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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

DEBT ON THE CIVIL LIST.



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THE CIVIL LIST.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE, M.P.

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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

DEBT ON THE CIVIL LIST.



SO much mis-conception has prevailed on the subject of the Debt on the Civil List, as to render it of importance, that a plain statement thereupon should be submitted to the Public.

But, before we say any thing of the present Debt, it may be desirable to refer shortly to the proceedings of Parliament, on former occasions, of a similar nature: it will, however, be unnecessary to go further back for that purpose, than the Revolution, as no revenue was appropriated *separately* for the Civil expences of the Sovereign, before that period. It was not, indeed, till the latter end of the reign of King William that aids were granted exclusively to a fixed annual amount for the purpose. By an Act of the * 9th and 10th of William III. certain duties were given to his Majesty for life, to produce 700,000*l.* per annum; the surplus at the disposal of Par-

* Ch. 23.

liament. Two years after which, another * Act was passed, applying a weekly sum for Public Services out of the Duties enumerated in the one before mentioned, and repealing the Provision under which the surplus was to be at the disposal of Parliament, which, of course, left it in the power of his Majesty.—King William survived this last Act little more than a year.

On the accession of Queen Anne, Parliament put her Majesty in possession of the same duties † as were last given to her predecessor, without mention of any particular sum it was expected they would produce. With this revenue, the Queen went on till 1713; when, finding a heavy debt on the Civil List, she sent a message to Parliament ‡ with an estimate thereof to Midsummer, 1710, comprised in thirteen gross sums, amounting in the whole to 511,000*l.*; on the communication of which, a motion was made for an account of the Civil List debts, and of the funds out-standing to answer the same; but that information was refused, by a negative on the question; and a grant was made to her Majesty § of 500,000*l.* for payment of the arrears.

The grant || to King George the 1st. when he succeeded to the throne, was similar to that made to Queen Anne, with the excep-

* 12th and 13th W. III. ch. 12.

† 1st Anne, stat. 1. ch. 7.
vol. 17. p. 441.
sect 27. and 38.

‡ Commons Journals,
§ 12th Anne, stat. 1. ch. 11.
|| 1st. Geo. I, chap. 1.

tion of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the First Fruits; the former belonged to the Prince of Wales, and the latter had been alienated by Parliament in the preceding reign for other purposes. Soon after this, an account* was laid before the House of Commons of the Civil List Revenues, from 1699 to 1715, together with the actual expences of the Civil List in 1713; in which year it appears the pensions amounted to 123,000*l.*; exclusive of the Royal bounty, which, in two years, exceeded 34,000*l.* No application was, however, made to Parliament for assistance, till 1720, when a considerable debt having been incurred, his Majesty desired, by a Message †, the aid of Parliament to secure and confirm Charters he had granted to two Insurance Companies; expressing, at the same time, an intention of applying the money to be derived therefrom to the payment of the Civil List debts—An Act ‡ was passed accordingly, applying 300,000*l.*, to be paid by the Companies, for that service; without the House of Commons having the satisfaction of seeing the accounts, either of the debts of the Civil List, or the Funds outstanding to answer the same; a motion for such information having been again negatived §. In the year following, a further || application to

* Commons Journals, vol. 18. p. 79. † Commons Journals, vol. 19. p. 355. ‡ 6. Geo. I. ch. 18. § Commons Journals, v. 19. p. 357. || Commons Journals, vol. 19. p. 628.

Parliament was found necessary, which was stated by his Majesty in a Message, as arising from the last-mentioned grant having been found insufficient for the payment of the debt, then amounting to 555,000*l.* accompanied by an estimate thereof, in a number of gross articles. This was followed by a grant * of 500,000*l.* to pay the debt to be raised by Annuities, charged on the hereditary revenues; and a tax of 6*d.* in the pound on certain salaries &c. was imposed, to pay the interest. His Majesty was, however, enabled thereby to go on only four years without further aid; for we find, in 1725, another message †, stating his inability to make considerable retrenchments in the expences of his Civil List, and requesting he might be enabled to raise money to discharge the debts on it, then amounting to 508,000*l.* an account of which, in the same number of gross articles as before, was presented. Other accounts were afterwards laid of the Civil List Revenue, from 1699 to 1715, (amounting, in fifteen years and a quarter, to ‡ 11,185,000*l.* about 740,000*l.* a year) and of money issued for Privy Purse, Secret Service, &c. from 1721 to 1725 §; by the last of these it appears, that within the period of four years, there were issues to the ex-

* 7th Geo. I. chap. 27.
v. 20. p. 477.

† Commons Journals,

‡ Ibidem, p. 513.

§ P. 523.

tent of 379,000*l.* for Secret Service, 332,000*l.* of which was to the Secretaries of the Treasury, exclusive of a large sum for Royal bounty.— These expences, however, were so little objected to, that an Act * was passed in this year, 1724, reciting, that the 500,000*l.* granted in 1720, had been found insufficient for discharging all the arrears then due to the King's servants, tradesmen, and others, by means whereof divers arrears still remained due, and granting, therefore, 1,000,000*l.* one half whereof to redeem the annuities under the former Act, and the remainder to pay the existing debt.

Experience having thus proved that the revenues allotted for the use of the Civil Government were inadequate for the purpose, Parliament increased the income on the accession of George the Second, in 1727 †, by adding to the revenues 120,000*l.* annually from the aggregate Fund, and providing that, if the whole should not amount to 800,000*l.* the sum wanting should be taken out of the first supplies in each succeeding year; a deficiency immediately arising, accounts were laid, in consequence of an Address ‡, shewing the amount of the deficiency to be 115,000*l.* which was granted with a condition, that the same should be repaid out of such arrears of duties as should come in *after the demise of the King*; a question for making

* 11th Geo. 1. ch. 17.

† 1st Geo. II. ch. 1.

‡ Commons Journals, vol. 21. p. 315, and 320.

it good out of any annual surplus, *during the King's life*, having been negatived *, which, of course, gave the Crown the benefit of the exceedings of the duties, if there were any (and it will be shewn these were afterwards considerable) and a certainty of such deficiencies as should occur being made good from time to time out of the surplus of the year. In February, 1731, the Civil List Revenues from 1725 to 1727 were presented. No other paper respecting the Civil List appears to have been laid before the House after this, nor any grants made, except for the Duke of Cumberland and the Princesses †, till 1746, when accounts of the Civil List Revenues, from 1740 to 1746, were presented, by order of the House; from these ‡ it appears, the payments *into the Exchequer* were, in each year, below 800,000*l.* exclusive of 40,000*l.* per ann. to the Prince of Wales, and 5,000*l.* to the Chancellor from the Excise and Post Office, *in transitu*: The sum of 456,783*l.* the deficiency of the 800,000*l.* was then voted §.

The increase of the revenues, after this time, appears to have rendered any further application to Parliament, during the remainder of this

* Ibidem, p. 347.

† By 12th Geo. II, ch. 15. 15,000*l.* a year for the former, and 24,000*l.* a year for the latter, and by 19 Geo. II. chap. 29, 25,000*l.* a year for the Duke, from the Aggregate Fund.

‡ Commons Journals, vol. 25. p. 194 and 205.

§ Ibidem, p. 212.

reign, unnecessary; by an account* presented in 1760, the average of the ten preceding years, was 823,955*l.* it had been from 1730 to 1740, 825,854*l.*—In the last seven years of the period ending in 1760, the Secret Service Money was, on an average, 83,000*l.* a year, of which 65,000*l.* to the Secretaries of the Treasury †.

The accounts, here referred to, make it perfectly clear, that, during the last ten years of King George the Second, the Civil List Revenues had considerably exceeded 800,000*l.* a year; the arrangement, therefore, made on the accession of his present Majesty to the Throne, for a specific annuity of 800,000*l.* a year ‡, was evidently not an advantageous one for the Civil List. In 1769, a debt on it had been incurred of upwards of 500,000*l.* with which his Majesty acquainted the Houses of Parliament §; at the same time, an account was laid, consisting of eighteen articles in gross. Orders were thereupon made for more detailed accounts of the Civil List expences, from 1752 to 1760, and from 1760 to 1769; which were followed by a motion, that the consideration of his Majesty's Message should be deferred till an enquiry should take place respecting the cause of the debt; but that was negatived, and the sum of 513,800*l.* was

* Vol. 28. p. 965; this account is not printed, but is preserved among the Papers of the Session.

† Com. Journ. v. 32. p. 465.

‡ 1st Geo. III. ch. 1.

§ Com. Journ. vol. 32. p. 255.

voted to pay the amount of it*. The accounts were afterwards laid in January 1770 †. The examination of these led to a ‡ motion in April following for an address to his Majesty, stating the excess of the expenditure in the Civil List, and humbly recommending retrenchments; which was lost without a division. Under such discouragement, the party, then in opposition to Government, made an attempt || the second day following to obtain merely an account of pensions and increased salaries since the commencement of the present reign, and on that they ventured a division, but were again foiled, the question having been carried in the negative—Mr. Fox one of the tellers for the majority. A strong proof how differently Parliament, as well as the individual alluded to, thought at that time, from what they fortunately do at present, respecting the propriety of investigating matters of this sort, where grants of the public money are called for.

In the course of the seven subsequent years, a further debt was incurred to the amount of more than 600,000*l.* and, in April 1777, his Majesty acquainted the Houses therewith §: At the same time

* Com. Journ. vol. 32, p. 265.

† Ibidem, p. 465. On this occasion Mr. Barré said, “When I was Vice Treasurer of Ireland with Lord Clare, we always paid the money first, and then examined if we owed it.” Debates, 1769, p. 126.

‡ Ibidem, p. 856.

|| Ibidem, p. 866.

§ Vol. 36, p. 331.

accounts were laid by the King's command, by which it appeared that the duties, &c. which were in the former reign granted for the Civil List, had averaged in the 15 years, including 1777, the annual sum of 964,000*l.*, then again the sums paid for secret service are worthy of observation, amounting from the time the debt was last paid in 1769 to 438,000*l.* equal to 54,000*l.* a year, exclusive of large sums for special service unexplained, and for Royal Bounty to persons whose names were not mentioned. No investigation of accounts, however, took place, but, after a long debate on the subject, the sum of 618,000*l.* was voted * to pay the debt, and an additional annual sum of 100,000*l.* was granted for the Civil List; notwithstanding which the expences could not be kept within the income of it, and, in 1782, his Majesty sent another message † to both Houses, requesting the aid of Parliament to discharge the debt incurred, without laying fresh burthens on his subjects; the amount appeared by an account presented to be 295,000*l.* ‡. A provision was accordingly made for raising the sum of 300,000*l.* by exchequer bills charged on the aggregate fund, to be cancelled by quarterly instalments of 12,500*l.*, which was to be effected by the abolition of many employments, (considered as of little use), paid out of the re-

* Vol. 36, p. 417.

† Vol. 38, p. 970.

‡ Ibidem, p. 971.

venues of the Civil List, and by other savings. Many of these offices were suppressed by the Act which granted the relief, and several others by the Treasury, under the authority of it, and various economical arrangements were made which it was hoped would keep the expences within the required limits; this expectation was, however, disappointed, and a communication was made to * Parliament in July 1783, that a debt of 28,000*l.* had unavoidably been incurred, for which a grant was made.

The experience of another year proved that the suppression of offices in 1782, as well by the Executive Government as by Parliament, and all the other retrenchments, then and subsequently made, were ineffectual for the attainment of the object; which his Majesty in July 1784 † stated to both Houses, and requested that means might be provided to enable him to discharge the new Debt:—With this message was delivered an account shewing the expences for the year under each head, and in each quarter, (as there were two Administrations within the period) the total excess was ‡ 44,000*l.* divided nearly equally in the three quarters while the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox were in office, and the quarter while Mr. Pitt was at the head of the Treasury. The sum of 60,000*l.* was then

* Com. Journal, vol. 39, p. 519, 675, & 681.

† Ibidem, vol. 40, p. 327, 328.

‡ P. 350.

voted * to pay the sum above-mentioned, together with a further debt incurred subsequent to the time to which the account was made up. That aid did not, however, prevent an arrear in some of the latest classes; his Majesty, therefore, found himself under a necessity of resorting again to Parliament in 1786, when he stated in a message † that he had not found it possible to keep the expences of his Civil List within the sum of 850,000*l.* a year; a Debt of 30,000*l.* had in fact been incurred, as appeared by an account laid ‡, shewing again the excess under the several heads and the arrears in each class. There then remained Exchequer Bills issued in 1782 to the amount of 180,000*l.*||. uncanceled; for the payment of which, as well as of the debt of 30,000*l.* provision was made §, whereby the income of 900,000*l.* for the Civil List expences was left free; and a plan ¶ was, in consequence of an order of the House of Commons prepared, and laid before that House, of the future charge of the Civil Establishment, distinguishing every head of Expence, arranged in the order prescribed by Mr. Burke's Act, estimated from the experience of the two former years, and amounting, in the whole, to 897,900*l.*

* Com. Journal, vol. 40, p. 372.

vol. 41, p. 452.

§ P. 546.

‡ P. 471 & 639.

¶ P. 967.

† Ibidem,

|| P. 540.

From

From that time no grant has been made by Parliament in aid of the Civil List; it is, therefore, not necessary to refer to any later proceedings of the House of Commons on the subject, any further than merely to mention that on occasions, when recourse was had to Parliament for provision for different branches of the Royal Family from the Consolidated Fund *, accounts were laid from time to time, which shewed there were great arrears, and in which classes. These, together with some outstanding demands for special services, when his Majesty's Message was sent in this session to both Houses, amounted to 895,000/†.

Let us now examine how this debt was incurred under every head of charge so as to ascertain with accuracy and precision, how, and for what purposes the exceedings arose: for this we have most ample means afforded us in the Papers laid by his Majesty's command, and in the Report of the Committee to whom those Papers were referred. The mode of proceeding was the most satisfactory possible; the accounts, together with the book in which all the entries for Special Services and Royal Bounty are made at the Treasury, furnished complete information as to the purpose for which every

* Com. Journals, vol. 44, p. 521. Vol. 46, p. 589, 591, 600. Com. Journals not yet printed.

† Report of Committee, p. 58.

sum as low as 20*l.* was issued during the whole of sixteen years, with the exception only of money expended for Secret Service at home, limited by law to 10,000*l.* a year; and for Foreign Secret Service, the due application of which last must be attested on oath by the Secretaries of State, Foreign Ministers, and Commanders in Chief abroad, &c. who are entrusted with the application of it.

From these materials the following observations are made :

First class : *The Royal Family.*

The Committee states the increase under that head to be 45,000*l.**; to that, however, should be added various sums † paid for the Royal Family under the head of Special Service and Royal Bounty, amounting to 72,900*l.*, which, with arrears paid to her Majesty for the Princesses, and to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for the Princess Charlotte, make the whole to be added 119,400*l.*, and the total increase 164,000*l.*; but against that should be set a saving in the 4th class, under the head of tradesmen's bills for the *younger Princes* of 165,000*l.*, there will then be neither excess nor saving in this class : in truth that has arisen from accident ; additions have necessarily been made to the incomes of some parts of the Royal

* P. 6 & 7 of Report.

† P. 42 to 46.

Family from the Civil List; and others have either died, or provision has been made for them, as they advanced in life, from the public revenues.

The 2d class: *The Judges.*

Neither increase nor decrease worth mentioning; as the additions to their incomes, as well as the superannuated allowances to those who shall retire, have been charged on the consolidated fund.

Third class: *Foreign Ministers.*

On this head there is an excess* of £ 129,000 to which should be added the saving on the estimate for the 16 years for the Ministers at Paris, Madrid, and the Hague, 65,000*l.*, and Brussels, Vienna, and Warsaw, 29,000*l.* - - † 94,000

£ 223,000

But from that should be deducted the charges for Ministers and Consuls in America, for which no estimate was included in the plan of 1786 ‡ - - 83,000

£ 140,920
Total excess, exclusive of the missions above-mentioned - - - -
Equal to about 8,800*l.* a year for all the other Foreign Ministers: It is not likely that the aug-

* P. 16 of the Report: † P. 12 to 14. ‡ P. 16.
mentations

mentations which have been made since 1786 will be thought unnecessary, as it was universally admitted that persons in that *line* were before under-paid. It cannot be thought either for the credit or for the advantage of the country, that our Ministers at foreign Courts should be unable to maintain a respectable and creditable appearance. The excess * has arisen principally from an augmentation to the Ministers at Vienna and Petersburgh, in the proportion nearly of five to three, Berlin and Dresden nearly of three to two, and at the Court of the Elector Palatine nearly double.

Fourth class: *Tradesmen's Bills.*

The exceedings under this head are stated at † - - - - - 395,000
to which should be added bills of the young Princes referred to under the head of the Royal Family ‡ to the amount of - - - - - 165,400

£ 560,400

Deduct bills, included in the 1st article, in the department of the Exchequer for printing and other services entirely unconnected with the

* P. 12 & 14 of the Report.

† P. 19 & 22.

‡ P. 22.

Brought over - - - -		£ 560,400
Civil List - - - - -	*	74,000
And for the table of the Prince of Orange † and the Duke of Clarence, not esti- mated in the Plan of 1786	110,000	184,000
		£ 376,400

An exceeding, therefore, of less than 400,000*l.* in the departments of the Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, and Master of the Horse, is to be explained on an expenditure, estimated at 116,000*l.* per annum, amounting in sixteen years to 1,856,000*l.*; equal to about 20*l.* per cent. thereupon. This increase must be thought extremely moderate, when it is known, that it appeared by accounts before the Committee, that in the Lord Steward's department, the prices of many kinds of provisions are more than double, and, on the whole, at least, 70*l.* per cent. higher, than in 1786. It is also notorious, that very great advances have taken place in the price of labour and articles for building, &c. &c. &c. under the direction of

* Page 22 of the Report.

† This is the only article not taken from the Report or the Papers before the Houses; it is certainly not over-stated: the Prince of Orange's table began in 1795, and did not cost less than 12,000 a year.

the

the Lord Chamberlain ; and in the price of provender, &c. for horses, under the control of the Master of the Horse.

Much commendation is justly due to those to whom the management in the different departments has been entrusted ; but unless there had been considerable retrenchments and deprivations by the Sovereign himself, the excess of expenditure must have been much greater.

Fifth class. *Menial Servants.*

No alteration in the salaries or allowances *.

Sixth class. *Pensions.*

The total sum paid on pensions, out of the Civil List, within the period, is less than the estimated amount for sixteen years, by † 175,000*l.* But in order to shew the saving on the whole amount of money paid on pensions within the period ; there should be deducted from the above (though unconnected with the Civil List) the amount of what has been paid out of the four and a half per cent. Revenue, on Pensions ‡ granted on that fund since 1786, exclusive of allowances to late Governors, &c. ; and to Servants

* Report, p. 25 & 26.

† P. 29 & 30.

‡ Account presented and ordered to be printed May 14, 1801.

Brought over - - - - £ 175,000
of the Princes, discharged when their
establishments were formed - - - - 60,969

Saving on the whole amount of actual
pensions from whatever fund - - - 114,031

There is an increase on the allowances to Mi-
nisters retired from Foreign Courts, arising
chiefly from many having returned home on ac-
count of the war, amounting to * 92,500*l.*

And there is a saving of compensations to the
amount of † 33,400*l.*

The whole sum of Royal Bounty,
under that head, given from 1786 to
1802, was ‡ - - - - - 27,171

And under the head of contingencies || - 2,000

29,171

Including therefore the increase arising from
the allowances to Ministers retired from Fo-
reign Courts, with the sums given as Royal
Bounty; and taking into the account also the
pensions on the four and an half per cent. there
will be a saving on the whole of more than
20,000*l.* To the Civil List the actual saving in
this class is 114,402*l.*

Seventh class. *Salaries.*

On this head there is a saving of 129,750*l.* ¶
but for this no credit should be taken, as an
expencc was incurred under the head of Special

* P. 30. † P. 31. ‡ P. 46. || P. 48.
¶ P. 33 & 34.

Service of 135,000*l*.† for making good the deficiency of fee funds out of which the salaries of Principals, Secretaries and Clerks in several offices are paid; so that on the whole there is an increase on this head of more than 5,000*l*.

On the eighth class, *The Treasury*, no observation is necessary, as there is no variation in the expence.

There remains, however, *The occasional payments*,—the most important head, indeed, of the whole. The estimate for these in the plan of 1786 was 138,476*l* ‡. but it will be seen, on reference to the Report §, that a great variety of heads of expence, which unavoidably occurred in the period of the account, could not possibly have been foreseen when the plan was formed. During the seven years of peace to 1793 the annual average was 158,000*l*. and in the nine years of war to 1802 it was 233,000*l* ||. It is essential, however, to a due understanding of the subject, that we should examine the excess on each head separately.

	Amount of Estimate for 16 years.	Expences incurred in 16 years.	Excess.
Law expences -	120,000	166,800	
Further charge under Special Service -	-	10,250	
		177,050	57,000

These expences arose partly from the numerous prosecutions for seditious

† P. 46.

‡ P. 44.

§ P. 42 & 44.

|| P. 44 & 45.

practices, and partly from a great variety of cases respecting claims of neutral nations.

Messengers bills for

Foreign Journies 192,000 357,900

Further charge under Special Service - -

2,400

360,300 168,300

In the first six years of peace, the exceeding were not more than 3000/. a year. Those which occurred afterwards were occasioned by the war, and did not arise from want of management; The new plan relative to the messengers received the commendation of the Committee of Finance in 1797*.

Secretaries of State for contingencies in the

Home Department 73,600 259,000 185,400

The exceeding in the first six years was only 800/. in the Home, and 1,200/. in the Foreign Department; these contingencies are detailed in the 16th Report of the Finance Committee of 1797, Appendix F. 1, 2, and 3. In the Foreign Department, a large proportion is for Couriers employed by Ministers abroad, Extra-Messengers at home, retired Clerks, &c. &c.—

* 16th Report, p. 30.

It appears by the above-mentioned Report, p. 21, that in 1784 the contingencies of the Foreign Department were 1,095*l.* and in 1795, 6,800*l.*; the Home Department in 1782, 533*l.* and in 1795, 4321*l.* In the Home is included Officers of Police, &c. See p. 22 of same Report.

	Amount of Estimate for 16 years.	Expences incurred in 16 years.	Excess.
Equipages to Ministers at Foreign Courts	- 56,000	118,600	
Further sums under the head of special service	- - - - -	- 23,853	
		142,453	86,453

This arose principally from Special Missions during the war. In the first six years of the period of this account there was an annual exceeding of only 2,000*l.*

Total of the excess of the charges under the head of Occasional Payments, for which there were separate estimates in the plan of 1786 beyond the sums therein stated - - - - - 497,153.

From which deduct the sums included in the above articles, issued under the head of Special Service; as they are included below among the issues for Special Service, as stated by the Committee - - - - - 36,503

460,650

Issues for Special Service stated in occasional payments under that general head for 16 years. The particulars of these are as follow

The articles deducted above - - - - -
 Advances for different branches of the Royal Family - - - - -

Estimate for 16 years.	Expences for 16 years.	Excess.
320,000	579,000	259,000

36,500

153,248

Of this 32,000l. was for Prince Augustus, who had no establishment; 5000l. for the Duke of Clarence; both of which have been carried to the first class of the Royal Family in the preceding part of these statements. The difference is for advances to several branches of the Royal Family, part of which has been repaid, and the remainder is to be made good to the consolidated fund.

Deficiency of the Fee Funds in different offices towards the salaries in each - - - - -

135,500

325,248

A saving, it has been shewn, has arisen to nearly the same amount under the head of Salaries.

Brought over - 325,248
 Parliamentary expences, such
 as allowances to Clerks, &c.
 &c. under the head of Special
 Service. - - - - - 69,900

For business of various sorts, chiefly
 in the House of Commons, including
 stationary to the Speaker, Clerks, and
 other contingencies.

Fees on Receipt of Money,
 passing Commissions, &c. &c.
 &c. - - - - - 46,000

These were paid on the issue of sums
 directed to be paid nett, on passing
 commissions for public Boards, &c.

Police Establishment, Bow-
 street, exclusive of a further
 sum stated below, not issued
 under the head of Special
 Service - - - - - 5,062
 Westminster Police - - - - - 33,351

These need no explanation.

Presents to Foreign Ministers,
 exclusive of a further sum
 stated below, not issued un-
 der the head of Special Service. - - - - - 20,780

These are dependant on rules esta-
 blished by Foreign Courts, as well as
 our own, on signing Treaties, Con-
 ventions, &c. on which there can be
 no control: little more than 2000*l*.
 was incurred for this service in the
 first six years.

Carried over £ 500,341

Brought over	£ 500,341
Expences of Experiments, Surveys, Discoveries, &c. - - - -	14,278
The particulars of these payments are entered in the Special Service Book which was before the Committee, and has since been before the House of Lords.	
Expences of the Congress at Amiens - - - - -	7,000
Require no explanation.	
Royal Bounty - - - - -	27,000
	<hr/>
These sums amounted to - - - -	548,619

The particulars thereof are also entered in the book above-mentioned, shewing how the whole was disposed of.

The difference between that total and the sum of 579,000*l.* consists of a number of small articles, particularly detailed in an account annexed to the report of the Committee*.

Occasional payments for services for which there were no estimates in the plan of 1786; and for which the Issues were not made under the head of Special Service.

Presents to Foreign Ministers in addition to the sum above stated under Special Service - 104,140

Explained above.

Contingencies of divers natures 27,340

These are particularly detailed by the Committee † : they are Bounty annu-

* Report, p. 46 & 47.

† P. 48.

Brought over	-	£ 131,480
ally given to female objects in distress		
—Fees on the Privy Purse—Contingencies, &c. &c.		
To reimburse sundry expences for his Majesty's Service	-	52,651
(Bills from Foreign Ministers, chiefly for expences of Journies, forwarding Dispatches, and money expended by persons on Foreign Missions, &c. &c.)		
Police Establishment, Bowstreet, in addition to the sum issued for Special Service		67,600
		<hr/>
		251,000
		<hr/>
Excess on articles estimated in the Plan of 1786	- - -	461,000
Excess on Special Service and Royal Bounty	- - - -	259,000
Occasional payments for which there were no estimates in the Plan of 1786, and which are not included under the head of Special Service and Royal Bounty	- - - - -	251,000
		<hr/>
		971,000
But from that total should be deducted the money remaining to be repaid by the Princes, which is not included in the debt stated	-	88,000
		883,300

SUMMARY.

SUMMARY.

The amount of the debt, stated by the Committee, to Jan. 5th, 1802		895,000
Received, in Aid of the Civil List, within the period,		
From the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Fund	172,000	
Imprest Monies	43,000	
Fees of the Suppressed Offices	30,000	
Surplus of Exchequer Fees	148,000	393,000

Amount of what the Debt would have been, if the above-mentioned sums had not been applied to the Civil List, within the period

1,288,000

<i>Expenditure more than the Estimate.</i>		<i>Expenditure less than the Estimate.</i>	
1st Class,		Pensions.	114,000
Royal Family,	45,000	Salaries	130,000
3d Class,			
Foreign Ministers,	129,000		244,000
4th Class,			
Tradesmen's Bills,	395,000		

Occasional payments; the estimate for 16 years, was 2,215,000*l.* and the actual charges, 122,000; after deducting the Loan to the Princes, leaves the sum of 907,000*l.* of which 883,000*l.* is accounted for above; the remainder is in small sums detailed by the Committee*.

907,000

Demands outstanding, included in the debt, the particulars of which are detailed by the Committee†.

51,000

£.1,527,000

Expenditure more than Estimate, - - - - -	1,527,000
Less than Estimate - - - - -	244,000

Excess of the Expenditure on the Charges of the
Civil List, on the whole, during the period from
1786 to 1802. — — — 1,283,000

This, on the first view, appears to be a very large sum, by which the estimate made in 1786, of the Civil List expences, was exceeded in sixteen years, equal to about 80,000*l.* per annum; but it will be seen, by looking at the statement of the expence in each year, laid before the Committee *, and printed at the end of this Pamphlet, that the exceedings were inconsiderable during the first seven years while we were at peace; they increased afterwards largely, under heads (with the exception of tradesmen's bills) connected principally with the War, or with the internal state of the country. It is not necessary to enumerate the particulars again; it will be sufficient to remind our readers, that they arose chiefly in the Department of the Secretaries of State; messengers bills, from expences incurred by Ministers at Foreign Courts (except the augmentation of their salaries) including presents to Foreign Ministers here on signing Conventions, &c. and from the charge incurred for Law Proceedings and Police Establishments. These, with the Tradesmen's Bills, above alluded to, will account for nearly the whole excess; and when the increased price

* Report, p. 51.

of almost every article included in these bills is adverted to, it must be a matter of considerable surprize, that the exceedings were not much greater, for the reason already suggested in the observation on that head.

If any one has imagined, that the debt incurred on the Civil List has arisen, in the remotest possible degree, from any expences of his Majesty, that could have been avoided, he will see how entirely he has been mistaken; and that, instead of a want of due attention to œconomy, it is manifest, that his Majesty's personal arrangement, and strict injunctions to his servants, could alone have kept down the expences of his household; without which, they must have borne a much larger proportion to those of individuals than they do; for it may safely be stated, that there is hardly a private gentleman in the kingdom, whose expences of living have not increased, within the period alluded to, in a much greater degree than those of his Majesty. In the fixed allowances to the Royal Family, there is but a trifling excess: they have varied only as circumstances rendered that variation indispensibly necessary. On the head of Pensions, respecting which a jealousy would most naturally be entertained, there was an actual saving to a considerable amount: of those indeed that were granted, it would be seen, on a close investigation, how few were likely to have been given from pure favour: And all the gifts of Royal bounty, in
the

the sixteen years, were under 30,000*l.*—not one shilling of which was for any concealed purpose, as the names of the parties who received the same, and the services, are entered in the book which was before the Committee composed of gentlemen of different political connections; and no suggestion was heard of the most trifling sum having been bestowed improperly. The payments for Special Services are minutely detailed in the Report of the Committee*.

The sum of 10,000*l.* a year for Home Secret Service is all that the Minister has at his disposal without account; exclusive of that, and of the Foreign Secret Service Money (against the misapplication of which it has been already shewn there is the strongest possible guard), not one guinea was or can be issued except for stated services; any abuse or an attempt at concealment could not escape immediate detection and exposure; as the warrants go through a variety of hands, and are publicly entered in books accessible to every clerk in the office, which are also open to the inspection of the House of Commons under the act of 1782, whenever called for. Even the limited sum, above mentioned, of 10,000*l.* a year for Home Secret Service, has not been entirely expended; it will be seen by reference to the Exchequer Accounts annexed to the Report, that there was a saving under that head of 9,000*l.* after the sum of 2,500*l.* stated under the head of Contingencies,

* P. 46.

is added. Where then is the source of corruption, or instance of profusion, of which we have heard so much in and out of Parliament? Compare the period from 1782, with any other since the Revolution. It has been observed, that from 1721 to 1725, a time of profound peace, the issues for secret service to the Secretaries of the Treasury alone (which must have been for home purposes) were eight-fold the amount of the expenditure in the last sixteen years; and it is surely creditable to the late Administration that under the close restrictions of Mr. Burke's Act, respecting secret service money out of the Civil List Revenues, they did not follow the example of their predecessors in applying the surplus of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties to that use, as they might have done; instead of, for the first time, using it for the general purposes of the Civil-Government.

The truth is that a minister of this country is now without any means, even of influence, except an inconsiderable patronage in the disposal of livings, which are not as well known to every man who is in possession of the court register as they are to his most confidential friend. It is not only in the department of the Civil List that he is thus restrained, but after the example set by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in avoiding all contracts, commission business, and agencies of every sort, no successor will be hardy enough to resort again to such modes of gratifying

gratifying his friends. During the whole of the late war not a single beneficial contract or commission was given, nor the slightest favor shewn to any individual in that way. The loans too were made in such a manner as to afford just as good a chance of obtaining them to the most inveterate enemy of the Minister as to his warmest supporter. What a contrast to former proceedings! Even the great addition that has unfortunately been made, from necessity, to the public burthens during the war, did not become a source of patronage, for it is a fact not controverted, that the collection and management of taxes to the amount of 8,000,000*l.* a year, from 1792 to 1800, did not add one office in the disposal of the Minister; during that period fifty-two employments in the revenue were created, and fifty-three abolished; exclusive of eighty-five sinecure employments requiring no residence, suppressed for ever, in value from 100*l.* to 2000*l.* a year each, which were formerly given to the private friends or political connections of the First Lord of the Treasury. It may not be without its use to observe here that there are very few more than fifty members of the House of Commons who hold places or enjoy profits of any sort whatever which can be supposed by the least charitable man living to be capable of influencing their conduct; we allude to Great Britain only; perhaps there are nearly as many Members on the other hand who are not without an impression on their minds that if they could
the

succeed in removing those who occupy the chief places in administration, they might have a reasonable chance of stepping into their situations.

We have been led to make these observations, though not directly connected with our subject, because in the debate upon it in the House of Commons, the war, the taxes, and the Civil List, were all stated by a distinguished leader in the opposition as sources of corruption and influence.

Let us now return to the evidence which has been adduced respecting the exceedings of the Civil List beyond the estimate of 1786: With such clear and incontestible proofs that they arose from expences consequent upon the war, on the internal state of the country, or from the great rise in the price of various articles, what are we to think of a proposition—either not to pay the debt, or to secure the repayment of the money to be advanced for it from the Civil List Revenue. The payments in arrear are distributed over all the classes*.

1st class, Royal Family	- - - -	£.86,000
2d ditto, the Judges	- - - -	16,000
3d ditto, Ministers at foreign courts	-	102,000
4th ditto, Tradesmens bills	- - - -	351,000
5th ditto, Menial servants	- - - -	167,000
6th ditto, Pensions and compensations	-	204,000
7th ditto, Salaries	- - - -	105,000
8th ditto, Treasury	- - - -	24,000
Occasional payments	- - - -	96,000

Of

* Report, p. 57.

Of the arrears to the Treasury, a part is due to the present Commissioners; with an exception perhaps of the remainder of those, it may be asked, would it be just that any of the parties should suffer for what they at least are perfectly free of the blame of incurring? All the other services are already satisfied. But if contrary to justice and all fair proceeding, the principle should be admitted that rather than burden the public with the payment of this debt, savings should be made to enable the whole to be liquidated within a reasonable time. How is this to be effected? No one thought the allowances to the Royal Family would bear any retrenchments. The salaries of the judges surely will not; they have been lately increased on grounds which every man thought to be just. Would it be thought right to lessen the income of the foreign Ministers, and degrade both them and the nation in the countries where they reside? Can any deduction be made from the bills of tradesmen who serve the King's household at least as cheap as they do individuals? Is any one prepared to say he thinks it right that any of the officers attendant on His Majesty's person or state should be abolished? It has never been suggested, since the economical arrangements under Mr. Burke's bill, that any of the remaining employments could, with propriety, be suppressed; but if an idea could for a moment be entertained of dismissing as useless all the principal officers in His Majesty's palace, with the

Lords and Grooms of the Bedchamber, the saving, even if extended to a perpetuity, would not liquidate the debt; it would not indeed be equal to the interest of it at 5*l.* per cent.

Let those who argue against the debt being paid by the public state any possible mode of avoiding such rough retrenchments, except by withholding the salaries, and the payment of bills, from persons who have no demerits. Most of the demands which occasioned the exceeding, were from the nature of them satisfied as they arose; a very large part of them indeed would have been more properly charged on the extraordinaries of the army, than on the Civil List; but having been originally paid from that, when from the circumstances of the times they were of small amount, that mode was not deviated from, though it may perhaps be thought right to make some new arrangements in this respect for the future. If the points here alluded to, which underwent most properly a close and minute investigation of a Committee, (of which, however, there is no precedent in any time) had been attentively considered, it is hardly to be supposed that an objection would have been made to the payment of the debt in the manner invariably practised since the Revolution; least of all would it have been expected to have been urged by a gentleman who, on a former occasion *, thought it not fit that an address should be presented to the crown merely for informa-

* See . 8.

tion respecting the augmentations to salaries and pensions from the commencement of the present reign.

Having already alluded to the disadvantageous exchange for his Majesty, made on his accession, it may be desirable, before we quit the subject, to remark, that if his Majesty had been in possession of the same sources of revenue as his Royal Grandfather, his income, from 1786 to 1800, would have been 1,416,000*l.* per annum, instead of 900,000*l.* and of course, if the 120,000*l.* per annum, granted to King George the Second, to supply eventual deficiencies in the Civil List Revenue, had been withheld, his revenue would still have been nearly 400,000*l.* a year more than the grants of Parliament.

We will now collect, in one point of view, the whole of the aids the Sovereigns have had during the last century, so as to shew the average income of each.

Queen Anne, 12 years & $\frac{1}{3}$,		
at 700,000 <i>l.</i>	8,633,000	
Debt paid, - - - - -	500,000	
		9,133,000
Geo. I. 13 years, at		
700,000 <i>l.</i> - - - - -	9,100,000	
Debt paid in 1721* - - -	500,000	
Ditto, in 1725, - - -	500,000	
		10,150,000
		19,283,000

* Exclusive of the money paid by the Insurance Companies in 1720.

Geo. II. 33 yrs. & $\frac{1}{2}$, at		
*800,000 - - - -	26,666,000	
Debt paid in 1746 - -	456,000	
	<hr/>	27,122,000
Geo. III. 17 years, at -	800,000 <i>l.</i>	13,600,000
25 years, at -	900,000	22,500,000
Debt paid in 1769 - - - -		513,000
in 1777 - - - -		618,000
in 1783 - - - -		35,000
in 1784 - - - -		60,000
in 1786 - - - -		210,000
in 1802 - - - -		896,000
		<hr/>
		38,432,000

The average † of the annual expence of the Civil List, at different periods in the last century, therefore, will be Queen Anne and Geo. I. from 1702 to 1727, 761,000*l.* George II. from 1727, to 1760,* 813,000*l.* George III. to the 42d year of his reign, from 1760 to 1802, 915,000*l.*

* This is under stated; it has been already shewn, that, in the 10 years preceding 1760, the average was 824,000*l.*

† No account is taken here of the allowances to the Royal Family, or aids to the Civil List, from other sources, because it would be extremely difficult to ascertain them; in the reign of Geo. II. the Prince of Wales had a large part of his income from the Excise, in transitu; so had other branches of the Royal Family; and, till the Independence of America, considerable sums were received from quit-rents from that country.

In order to enable the reader to form an opinion

nion, how far the growing increase of expenditure has been justified by unavoidable events, we cannot do better than refer to a table constructed with great apparent accuracy by Sir George Shuckburgh, printed in the Philosophical Transactions of 1798,* to shew the average value of money at different periods, according to the prices of the principal articles of consumption and of use.

1700	- -	238
1720	- -	257
1740	- -	287
1760	- -	342
1780	- -	384
1790	- -	496
1795	- -	531
1800	- -	562

If 761,000*l.* was a suitable income for the Civil List, during the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I. the amount ought, according to the above proportion, to have been double in 1792, at the end of which year the war began; and when the excess, in consequence thereof, became considerable, from causes entirely unconnected with his Majesty's Family, or with any source of favor or patronage.

We trust, that these statements are made in so plain a manner, as to be intelligible even to those who are not very conversant with accounts: If

* Part 1, p. 176.

they

they are attentively considered, we are persuaded a judgement will be formed not unfavourable to the Administration which was responsible for the expenditure, during all the period of our enquiry, except the last year.

The praise or the obloquy of that Administration, in other matters, is subject to the opinion of their country: The Representatives of the people have given a favourable judgement on the conduct they pursued, in times certainly the most critical that ever occurred in the history of Great Britain; in which judgement there is reason to believe a very great majority of the people themselves concur. Whether their measures were the best and wisest that could have been pursued, it is not for their friends to pronounce; but they may venture to assert, that the actual situation of the country is such as to afford no unfavourable presumption of their wisdom: With such a constitution as is preserved to us, with such power and such resources as have been shewn; with such general prosperity as the nation enjoys after a struggle so unexampled in all respects, merit will hardly be denied to them by any candid or fair man.

But, whatever may be the general character they may be thought to deserve, on an investigation of the widely extended objects which their Administration embraced, this subject of the Civil List, on which the Public naturally feel

feel a great degree of present interest, and for which *one only* of their number is responsible, may be easily brought under the view of every man, whom that interest will induce to examine with attention the statements by which it may be judged.

In arithmetic, there is no eloquence to persuade, no partiality to mislead. In its calculations, therefore, if the reader will have the patience to peruse them, plainly and fairly as they are given in the preceding pages, he cannot be at a loss for the grounds of his decision. To them, the writer of these sheets can with confidence appeal! the subject does not admit of favor, but it cannot fail to obtain justice.

*Expences * of the Civil List, in each Year.*

1786	- -	897,000
1787	- -	915,000
1788	- -	896,000
1789	- -	945,000
1790	- -	927,000
1791	- -	929,000
1792	- -	947,000
		—————6,456,000 <i>l.</i> equal to
		922,000 <i>l.</i> a year.

* Report, p. 51.

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1793	- -	953,000
1794	- -	979,000
1795	- -	993,000
1796	- -	962,000
1797	- -	1,021,000
1798	- -	968,000
1799	- -	1,062,000
1800	- -	1,069,000
1801	- -	1,075,000

FINIS.

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