sum of money will be annually saved to the nation, and, what is a more material object, an influence restrained, which has been productive of infinite mischief to this country. Many considerations, I confess, concurred to deter me from attempting so arduous a task. The labour and time necessary to digest a plan that must comprehend so many interests, and remedy so many abuses, were great. The difficulty of recommending it to the approbation of those whose authority alone could

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render it effective, when digested, would perhaps be still greater. There is an *odium* that generally attends all reformations. They are supposed to originate in private views, or at least from a spirit of unkindness and malignity. The general welfare is often not to be established but on the ruins of the emoluments of many individuals. And poor is the recompence of the most disinterested reformer: for the resentment of particular sufferers is sharp and quick, while the gratitude of the public, to whom the benefits of any reformation come round through distant and general channels, is but faint and languid. And who was I, that I should hazard so arduous an attempt as the present? An obscure individual, without fortune, without great family connections, without political interest, and verging withal towards the decline of life. Yet did these very circumstances, which, at first view, seemed to promise me but little success, encourage me to make a trial. Men who are in the bloom of life, looking forward through a series of years, foresee a cloud impending long and constantly over their heads, should they offend Majesty, by an attempt to reduce the influence of the Crown: others of more advanced years, of great families and estates, who may naturally look up for royal favour and distinction,

tion, may fear, lest their conduct should be remembered against their children or successors. A man in my circumstances, who is now going down-hill, has no great evil to fear for himself, or for any of his humble connections. I am therefore a fit person to be *devoted* for the good of the public; and devoted let me be—too happy, if, by drawing on myself the discountenance of the Great, I can be instrumental in procuring a solid and substantial blessing to a country dear to me as life itself. While the difficulties that lay in my way were great, the necessity of going forward was urgent. The people groan under taxes; more, it is to be feared, are in contemplation. The danger of our public safety and prosperity is alarming: we are engaged in a war, in which it behoves us to make the most vigorous and unremitting exertions. The greatest efforts of which we are capable, are necessary to our existence, as a great and free people; and to those efforts the greatest œconomy. Let every thing be shared that can be shared; *all that a man hath will he give for his life, and there is no life, it is a living death, without Liberty.* I am ready to own, and I do it with pleasure, that public affairs do not wear so threatening an aspect, as they did this time last year. But the same au-
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thority that informs us of this, informs us also of another truth, namely, That Britain has it not in her power, at this time, to make a peace either advantageous or honourable. We are in the midst of a struggle; how long this struggle may continue, we know not; let us prepare for the worst that may happen. The œconomical plan that has been adopted by France; the example of our enemies, more than any other consideration, renders it necessary that we should follow it.

When Pyrrhus viewed the Roman Camp, he reported to his subjects, "These barbarians have nothing barbarous in their discipline." When I attend to the policy of the King of France, I am forced to acknowledge, that that arbitrary King has nothing arbitrary in his political œconomy. By œconomy alone, he saves to his subjects nine hundred thousand pounds annually; three hundred thousand pounds by œconomising the expence of his household. Oeconomy is carried even into the bed-chamber of the Queen. The supplies are raised within the year; yet no robbing of the subjects, under the pretence of loans, yet no raising the nominal value of money. Let a patriot King of Great Britain grant to the entreaties of his oppressed people, what an arbitrary King
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of France has bestowed without solicitation, on his silent and submissive subjects.

It is an easy matter for any government to raise any sum from the purses of the people. The art of a wise administration is to enrich the people; a rich people is the best Treasury. Here is an Edict, by which the King of France assures his subjects, that it shall only be after all the sources of the strictest œconomy are exhausted, that he will apply to them for additional taxes. These are winning arts. This is a patriot King. But some may say, O, that is all pretence, counterfeited patriotism. The French Court only pretend these things, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the payment of taxes with cheerfulness and alacrity. Be it so. Let us profit even by the pretences of France. The scheme they affect is in itself a good one, otherwise they would not judge it prudent to affect it. Let Britain adopt in reality those virtuous and wise maxims which France only pretends to adopt. Let us turn the tinsel of France into sterling gold. Let not the only instance in which we may imitate our neighbours with advantage, be the only one in which we decline to imitate them. Let not our late successes puff us up with a vain conceit, that severe œconomy is not now necessary. Successes are an advantage, if they
operate

operate as incitements to persevere in the only paths that can lead to happiness and glory. If they induce us to relax the habits of rigid virtue, they are not blessings, but the greatest curses. Power and dominion are gradually transferred from the nations that are less to those that are more virtuous. When a people is confident in their prosperity, they are about to fall into adversity. Virtue retrieves the ills of fortune; but where that is wanting, the smiles of prosperity cannot be of long continuance.

When we meditate a reformation in any constitution, we are to consider whether that reformation is to be accomplished in an arbitrary manner, or upon principle. By arbitrary methods, I understand such as are loose, disjoined, and applied in detail to particular parts of a constitution. By reformation on principle, I understand a theory that comprehends all the different parts of the constitution, and by which such parts as are useless or noxious, ought to be sacrificed to those that are necessary and wholesome. The strength and internal happiness of a kingdom, are the first principles of all just governments. If the governing power is in possession of any subordinate jurisdictions, estates, or establishments, that are inconsistent with those great ends of government,

ment, for the perfection of the constitution, they ought to be rescinded.

When we cast our eyes on the British empire, the first object that strikes us is the King, and the system united and centered in him, as the head, appears to be plain and simple. But *royalty*, on a nearer view, will appear, in this kingdom, an object not simple, but complicated: and as in former times there was a *Heptarchy* in England, so now there is a kind of *Pentarchy*. The Sovereign is King of England, Prince of Wales, Duke of Lancaster, Palatine of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall. These four last principalities were, in former times, bestowed by the Kings of England on certain of their favourite sons: By the very grant of the principality of Wales, it was to return to the Crown, for it was to descend to the heirs of Princes of Wales, being Kings of England. And in this arrangement the policy was obvious, although a certain learned antiquarian and lawyer considered it as a deep mystery. The other Principalities have in fact reverted to the Crown. And in each of them is supported, at a great expence, the form and apparatus of Royal Authority, to no other purpose in the world, besides that of keeping up retainers and dependents on the Crown. Here
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Mr. Burke went into a detail of the various offices and establishments in those principalities; by which it appeared that the keeping up the shew of Majesty, and of separate jurisdictions within them, was an expence both great and unnecessary. The Duchy of Lancaster was not worth four thousand pounds to the Crown, after deducting the expence of the separate jurisdictions established in it. In dependents, according to a certain kind of political arithmetic, it might be worth a great deal more; for that jurisdiction was not maintained at a less expence than an hundred thousand pounds per annum. Wales is a country about the seventh part of England in extent, about the fiftieth in wealth, and the thirteenth in population; yet Wales had eight Judges, and England only twelve. In these, and other instances, he demonstrated the expensiveness of these and the other jurisdictions. He told a pleasant story of one Probert, who had been sent to search out the revenues of the Crown in Wales, of the great alarm he had raised in that country, and, after all, of his bad success.

He next adverted to the crown lands and forests, which brought in but little revenue to the Crown, but which would yield a great deal in the hands of private proprietors.

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He spoke next on the head of establishments, and first of those numerous offices that he would comprize under the general denomination of Household. Here we are surprized, at first sight, with a vast and complex fabric, whose structure bears so little analogy to the ideas and taste of modern times; domestic offices held by the first nobility, offices that one should think would be scorned by the pride of birth, and opulences courted as the highest marks of distinction. These offices, Mr. Burke observed, had their origin in manners that no longer existed, and in necessities that no longer were urgent. They were founded in ideas of feudality and purveyance, and were to be found not only in the Courts of Kings, but in the Houses of the Nobility. We read of an Earl, I think, said he, of Warwick, who was Steward of the Household to a Bishop of Gloucester; they were not, however, domestic offices, instituted for the conveniency of the families to which they belonged, but bodies corporate, that enjoyed certain parliamentary jurisdictions; they were the Judges in certain causes which were cognizable before their tribunals, and before theirs only. The vassals of the Crown, or of those Princes who were almost independent of the Crown, though they went

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under the name of subjects, were tried by the great Officers of their Housholds, who were, in those times, the only Judges. The provisions that were necessary for so great a number of retainers and attendants as then waited upon the Court, gave rise to different Officers who were called Purveyors. Commerce and industry were then but in their infant state. There were no markets which might supply the Houshold of the Army. So late as the beginning of the reign of Charles II. *purveyance*, that had been for some time abolished, was found necessary to be restored by Act of Parliament. There are several remains of this institution, though none of the necessity that first occasioned them. In the Houshold there are no less than three Treasurers, all of whom are perfectly unnecessary; besides the Treasurer of the Houshold, there is a Treasurer of the Chambers, and a Cofferer, not to mention the Chamberlain: The business of all these great Officers, and much more, might well be managed by the Lord Steward of the Houshold. Let us now step down into the Kitchen, and see what is going on there. Even in King's palaces, amid all the pomp of royalty, there is no doing any thing without the Kitchen. After all our airy elevations, we must still, at every turn, in the
greatest

greatest bustle and parade of pomp and grandeur, continually return to the Kitchen. In the Royal Kitchen we shall find greater waste and profusion, than almost in any other department. The abuses here were so flagrant, that Lord Talbot, late Steward, as he told me himself, thought it his duty to reform them if possible. He went himself into the minutest details of the kitchen; affection is not nice, and, as the poet observes, seeks no other hand than its own. But how could he reduce the complicated system that took place in this department, to the simple operation of dressing or serving up victuals? The king's butler, his coal-man, his cook, his very turnspit, he found were all members of parliament, and therefore the waste that raged must not be stopped, because the king's turnspit was a member of parliament. These gentlemen cooks, butlers, and turnspits, had deputies under them; the deputies had their substitutes, and the substitutes themselves he did not doubt had theirs. Despairing therefore of reforming the kitchen by means of a reduction of salary, he determined to abridge the number of tables, by giving, in lieu of them, board-wages. But the attendance of tribes of servants and officers could not be dispensed with; their tables were restored, and they had their board-wages for
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pocket-money. Therefore, said Lord Talbot, I was ever after cautious of reforming, lest I should do more mischief than good.—Let us now, said Mr. Burke, step up to the Wardrobe. Here too he pointed out different abuses. He next attacked the master of the horses; then the master of the stag-hounds. It was below the dignity of a great nobleman to be whipper-in even to a Prince. I am coming to you now, Mr. Speaker; but do not be afraid. I mean not to retrench your emoluments, for all Judges, I propose, shall enjoy their places for life, but there is no need of a Chief Justice in Eyre, of a Chief Justice in a desert. These, and other offices, established in feudal times, put him in mind of the *ghostly halls of grey renown*, where formerly potent Chieftains were wont to regale with solid viands their faithful vassals, but from which the hospitable genius has long fled, and in which the wind whistles, and ghosts howl—you knock at their doors in vain—their owners are either in town, or on their travels. Mr. Burke next animadverted on the total inutility of a Secretary for the Colonies, and of the Board of Trade. When Lord Suffolk filled the department of Secretary for the Southern department, he was frequently indisposed with the gout; during the time of his confinement, and
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for a whole year after his death, his place was supplied by the vigilance and activity of Lord Weymouth. The Board of Trade was instituted in the reign of King William. In the year 1695, trade was at a stand, through the piracies that infested the seas. On this emergency, a number of the Members of this House was appointed by the House itself, to take such measures as might remedy that evil, under the name of a Board of Trade; and they were invested, for the time being, with all the powers of the Navy Board and the Admiralty. The next year the freedom of trade was restored, and since that time we never hear of any good being done by the Board of Trade. They have done mischief, but not any good. The most flourishing Board of the British Colonies preceded its existence. The Colonies of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, were established before it was instituted. The Colonies of Florida and Nova Scotia, that were planted since its establishment, and under its direction and auspices, have never yet reimbursed to government the expence of fostering them. The same, till of late, was the case with Georgia. A small corner of Nova Scotia alone, that had been peopled from France, had flourished, because, in the contests between that country and England, it
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had happily escaped the direction and protection together of both; one sensible merchant, knowing more than a whole Board of Trade, and the best thing you can do for commerce is to let it alone. Another Board is equally useless with the Board of Trade, and has for some time been almost as expensive. Within the space of the last seven years, seven hundred thousand pounds have been expended by the Board of Works, and seven hundred thousand pounds during the seven years before. Yet what do we see for all this expenditure? At Buckingham-House, the common residence of the King, there is not a pigeon-house, nor structure of more ignoble description. But it happens, the Master of the Works, as well as the King's Turnspit, is a Member of Parliament. Mr. Burke proceeded to expose the enormous abuses that were interwoven in the very execution of the Exchequer, where, if only one Paymaster, of the numerous Paymasters that abound in that Court, fails to make up his accounts, no other accounts, posterior in order of time, can be received and discharged: nor is it in the power of the most upright man to refund the surplus that may be in his hands of the public money, and to obtain his quietus for years on years; perhaps, during which time, the interest is lost to the public,

public, and the possibility of his accounts being refused to be passed, hangs as a scourge over his head, and that of his posterity. The Board of Ordnance should seem to be a military establishment; but it is partly a civil establishment; nor is the civil part subordinate to the military, nor controulable by it. Here too is a superfluity of offices, and a shameful waste of the public money. These are the most material instances of unnecessary profusion and expenditure which Mr. Burke exposed at great length, in a detail of even minute particulars, where they served to illustrate his drift or object.

Having mentioned these subjects of an useful and necessary reformation, he proceeded in this manner: I have, with the assistance of respectable friends, digested a plan, which will in part reform the abuses I have now enumerated. I said that it would produce a saving to the nation of the yearly sum of two hundred thousand pounds; but on a nearer inspection, and more accurate computation, I find it will be a saving of three hundred, if not of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. I mean not to tarnish the splendour of the Crown. I am a lover of splendour, and sorry I should be to see the Majesty of the Crown debased in the eyes of the world. I love the Constitution, of which
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the dignity of the Crown is a part. The plan I propose will increase the splendor of the Crown, by œconomising its expences. It will render the Crown more independent, for the Civil List debts will be cleared thereby every year, and therefore there will never be any necessity of having recourse, for the clearance of arrears, to Parliament. It will make the interest of the efficient servants of the Crown to be œconomical, and to forward the good of the nation. Nor let any man be afraid of losing those emoluments that he has long enjoyed. For this plan has retrospect. It looks forward only. It is not intended as a punishment, but as a public benefit. If any office shall be abolished, let him who now holds it enjoy his wonted emoluments, now necessary for his support perhaps, or at least interwoven with his habits of œconomy, until he be provided with another office, or cease to need one. [Here Mr. Fox whispered into Mr. Burke's ear.] I am obliged, continued Mr. Burke, to my honourable friend, I had almost forgot what I intended to propose with regard to pensions. Truly it will be difficult to draw the line between merited and unmerited pensions. Few men but may plead in their own behalf a certain degree of merit, and the Crown is judge of that merit. If you bring

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an accusation against a pensioner, that he does not merit his pension; he replies, Prove that, prove that negative. Debate that matter with the private council, on that ground I stand or fall. It is necessary that a sum, and a plentiful sum too, be entrusted into the hands of Government, for the purpose of secret services; for without this, I really do not see how the public affairs could go on. Men are not governed only by fear, but also by hope. The dread of punishment is not a more universal principle of action, than the expectation of reward. My Lord Somers, the greatest constitutional Lawyer that ever adorned England, affirms, that the Civil List money is granted to the Crown, chiefly for the purpose of reward. It is fit that the families of those, who negligent of their private interest, have devoted themselves to the public, should be established by public gratitude and munificence. God forbid, that I should assert that the noble families of the Townshends, the Mountagues, the Pitts, are enjoying their fortunes unjustly. The services of their ancestors are the noblest service that can be imagined of the wealth and honours of their posterity. But while it is honourable to depend on the gratitude of our friends, it is mean and debasing to be subjected to *their* caprices, or to lick

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the spittle perhaps of those that come after them. Whatever pension then is thought proper henceforward to be given, let it be given for life: and as pensioners die out of the list, let the pensions they enjoyed return to the public service, and not be appropriated to any individual, until the pension-money be reduced from an hundred, to sixty thousand pounds. Let the separate jurisdiction of the Crown be abolished. The extinctions of these will not diminish, but add to the lustre of the Crown. Kings lay aside their dignity, when they appear *incog*. A King of England's going about the country, himself, or by his representatives, the Judges, in the character of Prince of Wales, or Duke of Lancaster, is going about *incognito*, of which Sovereigns are sometimes very fond. Instead of eight Judges for Wales, and a Chancellor with all his clerks and appendages for the Duchy of Lancaster, and so on, let one or more Judges be added to Westminster-hall. Let the Forests and Crown Lands be lett or sold. Let the œconomy of the Household be simplified. The great offices of the Kitchen be abolished, and the business of that necessary establishment be committed into the hands of those who will not think it below them to engage in it without substitutes and deputies. If possible, let the

the supplying the tables, &c. of the Household be managed by contract. In contracts there is at least this advantage, that we know the extent to which we are imposed upon, and when it is in our power to make a better bargain. It was by contract that the King of *Prussia*, as great a Prince, I was going to say, as our Gracious Sovereign, made such a reform in his Household, as enabled him, in conjunction with other branches of œconomy, to raise and maintain those vast armies that have extended his dominions, and astonished the world. Let the Board of Trade be utterly abolished; let the Board of Works fall to the ground; let the civil offices in the Board of Ordnance be rescinded; instead of a Treasury, Cofferer's Office, and Court of Exchequer, let there be one common Treasury. Let there be an order established in the payment of the salaries comprehended in the general name of Civil List; and let such Officers as can best afford to lie out of their salaries for some time, and as have most interest to enforce their right to their payment, be the last to be paid. If there shall be, through mismanagement, any deficiency in the Treasury, let that deficiency fall upon those who come last in the order of payment.

Justice is the grand cement that unites mankind in Civil Society; therefore let the Judges be paid in the first place.

2dly, Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors are the links that connect us with other nations, let them be paid in the next place.

3dly, The Tradesmen that serve the Court.

4thly, The Princes of the Blood, or those whose honours must be supported by, as well as they are derived from, the Crown.

5thly, All efficient Officers, whose salaries are under 200l. per annum.

6thly, All efficient Officers, whose salaries exceed 200l. per annum.

7thly, Pensioners.

8thly, The great Officers of the Court.

And last of all, The Lord High Treasurer himself.

The advantage of this arrangement is obvious. Suppose any courtier comes to intercede with the Treasurer in behalf of a friend or a favourite, who wants a lucrative contract, or perhaps a pension. Are you aware, the Treasurer replies, that what you ask may prove detrimental to you or to me? For if there shall be any deficiency in the Civil List, you and I must want our salaries. [Here Mr. Fox again whispered something to Mr. Burke.] I thank my honour-
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able friend. It is always to be understood, that the deficiencies of one year shall not be charged to the account of the next, which shall always be clear of all anticipations and former incumbrances.

It will probably be remarked that I have not touched the Lords of the Bedchamber, or other officers who attend on the King's person in private or in public. The nobility ought not to be banished from the court. They are the medium that unite the King with the people. And though the nobility, I am firmly persuaded, are the worse for attending the court, yet the King is the better for their attendance. Kings naturally love bad company. I make no reflections on any particular King [For here there was a small murmur throughout the House.] But Kings, from their circumstances and situation, do naturally prefer the company of mean and base men, to that of haughty and independent nobles. For the former are servile and compliant; the latter, through their inherent pride, are more refractory and obstinate. Kings are elevated to so lofty an eminence in the gradation of ranks, that when they look down on their subjects, they seem all of them on a level. As a person on the top of St. Paul's cannot distinguish the sizes of the people walking in the streets, who appear
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all equally pigmies, so kings perceive no distinctions among their subjects, except that some are more pleasant companions, more pliable agents, hardier instruments to fulfil their desires or pleasures. Hence sycophants and flatterers are more likely to be selected from the crowd, and to make their way in courts, than men of principle and rigid virtue. It is observable, that when the glorious republic of Rome was sunk into a despotic empire, that preserved, however, the form of a commonwealth, the nobility were always hateful in the eyes of the emperors, except of those of Vespasian, perhaps, an Antoninus, or a Trajan. Those tyrants shunned all intercourse with the senators of Rome, and devoted themselves to the company and counsels of Grecian slaves. A Vallas or a Narcissus possessed the imperial ear, while Roman princes were fain to court the minions.

For these reasons, said Mr. Burke, I would not destroy an establishment that is wisely adapted to introduce into the presence and familiarity of the Sovereign, better company than he might be able, or inclined, shall I say, to chuse for himself, from the promiscuous multitude of his subjects.

I think that these propositions, matured and improved, and carried into effect, would

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be a salutary reformation in the constitution of public œconomy. The influence of the Crown would indeed be abridged; but its lustre would not be decreased, and its solidity would thereby be established on the firmest foundation. I do not take it for granted, that in establishing this reformation we are to expect such exalted and disinterested virtue in any of our ministers, as the world sees and admires in Monsieur Necker. A prodigy of this kind I do not reckon upon. That truly great man, by his own example, inculcates patriotism. Without fee or reward, he takes the trouble to enter into a thousand laborous details; and has the boldness to tell the King of France, whatever truth the prosperity of France requires that he should know. What said that Prince, whom I will not hesitate to pronounce a patriot King, what is the chief impediment to the exertions I wish to make for the glory and happiness of the kingdom? *Votre maison*, replied Monsieur Necker, Sire, *votre maison*. This was his constant theme, while the Prince of Conde and the grandees of France, made all the opposition in their power, to an œconomy which they falsely thought degrading. I do not suppose, that, in this country, this plan will find such a supporter, nor does it require it. It hurts the interest of

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no man; let every man enjoy his pension for life, his office, or equivalent. That the multiplicity of the propositions I have laid before you, may not appear to render the reformation I contend for impracticable, I have reduced them to five heads, for as many bills (which he read.) This reformation, after all, is not a complete one. It is imperfect and partial. But I judge it prudent not to grasp at too much at once, lest I lose all; and lest, in the eager pursuit of one good thing, we should overturn other good things that might be inconsistent with it. It is better to proceed slowly, and with cautious steps, to look about us frequently, to review what we have done, and see whether it is compatible with the great ends and principles of the constitution. Injudicious and hasty reformations are never lasting. The tyrannical maxims of the Stewarts, which, indeed, had been the maxims of the Tudors and Plantagenets, appeared odious to the people, when commerce and literature had diffused a spirit of liberty. In the violence of their rage, they killed the King; and all things quickly fell into confusion and anarchy. They soon found that they had an hundred tyrants instead of one: and with equal precipitation they recalled his son to the throne, without limiting his sovereignty

reignty by certain boundaries or conditions; and this again became a source of danger and discord. The people see the right object, but they tend towards it often by unjustifiable means; it is your business to conduct them in the right path. Their conceptions, though strong, are gross; it is your duty to refine them. *Their* breath swells the sails of state; it is your province to direct the ruling helm. Something else I should have said, but my strength and your patience admonish me to hasten to a conclusion. I conjure you to advert, that I bring not a railing accusation, nor any accusation against any man. The abuses of which I complain, are not chargeable on the present Ministry. No: they are of an older date. They are only theirs if they refuse to concur, or are studious to throw obstacles in the way of reforming them. But it will, perhaps, be said, What you propose is very good, but it is not practicable.—O! no; it is not good, if it is not practicable. Whatever exists, is good in a metaphysical, and whatever is just, is good in a moral sense; but that which is out of our power, is not good *for us*, is not politically good. But have I not shewn it is not impracticable? or will you make a trial? But who will undertake the fatiguing employment that the reform demands? I,
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for one, will, without hope, without desire of reward, contribute all in my power to this good work. Night and day will I toil, and rejoice in the midst of my fatigue; but the assistance of other kind hands will be necessary. I implore your aid, I submit to your wisdom, I confide in the co-operation of my friends who have given, and who will give their help. This is not, and cannot be my work alone. But it is necessary that there should be one mouth, one voice in all great assemblies, in bringing forward any scheme, and carrying it into execution. Consider who you are—the Representatives of the People! You are the People. Enter into their sentiments. Place yourselves in their situation. Break through the veil that separates you from them. Make yourselves one with them. Cut the cables of Ministerial influence that have bound you long to a foreign shore, and, with full sail, re-enter the ports of your native country, that stretches out her imploring hands for your assistance. Emulate the excellence of neighbouring nations, and prove yourselves their rivals in virtue, as in arms.

A D D E N D A

A D D E N D A,

As stated by Writers who took Notes.

THE Mint was another department the Hon. Gentleman thought might be reformed, but he did not enter into the minutiae of this department.

Mr. Burke's plan of oeconomy does him infinite credit, as a man of great talents and uncommon industry; but there will necessarily occur so many difficulties in the progress of his Bill, that it will be miraculous if he gets it through both Houses.

THES E were the objects of reformation which had appeared to Mr. Burke the most striking, the most necessary, and the most practicable. In the last session of Parliament an idea had been suggested of deducting from all salaries one quarter for the public service. That mode has appeared to him very inexpedient; for supposing two men, enjoying each 1000l. a year, should be taxed in this manner, that one should enjoy a sinecure place, while the other filled an office of actual

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actual service, he should be obliged to take from one 250l. a year, which he richly earned, and which he could not spare, while he left the other in the peaceable enjoyment of 750l. which he did not deserve.

In the HOUSE of COMMONS, on Monday.

Col. Barre said, that he would call the attention of the House to an object of great importance. After having paid the highest compliments to Sir George Savile, and to Mr. Burke, for their zeal in the cause of their country, he said, that no one man's abilities were equal to the arduous task of a general reformation. The wonder was, not that his Hon. Friend had not comprehended every subject of reformation in his plan of public œconomy, but that he had comprehended so many. The Hon. Gentleman had called for all the wisdom, industry, and active zeal of the House, not only on this, but on that side, to his aid; and he thought it his duty, for one, to contribute his share to promote so great and good a work. His Hon. Friend had been too delicate, in his opinion, with regard to those who held offices in the Exchequer. He was for allowing them to keep their places, or to be indemnified by equivalents for life. But if there are useless offices,

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offices, if there are over-grown salaries, why this delicacy? My Hon. Friend scruples to touch any man's fortune. But is the money of the public any man's fortune? When the offices in the Exchequer were first instituted, the fees of office, the deductions, in other words, from the revenue, were not exorbitant; the sum of money that went through those offices being but moderate. But in process of time, as the expences of government were increased, the fees of office were likewise increased; and in times of war, when the public expences were enormous, the perquisites of officers became likewise enormous. Col. Barre thought that at least the emoluments of the different offices in the Exchequer should be reduced, in these times of public peril and exigency, to their ordinary amount in times of peace. He affirmed, that six millions sterling had not been accounted for to Parliament, and that such a shameful profusion of the public money, demanded their most serious attention: for if we persist in these paths, said he, of giving ministry unlimited credit for whatever sums they please to draw upon us, and if these sums are employed to increase an influence that is already excessive, we are in a fair way to purchase slavery with our last shilling. The Colonel proposed that a strict account should

should be taken of the Land Tax, as it is paid into the hands of the Receivers General of the respective counties, that we may be able to reckon up the defalcations it suffers in its way to the Treasury, and those also that it suffers in its issue from it. He hoped the noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon would not lead him, or any other gentleman, into any unnecessary trouble, by seeming to concur in any enquiry necessary to a reformation in the expenditure of the public money, if he really meant in his heart to check that reformation. A commission of accounts had been appointed some years ago, and had done no good, but rather mischief. He could mention the reasons of its failure, but without entering into particulars, the general reason was, the very numbers of the commission; for people will do in a crowd what they would not do as individuals. *Defendit numerus* is a just adage. So numerous a commission might be appointed by the Minister, and that too consisting of men not very well inclined to the work, that no good could result from their joint labours. The Colonel, therefore, gave the preference to a select commission or committee of a few persons. There was nothing, he thought, impracticable in what he proposed to be done, and he was sure nothing but what is
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necessary. He was aware of the folly of grasping at too much in any plan of reformation: Here he quoted a maxim of the celebrated President Montesquieu, *Il ne faut pas tout corriger*. You must take care that by cutting off a mortified part, you do not in that operation affect the vitals of the constitution. The Colonel concluded by giving notice, that he would move for a commission of accounts.

Lord North said, that there were difficulties interwoven in the very constitution of the Court of Exchequer, attending all attempts to obtain quick payment, and consequently early accounts of the expenditure of the public money. That he wished it were possible to fall upon some method of remedying the delay that took place in various respects in the management of the business of the Exchequer. It must be possible, he added, somehow or other, for really the abuses that prevail in it are great. I have no objection to the appointment of a Commission of Accounts; only there are accounts that cannot possibly be given in so early as others. The Hon. Gentleman has said, that six millions sterling are yet unaccounted for to the public, alluding I suppose to the Navy Debt, and to the Extraordinaries of the Army. Why, Sir, in war we must advance
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money according to emergencies, and according to favourable opportunities. The extraordinaries of military payments are by no means subject to any previous calculation. If the Commander in Chief in America has great schemes in contemplation, or in the act of being executed, his schemes must neither be impeded nor retarded, until the sum he demands be voted in Parliament. All accounts of this kind must necessarily be deferred till afterwards. The Honourable Gentleman seems to suppose that I may have some sinister view in consenting, if I should consent, to the appointment of such a Commission as he recommends. This I think is neither fair nor candid. True it is, the Commission must be appointed by a majority of the House, but what reason is there for supposing that the majority of the House should not be inclined to forward a reform in the Exchequer? I think that a Commission of Accounts ought to be appointed, if it were only to gratify the wishes of the people.

Colonel Barre returned the Noble Lord his most sincere thanks for having granted him the first favour he had asked of him; which he asked not for himself, but for the public, and which the Noble Lord did but his duty in granting. I am happy to have
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heard the noble Lord give the most unequivocal and positive assurances, both on Friday last and this night, that he will concur with the general voice of the people in forwarding plans of public œconomy. It is very true, that the exigencies of war cannot be foreseen, and are not subject to calculation. But if a Commander in Chief is entrusted with vast sums of money, let him be given to understand that he is to account for it some time, and as soon as Parliament pleases. For he ought to be taught, that he is not only to account to the Minister, or Ministry, but to Parliament. After what the Noble Lord has just now professed, it were injurious to him to suspect any insincerity on his part, when he consents to the appointment of a Commission of Accounts. Yet, in order to fortify and strengthen his good and patriotic intentions, he will permit me to call to his recollection, that for no less a space than twenty-four years have vast sums of public money been unaccounted for, and lain in the hands of private persons; that the Navy Debts of 1775 could not be subjected to the inspection and calculation in the end of the year 1776, and with difficulty in the beginning of the year 1777. To the same purpose, namely, that of fortifying his virtuous resolutions, he reminded the
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Noble Lord, that the spirit of the people was up, and that the movements of the people were not to be quieted, like that of insects, *exigui pulveris jactu*. It is not by the nugatory enquiries, and putting off reports of a sham Commission of Accounts, that they will be satisfied; but the Noble Lord seems at last to be satisfied of this; the Petitions of the people seem to have had a good effect upon him; he is no longer of opinion that Petitions may be rejected without being heard; the voice of the people, he is at last convinced, ought to be listened to.

Hon. Mr. Fox was happy to understand that the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon had come over to the side of the Petitioners, and abandoned the Protestors. He considered his conduct and his declarations on Friday, and his promise of support to his honourable friend near him to-night, as pledges of his laudable resolution to gratify the desires, and fulfil the expectations of the people. He congratulated his country on the voice of liberty having been made to reach the ears of the minister, and of the success that had already attended their wise and firm conduct. He reprobated the argument of the minister for giving unlimited credit to commanders in chief, as proving too much, and as leading, pushed to its utmost length, to the most dangerous and monstrous consequences. Sixty-thousand

thousand pounds had some years ago been given to Colonel Stuart for the purpose of gaining over the Indians by presents to our side, in the unfortunate war in America. That money had not yet been accounted for, and the noble Lord himself acknowledged, on a former occasion, that he did not understand that matter, and that he had his suspicions of it. Mr. Fox shewed, that on the same principles on which he had advanced sixty-thousand pounds to Mr Stewart without authority of Parliament, he might have granted any sum, and might in this manner lead us into a debt, before we are aware, of *twenty millions*. For was it not his constant argument, that the money had been actually paid, and therefore must be made good by Parliament? He did not believe that the noble Lord put any of the public money in his pocket. He confided in his integrity, but his integrity was all that he had to confide in; but Parliament ought to have some other foundation of satisfaction, with regard to the application of their money, than the integrity of any Minister. He thought that the noble Lord's doctrine of first disbursing money in war, and then asking it from Parliament, was wholly erroneous. The money ought first to be raised, he said, by Parliament, and let Ministry form their schemes according to the extent

tent of their allowance from Parliament. Let Parliament first tell how much money they will give, and then let Ministry judge how far it will go.

Lord North said, that whoever considered the readiness of the last speaker at reply, the rapidity of his ideas, and his great variety of happy expressions, would easily imagine that he dreaded him as a formidable antagonist, and he confessed that he did so. But however formidable he appears as an antagonist, he appears still more formidable to me, said his Lordship, as an interpreter or commentator. Let him press me with arguments, but spare me his comments or interpretations. He charges me with abandoning the protestors. What? abandon the protestors! [Here a laugh in the House] Yes, Sir, I say why should I abandon the protestors? What right had the petitioners to assume to themselves to be the County of York, or Sussex, or so on? The petitions were the petitions, not of counties, but of individuals, and these had no right to prescribe to other individuals. If he had been in other circumstances, and at leisure to live in the country, he would probably have attended the meeting of the county he belonged to; he would have protested against their proceedings; he would not have called them rebellion, but he would
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have said, that they had a tendency to rebellion, and that all rebellions began in the same manner that the associations now begin: their views at first may be inoffensive, so may their actions; but Committees of Correspondence are soon turned into Committees of another description. There is no such thing as knowing the majority in irregular meetings called without any proper authority, and where the real Freeholders of any county cannot be ascertained and distinguished. The counties are represented in this House, and all attempts to establish separate Courts of Jurisdiction, for the purpose of vindicating their rights, are unconstitutional, and an infringement of the rights of the House of Commons. The Honourable Gentleman [Mr. Fox] had said, that the Protestors had infringed the privileges of this House, by aspersing petitions to the House of Commons; but surely the Petitioners had much more infringed the rights of this House, both in erecting separate jurisdictions for themselves, and in hinting threats, in case their petitions should not be granted. He thought it would be the most arbitrary thing in the world for a number of Petitioners, even if they were the majority of a county, to dictate to their fellow-subjects, and when they assume to themselves to be the county,
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and offer in the county means so and so, and others protest that all the county do not mean so, to have the audacity to charge their quiet and peaceable neighbours with a breach of privilege. This House knows no majority in counties, continued Lord North, for county meetings are unknown to the constitution.

Mr. Dunning was obliged to the noble Lord for teaching him a way by which he could prove that many Acts passed in this House, which he disapproved of, were not the Acts of the House of Commons. For it seems the majority of any description or society of men cannot make laws, or form resolutions, for the whole of that description or society.

Lord Mulgrave said, that not the numbers that signed any Petition, but the reason and justice of the matter of it, ought to be considered; and that if a beggar or foreigner was to present a Petition to the House of Commons, they ought to treat it with as much respect, if it was a just one, as if it came from the greatest numbers of the most opulent Petitioners. But on their own grounds he contended against the Hon. Gentlemen, that the Petition from the Freeholders in Yorkshire, was not the Petition of the County; first, because he was well

well assured, that many had subscribed it who were not Freeholders; and, secondly, eight thousand Freeholders were not a third part of thirty thousand, the number of Freeholders in Yorkshire; but he advised the County Associations to be upon their guard; Government would be on theirs, and watch their motions. From all history, and from recent example, it appears, that it is extreme folly to suffer doings of the kind that were going forward to rise to any height or maturity. Let the Associators be aware, that they who offend without provocation, will suffer without pity. There is sufficient vigour in Government to enforce the laws, and to maintain the constitution of this country.

Mr. Townshend recollecting what had fallen from Lord Hillsborough, in the House of Peers, and comparing it with what had fallen from the noble Lord who spoke last, supposed that a system of suppressing the very voice of complaint was formed, and that this was intimated in the words of the last speaker; "be punished without pity." He understood he lived in great intimacy with certain Ministers, who were very likely to use violent methods, and he thought he heard their language from the mouth of the noble Lord.

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Lord Mulgrave said, he did not utter the words, "be punished without pity," but "suffer without pity;" suffer the natural and judicial consequences of their own folly: He was intimate with those he thought worthy of his intimacy, but in this House he spoke his own sentiments.

The sequel of this most interesting conversation turned chiefly on the following topics. The County Petitions, the character and conduct of Lord Hillsborough, an advertisement that had been inserted in the public Papers by Mr. Fox, Mr. Townshend, &c. vilifying, as was alledged the Protestors. The character of the Duke of Richmond, which was introduced in a very whimsical manner by Colonel Onslow, who affirmed that the Duke d'Aiguillon had said at his table, that the Duke of Richmond had said, there was a pride in England that ought to be humbled; and that he (Colonel Onslow) had caught certain men employed by the Duke, in taking heights and levels, and drawing plans with a view to military operations in Suffex.

F I N I S.