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## The Morning Post



## Fashionable World.

No. 7507.

FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 1796.

Price Fourpence Halfpenny.

NEVER ACTED.  
**THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY-LANE.**  
**TOMORROW EVENING**, Their Majesties' Servants will act a New Play, in Three Acts, called  
**THE IRON CHEST.**  
The Scenery and Dresses are entirely New.  
The Music composed by Mr. Storace.  
To which will be added the Pantomime of  
**HARLEQUIN CAPTIVE;**  
Or, **THE MAGIC FIRE.**

**THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN.**  
**TOMORROW EVENING** will be presented (30th time) a New Comedy, called  
**THE WAY TO GET MARRIED.**  
After which (24th time) a New Musical Farce, called  
**LOCK AND KEY.**

**LAST NIGHT BUT TWO.**  
**AT THE THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, THIS EVENING, FRIDAY**  
will be performed,  
(For the last time this Season)  
The Sacred ORATORIO of The  
**MESSIAH.**  
Composed by G. F. HANDEL.  
To be opened by Madame MARA.  
End of Part I. a Concerto on the Pedal Harp by Madame DELAVAI.  
Principal Vocal Performers,  
Madame MARA,  
Miss LEAK, Master ELLIOTT,  
Miss FLETCHER, from Birmingham,  
And Miss PARKE.  
Mr. KELLY, Mr. NIELD.  
Mr. SALE, And Mr. BARTLEMAN.  
The Chorusses will be numerous and complete.  
With the Double Drums and Sackbuts used at Westminster Abbey.  
The whole under the Direction of Mr. ASHLEY.  
Boxes, 6s.—Pit, 3s. 6d.—Gallery, 2s.—Upper Gallery, 1s.  
Places for the Boxes to be had of Mr. Brandon (only) at the Office in Hart-street.  
Doors to be opened at Six, and the Performance to begin at Seven o'Clock precisely.

Vivant Rex et Regina I  
For the BENEFIT of Mr. QUICK.  
**THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN.**  
**ON WEDNESDAY, March 30, 1796,**  
Before the Play will be presented,  
**LIVE LUMBER;**  
Or, **UNBURIED DEAD.**  
After which, a Favourite C. MEDY, in which Mr. QUICK will perform a principal Character.  
End of the Play, a New Comic Bagatelle, called, The  
**WAY TO GET UN-MARRIED.**  
To which will be added,  
**A FARCE.**

In which Mr. QUICK will perform a principal Character.  
Boxes, 6s.—Pit, 3s. 6d.—Gallery, 2s.—Upper Gallery, 1s.  
Tickets to be had of Mr. Quick, No. 98, High Holborn; and of Mr. Brandon, at the Theatre, where places for the Boxes may be taken.

**EUROPEAN MUSEUM,**  
**KING-STREET, St. JAMES'S-SQUARE.**  
**THIS** day, at Twelve o'Clock, the above National Gallery, with an additional variety of capital Pictures, never presented at the Hammer, will be opened to the Public, and the Exhibition and Sale by Private Contract, will certainly continue every day this week, until Four o'Clock in the Afternoon.

J. WILSON, Manager.  
\* Tickets issued and renewed at the Museum, as usual.

Last Week but Two.  
**THELWALL'S LECTURES,**  
**MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, and FRIDAYS, during LENT,**

**LECTURE XIV. FRIDAY, March 11.**  
**THE Causes and Consequences of the SEDITIONS of Rome; with an Enquiry into the Circumstances that produced the different Character of the ROMAN and FRENCH REVOLUTIONS.**  
Doors open at Seven. Begin at Eight.  
Admittance One Shilling.

As the Convention Act relates only to Lectures on the Constitution, &c. of these Kingdoms, of which no mention will be made; this Course is subject to neither Penalties nor legal Interruptions.—See a Prospectus, price 6d. Sold at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings; and by Eaton, Symonds, Smith, &c.  
N.B. The Room will be commodiously warmed with good Fires, &c.

**SUBSCRIPTION TO THE FUND FOR FORMING WHARVES AND DOCKS AT WAPPING, and a CANAL FROM BLACKWALL, who have not yet paid the Deposit of Five per Cent. on their respective Subscriptions, are requested to take notice, that the same must be paid at the Cashier's Office, Bank of England, on or before the 15th instant, otherwise their interest in the undertaking will be forfeited.**  
By Order of the Committee.

**JOHN FARRAN, Secy.**  
Merchant Seamen's Office,  
4th March, 1796.

N.B. The Entry in the Books of the Bank will be a sufficient Receipt for the payment of the Deposit.

**THE VENERABLE DISEASE totally ANNIHILATED.**  
**A COURSE OF LECTURES on the VE-**

# BRITISH PARLIAMENT,

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 10.

Sir WATKIN LEWIS brought up a Bill for repealing the City Militia Acts, and substituting others in their stead. The Bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday next.

Mr. H. MAJOR brought up a Bill for allowing costs to prosecutors and witnesses at the discretion of the Court, in cases of misdemeanour, as in cases of felony. The Bill was read a first time.

Alderman NEWNHAM presented a Petition from the Ward of Vintry, against the West Docks, which was ordered to lie upon the table. Lord SHEFFIELD moved, that there be laid before the House an account of the quantity of Oats and Oatmeal imported into the country for the last ten years, distinguishing between the imports of England and Scotland. Ordered.

# THE FINANCIAL STATE OF THE NATION.

Mr. GREY prefaced a Motion for an Enquiry into the State of the National Finances, with an admirable Speech, which took him two hours to deliver. We cannot pretend to give it literally as it was spoken, but in order to preserve something of its spirit, we take the liberty to give our account in the first person. Though much difference of opinion has prevailed in the House, and divided men's minds on the justice of the principle on which the War was undertaken, and on the manner in which it has been conducted, I think there is one point in which we all agree, that the present situation of the country is of high importance; that it is big with consequences which it is impossible for the wisest to foresee, but the prospect of which, even to the most sanguine, cannot impart much satisfaction. We are arrived at a crisis which must lead either to life or death, and next to him, on whom the issues of life and death depend, the care, the vigilance, and integrity, or the remissness, neglect, and corruption of those whom the People have chosen as the Guardians of their Liberties, and the Stewards of their Fortune, will tend to decide the fate of the Country. I now call upon the Representatives of the People to discharge a duty which they cannot safely commit to another, to institute an Enquiry into the State of the Nation. The task is of a nature, which I am conscious, my poor abilities are unequal to execute. But besides this, there are discouragements, which, if the cause I have undertaken, did not approve itself to my mind as of the utmost magnitude and importance, might serve to damp my zeal. The fate of former Motions of a similar nature, and the thin attendance of the House on the present occasion (a melancholy proof that Members of Parliament do not consider the State of the Nation as an object of sufficient moment to make them leave their dinners) are to me no flattering indications of success. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, however, I have determined to proceed, in the consciousness that I am doing my duty; if not in the hopes that my exertions will produce all that effect which I could desire.—Last year an Honourable Friend of mine (Mr. Fox) proposed an enquiry into the State of the Nation. He was induced to submit the proposition to the House, by a sense of dangers impending on the Country at the time. Since that period, these dangers have multiplied both in number and extent. But certainly it would be vain for me to expect what his superior talents were unable to obtain.—He took a general and comprehensive view of the situation of the country, which he was well qualified to do. He investigated the origin, and surveyed the conduct of the War. He discussed both our domestic situation and our Foreign Alliances; and upon a broad and general statement, which, on a proposition of such a nature, from such a person, might be expected, he moved for a Committee of Enquiry. At present I mean to take a more humble and more confined line of reasoning, and one more suited to my abilities. If a Committee shall be appointed in the course of the Enquiry, a more enlarged view of our situation will open to our prospect, and present an opportunity of considering the failures of the War, the causes in which they have originated, and particularly the disasters which have attended the late West-India Expedition—into the circumstances of which an Honourable Friend of mine

present system of extravagance, adding millions to the capital of our debt, and thousands to the pressure of our taxes. If the happy prospect of Peace, which, without much reason, we have sometimes of late been taught to entertain, be realized, it is surely desirable to put ourselves in the best possible posture of defence. And neither economy in war, nor security in peace, can be so well attained as by an accurate acquaintance with our real situation. When peace shall be concluded, I hope it will be upon grounds which may be calculated to inspire as few jealousies in future as possible; but as long as imperfection adheres to men, and as long as passion continues, more or less, to influence the Administration of Government, such jealousies must sometimes exist. If the Government of France (which I have no difficulty in saying I wish may retain its Republican form) be finally settled on a permanent foundation, it will naturally become an object for that country to protect its most vulnerable part by increasing the strength of its Marine.—There is a Power also in the North of Europe, who, from her conduct in the present War, leaves us little doubt of her intentions, and against whose operations we ought to be formidably prepared. But, without any extended survey of the general policy of Europe, it is easy to perceive the necessity of maintaining our Maritime superiority, and this can only be done by paying a proper degree of attention to our Financial resources. Having said this much generally, I shall proceed to the more immediate object of my Motion. This is now the fourth year of the War, and the expenses which we have incurred in the last three years may be pretty accurately ascertained. From the accounts which have been laid before the House, it appears that the present situation of the country is of high importance; that it is big with consequences which it is impossible for the wisest to foresee, but the prospect of which, even to the most sanguine, cannot impart much satisfaction. We are arrived at a crisis which must lead either to life or death, and next to him, on whom the issues of life and death depend, the care, the vigilance, and integrity, or the remissness, neglect, and corruption of those whom the People have chosen as the Guardians of their Liberties, and the Stewards of their Fortune, will tend to decide the fate of the Country. I now call upon the Representatives of the People to discharge a duty which they cannot safely commit to another, to institute an Enquiry into the State of the Nation. The task is of a nature, which I am conscious, my poor abilities are unequal to execute. But besides this, there are discouragements, which, if the cause I have undertaken, did not approve itself to my mind as of the utmost magnitude and importance, might serve to damp my zeal. The fate of former Motions of a similar nature, and the thin attendance of the House on the present occasion (a melancholy proof that Members of Parliament do not consider the State of the Nation as an object of sufficient moment to make them leave their dinners) are to me no flattering indications of success. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, however, I have determined to proceed, in the consciousness that I am doing my duty; if not in the hopes that my exertions will produce all that effect which I could desire.—Last year an Honourable Friend of mine (Mr. Fox) proposed an enquiry into the State of the Nation. He was induced to submit the proposition to the House, by a sense of dangers impending on the Country at the time. Since that period, these dangers have multiplied both in number and extent. But certainly it would be vain for me to expect what his superior talents were unable to obtain.—He took a general and comprehensive view of the situation of the country, which he was well qualified to do. He investigated the origin, and surveyed the conduct of the War. He discussed both our domestic situation and our Foreign Alliances; and upon a broad and general statement, which, on a proposition of such a nature, from such a person, might be expected, he moved for a Committee of Enquiry. At present I mean to take a more humble and more confined line of reasoning, and one more suited to my abilities. If a Committee shall be appointed in the course of the Enquiry, a more enlarged view of our situation will open to our prospect, and present an opportunity of considering the failures of the War, the causes in which they have originated, and particularly the disasters which have attended the late West-India Expedition—into the circumstances of which an Honourable Friend of mine

an enormous Expenditure afford reasonable ground for an enquiry into the measure of the Services in which it has been employed? Let us take a view of the Expence incurred by the War, down to December 1795. In the course of the last three years, there has been voted on Estimate for the Navy 15,300,000l. For the Army there has been voted on Estimate 17,600,000l. and for the Ordnance there has been voted on Estimate, in the same period, 2,600,000l. making for the three Services, a sum of 35,500,000l. a sum infinitely greater than ever was voted for the same Services, in any former time of equal length.—But while the House was answering all the demands which the Minister could make, when their liberality was found sufficient to satisfy the most extravagant wishes he ever ventured to express, they cannot be but astonished when they come to see the magnitude of the expence which has been incurred without the authority of Parliament, and for which no Legislative provision has been made. And here I would beg leave to call the attention of the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to a principle which he professed in 1782, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which was publicly and formally avowed that year in His Majesty's speech from the Throne. His Majesty, speaking of the National Debt in this Speech, says, "Notwithstanding the great increase of it during the War, it is to be hoped that such regulations may be still established, such Savings made, and future Loans so conducted, as to promote the means of its gradual redemption by a fixed course of payment. I must, with particular earnestness, distinguish for your serious consideration that part of the Debt which consists of Navy, Ordnance, and Victualling Bills. The enormous discount on some of these Bills, shews this mode of payment to be a most ruinous expedient. I have ordered the several Estimates, made up as correctly as the present practice would admit, to be laid before you. I hope that such further corrections as may be necessary, will be made, before the next year. It is my desire that you should be apprized of every expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature of each service can possibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public." This was the opinion which the Right Hon. Gentleman entertained upon the subject as far back as 1782; and this opinion he again recognized in opening the Budget of 1793. He then stated, that he had made ample provision for a long and extended scale of operation, and that it was his wish, in a particular manner, to keep down the Unfunded, and especially the Navy Debt.—Coming forward with this profession, he obtained from Parliament Grants very uncommonly liberal, and with the aid of these, he has now found that he has incurred a greater additional expence than ever was incurred in any former year; and the Navy Debt, which it was his professed object to reduce, now amounts to 10,788,000l. In addition to this, I shall take the liberty to add another circumstance, within a month after the Budget was opened, no less than 1,546,000l. was employed to discharge the Arrears of last year, which, with the Navy Debt, makes above 12,000,000 a year, so that the House are reduced to this situation, that after voting 17,000,000 for the service of the year, they find that there remains a debt of no less than thirteen millions. Much has been said of our Naval exertions, and I am sure no man is more proud of our Superiority by Sea than I am. But when we compare the expence with the service performed, and the comparative strength of the enemy at the present moment, the means that we have placed in the hands of Ministers, appear to be very inadequate to the use they have made of them. It is certainly matter of much satisfaction, that whenever we have fairly met the enemy on the sea—that the valour of British seamen has never been more signally displayed.—But though our prowess has been abundantly conspicuous, when there was opportunity for exertion in the general application of our maritime strength, there has been a very considerable failure of attention. There never was a War in which our Trade was worse protected, and though some improvement has taken place since a recent change was made in the Board of Admiralty, the merchants have still found ground for complaint. Our expence however has increased with our losses. In no year before 1780, was there above one Million voted for the discharge of the Navy debt. This was during the American war; but in the present war we have voted Fifteen Millions, and spent

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THE WAY TO GET MARRIED.

After which (14th time) a New Musical Farce, called  
LOCK AND KEY.

LAST NIGHT BUT TWO.

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(For the last time this Season)

The Sacred ORATORIO of The

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Composed by G. F. HANDEL.

To be opened by Madame M. A. A.

Tal of Paris, a Concerto on the Festival by Madame

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Principal Vocal Performers,

Miss LEAK, Master ELLIOTT,

Miss FLETCHER, from Birmingham,

And Miss PARKER.

Mr. KELLY, Mr. NIELD.

Mr. SALE, And Mr. BARTLEMAN.

The Choruses will be numerous and complete.

With the Double Drum and Snobkins used at Westminster Abbey.

The whole under the Direction of Mr. ASHLEY.

Boxes, 6s. Pit, 3s. 6d. Gallery, 2s. Upper Gallery, 1s.

Places for the Boxes to be had of Mr. Brandon (only) at

the Office in Hart-street.

Doors to be opened at Six, and the Performance to begin

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Vivant Rex et Regina!

For the BENEFIT of Mr. QUICK.

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ON WEDNESDAY, March 30, 1796.

Before the Play will be presented,

LIVE LUMBER:

Or, UNBURIED DEAD.

After which, a Favourite COMEDY, in which Mr.

QUICK will perform a principal Character.

End of the Play, a New Comic Farce, called, The

WAY TO GET UN-MARRIED.

To which will be added,

A FARCE.

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Admittance One Shilling.

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THE WALL'S LECTURES.

MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, and FRIDAYS, during

LENT.

LECTURE XIV. FRIDAY, March 21.

THE Causes and Consequences of the SE-

DITIONS of Rome; with an Enquiry into the Cir-

cumstances that produced the different Character of the

ROMAN and FRENCH REVOLUTIONS.

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N. B. The Room will be commodiously warmed with

good Fires, &amp;c.

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE LONDON DOCKS.

THE SUBSCRIBERS to the FUND for

forming WET DOCKS at Wapping, and a CANAL

from Blackwall who have not yet paid the Deposit of Five

per Cent. on their respective Subscriptions, are requested

to take notice, that the same must be paid at the Cashiers,

Office, Bank of England, on or before the 15th instant,

otherwise their interest in the undertaking will be forfeited.

By Order of the Committee,

JOHN FARRAN, Sec.

Merchant Seamen's Office.

N. B. The Entry in the Books of the Bank will be a

sufficient Receipt for the payment of the Deposit.

THE VENERAL DISEASE totally ANNIHILATED.

COURSE of LECTURES on the VE-

NERAL DISEASE will be delivered by Dr. GOD-

FREY, and the SURGEON who assists him; in which

they will inform their Auditors of the origin and dissemination

of this Disease; of the method of cure adopted by Ancient

as well as Modern Practitioners; refute several popular

opinions entertained on the subject; and finally teach them

a mode of Prevention; which, if universally adopted, will

cause the complaint to be completely annihilated, and

with it all the dreadful and alarming consequences.

In order that all ranks of people may derive the benefit

evidently resulting from this important discovery, the Ad-

mission will be only 1s.

The Lectures will commence THIS DAY, the 18th

instant, and to be continued every Wednesday and Friday

following at the Great Room, Capet-court, Bartholomew-

lane, behind the Bank. Doors open at half-past seven,

begin precisely at Eight o'clock.

The Doctor may be consulted, as usual, in all Ve-

neral Complaints, from Ten in the Morning till Ten in

the Evening, at his House, No. 1, Founders' Court,

Knobbury, behind the Bank.

A Preventative, which, if used in the course of a

hour, will infallibly prevent the person from being dis-

eased.

Sir WATKIN LEWIS brought up a Bill for repealing the City Militia Acts, and substituting others in their stead. The Bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday next.

Mr. H. MAJOR brought up a Bill for allowing costs to prosecutors and witnesses at the discretion of the Court, in cases of misdemeanors in cases of felony. The Bill was read a first time.

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THE FINANCIAL STATE OF THE NATION.

Mr. GREY prefaced a Motion for an Enquiry into the State of the National Finances, with an admirable Speech, which took him two hours to deliver. "We cannot pretend to give it literally as it was spoken; but in order to preserve something of its spirit, we take the liberty to give our account in the first person. Though much difference of opinion has prevailed in the House, and divided men's minds on the justice of the principle on which the War was undertaken, and on the manner in which it has been conducted, I think there is one point in which we all agree, that the present situation of the country is of high importance; that it is big with consequences which it is impossible for the wisest to foresee, but the prospect of which, even to the most sanguine, cannot impart much satisfaction. We are arrived at a crisis which must lead either to life or death, and next to him, on whom the issues of life and death depend, the care, the vigilance, and integrity, or the remissness, neglect, and corruption of those whom the People have chosen as the Guardians of their Liberties, and the Stewards of their Fortune, will tend to decide the fate of the Country. I now call upon the Representatives of the People to discharge a duty which they cannot safely commit to another, to institute an Enquiry into the State of the Nation. The task is of a nature, which, I am conscious, my poor abilities are unequal to execute. But besides this, there are discouragements, which, if the cause I have undertaken, did not approve itself to my mind as of the utmost magnitude and importance, might serve to damp my zeal. The fate of former Nations of a similar nature, and the thin attendance of the House on the present occasion (a melancholy proof that Members of Parliament do not consider the State of the Nation as an object of sufficient moment to make them leave their dinners) are to me no flattering indications of success. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, however, I have determined to proceed, in the consciousness that I am doing my duty; if not in the hope that my exertions will produce all that effect which I could desire.—Last year, an Honourable Friend of mine (Mr. Fox) proposed an enquiry into the State of the Nation. He was induced to submit the proposition to the House, by a sense of dangers impending on the Country at the time. Since that period, these dangers have multiplied both in number and extent. But certainly it would be vain for me to expect what his superior talents were unable to obtain.—He took a general and comprehensive view of the situation of the country, which he was well qualified to do. He investigated the origin, and surveyed the conduct of the War. He discussed both our domestic situation and our Foreign Alliances; and upon a broad and general statement, which, on a proposition of such a nature, from such a person, might be expected, he moved for a Committee of Enquiry. At present I mean to take a more humble and more confined line of reasoning, and one more suited to my abilities. If a Committee shall be appointed in the course of the Enquiry, a more enlarged view of our situation will open to our prospect, and present an opportunity of considering the failures of the War, the causes in which they have originated, and particularly the disasters which have attended the late West-India Expedition—into the circumstances of which an Honourable Friend of mine, Mr. Sheridan (whom I am sorry not to see in his place) has given notice of a Motion for an Enquiry, a Motion which I hope he will not forget to bring forward. The House of Commons are in a peculiar manner the Guardians of the Public Purse, and sustaining this constitutional character, it is a duty immediately incumbent on them to attend to the resources of the country. It will be admitted, that whatever may be the causes of the conjuncture, that the country is in a situation highly important; Another admission to which I think myself entitled, is, that whether we persevere in the War, or conclude a Peace, when we consider the growing burthens of the people it is a duty, to which their Representatives are called, to put the national resources in the best possible situation. If the war is continued, it is absolutely impossible that we can go on, year after year, in the

sometimes or late been taught to entertain, be realized, it is surely desirable to put ourselves in the best possible posture of defence. And neither economy in war nor security in peace, can be so well attained as by an accurate acquaintance with our real situation. When peace shall be concluded, I hope it will be upon grounds which may be calculated to inspire as few jealousies in future as possible; but as long as imperfection adheres to man, and as long as passion continues, more or less, to influence the Administration of Government, such jealousies must sometimes exist. If the Government of France (which I have no difficulty in saying I will maintain is a Republican form) be finally settled on a permanent foundation, it will naturally become an object for that country to protect its most vulnerable part by increasing the strength of its Marine.—There is a Power also in the North of Europe, who from her conduct in the present War, leaves us little doubt of her intentions, and against whose operations we ought to be formidably prepared. But, without any extended survey of the general policy of Europe, it is easy to perceive the necessity of maintaining our Maritime superiority, and this can only be done by paying a proper degree of attention to our Financial resources. Having said this much generally, I shall proceed to the more immediate object of my Motion. This is now the fourth year of the War, and the expenses which we have incurred in the last three years may be pretty accurately ascertained. From the accounts which have been laid before the House, it appears that we have already added seventy-seven millions, to the capital of the National Debt. In order to provide for the interest of this sum, new taxes must be imposed, to the amount of 2,600,000l. Now, when we consider this clear and indisputable fact, that the debt contracted in the present War is more than the aggregate sum of the National Debt, previous to the year 1756; this very fact affords, in my opinion, an argument sufficiently powerful to induce the House to institute an Enquiry into the state of the Country, and particularly into the manner in which this debt has been contracted. Here, however, I must claim some allowance to myself. Till lately I was not much acquainted with the subject of Finance, and even with all the attention which I have been able to bestow, perhaps my statements may not, in every instance, be perfectly correct. I hope however I am justifiable in claiming some allowance from the House, when I assure them, that it will give me much satisfaction, if the disagreeable conclusions which I have been led to draw from some of those statements, can be corrected by any explanation; and when I assure them that I shall not wilfully misstate any circumstance, and that in matters of duty I shall always lean to the favourable side.

If my general statement of the amount of the debt contracted in the course of the last three years be accurate, the expenses have certainly been much greater than they ever were at any former period of equal length, or in the execution of any service of a similar nature. But here I must premise a few observations upon the War. It has been said, that in point of extent, it cannot be compared with any former War in which the Country was every engaged. Certainly, however, the extent of the present War is much exaggerated, when the proportion of expense incurred is justified by the extent of the services performed. When we compare the present War, in its principles, or in its conduct, with former Wars, there is nothing in either which will not find a rival in the history of past times. Let us look back to King William's War, when we were contending for the same objects for which we now profess to struggle, our Constitution, and the security of our Religion. We have no greater cause now than we had then, nor can we have any stronger incentive to exertion than those which danger threatening our lives presents. Compare it with the American War. Now we are engaged with a great and powerful Confederacy against a single foe, who has been represented as debilitated, exhausted, and ruined. Then we had a strong army to support, against a revolt in our Colonies, which we were obliged (not obliged, perhaps, for I certainly did not think we were under any obligation,) but which the Executive Government at that time thought proper to attempt to quell. Then also it was our fortune to contend, both in the East and West Indies, against three of the greatest Maritime Powers in Europe at the time. But though the pressure on this Country was then infinitely greater than it is now, the expense of the contest was much less extravagant. And here I must request that the House will remark, what is the War with which I am comparing it. It is the American War, a War which was branded at the time, with every epithet of abuse which could be affixed upon its conductors for the extravagance and profusion with which it was marked. At the end of this War, of recorded extravagance and acknowledged profusion, the debt contracted was fifty-three millions. At the end of the third year of this War, the increase of debt amounts to seventy-seven millions, which is fourteen millions more in one-half of the time. I shall be told, perhaps, that great expense does not always imply criminality. I allow the observation to be just, but does not

War, down to December 1795. In the course of the last three years, there has been voted on Estimate for the Navy 15,200,000l. For the Army there has been voted on Estimate 17,600,000l. and for the Ordnance there has been voted on Estimate, in the same period, 2,600,000l. making for the three Services, a sum of 35,500,000l. a sum infinitely greater than ever was voted for the same Services, in any former time of equal length. But while the House was answering all the demands which the Minister could make, when their liberality was found sufficient to satisfy the most extravagant wishes he ever ventured to express, they cannot be but astonished when they come to see the magnitude of the expense which has been incurred without the authority of Parliament, and for which no Legislative provision has been made. And here I would beg leave to call the attention of the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to a principle which he professed in 1782, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which was publicly and formally avowed that year in His Majesty's speech from the Throne. His Majesty, speaking of the National Debt in this Speech, says, "Notwithstanding the great increase of it during the War, it is to be hoped that such regulations may be still established, such Savings made, and future Loans so conducted, as to promote the means of its gradual redemption by a fixed course of payment. I must, with particular earnestness, distinguish for your serious consideration that part of the Debt which consists of Navy, Ordnance, and Victualling Bills. The enormous discount on some of these Bills, shews this mode of payment to be a most ruinous expedient. I have ordered the several Estimates, made up as correctly as the present practice would admit, to be laid before you. I hope that such further corrections as may be necessary, will be made, before the next year. It is my desire that you should be apprized of every expense before it is incurred, as far as the nature of each service can possibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public." This was the opinion which the Right Hon. Gentleman entertained upon the subject as far back as 1782; and this opinion he again recognized in opening the Budget of 1793. He then stated, that he had made ample provision for a long and extended scale of operation, and that it was his wish, in a particular manner, to keep down the Unfunded, and especially the Navy Debt.—Coming forward with this profession, he obtained from Parliament Grants very uncommonly liberal, and with these Grants he has now found that he has incurred a greater additional expense than ever was incurred in any former year: and the Navy Debt, which it was his professed object to reduce, now amounts to 10,783,000l. In addition to this, I shall take the liberty to add another circumstance, within a month after the Budget was opened, no less than 1,546,000l. was employed to discharge the Arrears of last year, which, with the Navy Debt, makes above 12,000,000 a year, to that the House are reduced to this situation, that after voting 17,000,000 for the service of the year, they find that there remains a debt of no less than thirteen millions. Much has been said of our Naval exertions, and I am sure no man is more proud of our Superiority by Sea than I am. But when we compare the expense with the service performed, and the comparative strength of the enemy at the present moment, the gains that we have placed in the hands of Ministers, appear to be very inadequate to the use they have made of them. It is certainly a matter of much satisfaction, that whenever we have fairly met the enemy on the sea—that the valour of British seamen has never been more signally displayed. But though our prowess has been abundantly conspicuous, when there was opportunity for exertion in the general application of our maritime strength, there has been a very considerable failure of attention. There never was a War in which our Trade was worse protected, and though some improvement has taken place since a recent change was made in the Board of Admiralty, the merchants have still some ground for complaint. Our expense however has increased with our losses. In no year before 1780, was there above one Million voted for the discharge of the Navy debt. This was during the American war; but in the present war, we have voted Fifteen Millions, and spent Thirteen Millions, without estimate. The Army Expenses are not less striking than those of the Navy. Within the last three years there has been voted on Estimate for the Army seventeen millions; and the account of Extraordinary amounts to 9,030,000l. The present has not only been a much larger Estimate than ever was offered at any former period, but in addition to the Estimate, there have been Votes of Credit, the fruits of which are applicable to the Service of the Army, which were never given before.—Of the application of these Votes of Credit, there is no particular account; but they appear placed generally to the account of the Paymaster-General of the Forces. They amount, however, to 2,478,000l. which makes the expenditure exceed the estimate by 24,300,000l. This, one would think, might strike Gentlemen as peculiarly strange and unconstitutional; as it is an expense over which



Parliament has no controul; an expence which is not provided for till after it is incurred; and an expence which the House must defray. Is this my opinion alone? No, it is sanctioned by the best Political Writers, and by the Resolutions of the House of Commons itself. [Here Mr. Grey read a passage from an Author, whose name he did not mention, and quoted one of the Resolutions of a Committee of the House in 1782 upon the subject, in both of which extraordinary expences were severely reprobated.] But that it may not rest on bare assertion alone, let us go back to a period still more remote than the American War, and compare our present expenditure with what it was in former times. I am ready to admit, that, considering the increased expence of every thing, it is impossible to carry on a War now as economically as at a distant period. But this admission must be received with some grains of qualification. In every comparison, however contrasted, there must be something like proportion, and some attention also must be paid to the rise of the articles which enter into the departments of expence, of which the estimate is made. The Extraordinaries of the Army in King William's nine years War, did not exceed a million. In the eleven years War, in the Reign of Queen Anne, they did not exceed two millions: so that during the twenty years War, in the Reign of King William and Queen Anne, the Extraordinaries of the Army did not amount to more than one half of the Extraordinaries of the present year. In King William's time there were no complaints of extravagance? Were there no complaints against the Duke of Marlborough for his prodigal expenditure both of men and money? But the expence at that time was not incurred for nought. It was a War of Victories. The Victory of Ramilies and Blenheim were gained, and Gibraltar was captured. Last year no Victory crowned our exertions; we had not a single advantage to compensate for our loss of treasure. We had no where 5000 men in action. When these circumstances are considered, I would be glad to know if there is any proportion between the increase of our exertions, and the increase of our expences; or if there be not the disproportion of forty to one between the necessary expences of the present, and the expences of past wars? In some things the expence now is no more than it was then. An officer at present is not allowed more equipage money than he was allowed in the time of Queen Anne. We heard sometimes, however, that a number of different expences were thrust in among the Extraordinaries of the Army, which do not fitly comend that description. Of this it is only necessary to say, that it is a gross abuse, and an imposition attempted to be practised upon the Public. But leaving those times, when great men performed great exploits, with small means—times, the review of which are calculated to inspire contempt of present men and present measures, let us come down to a more extravagant period, and compare extravagance with extravagance. I know of no period in the History of the Country with which the present might be supposed to derive more advantage from a comparison than that in which we were engaged in a War with France in 1778, 1779, and 1780, and the expence even of this War will be found extremely moderate, when compared with the present expence. In 1778, three millions (we state it in round numbers) was voted on Estimate for the Army—in 1779, four millions were voted—and in 1780, four millions were voted for the same Service. In 1778, the Extraordinaries of the Army amounted to one million—in 1779, they were one million—and in 1780, they were two millions, making in all five millions. The Extraordinaries of the Army in the present War, have already amounted to nine Millions, besides Votes of Credit to the amount of five Millions more, exceeding the Votes of Credit at that time (which altogether only made 2,700,000.) by almost one half. I will appeal to the judgment and integrity of the House, if such a difference, between present and past expences, and between the actual expence and estimate provided for, be not a fit object of Enquiry. The reason for an Enquiry, becomes still more pressing, when we compare what has been done now, with what was done then. In that War we had to support an Army of 40,000 men in America; we had a large Army in the West Indies; and we had a gallant Army, whose Services will never be forgotten, defending themselves in Gibraltar, against the combined efforts of France and Spain. In the course of last year, where had you an Army? What single advantage did you gain? You had indeed an Army of 2000 men, buffeted about from one German Principality to another; from the Electorate of Hesse Cassel to Hanover, and from Hanover to Bremen, till at last they were forced to embark for England. You planned a ridiculous expedition to Quiberon, and another, as ridiculous, to Isle Dieu. You had an Army in the West Indies indeed; but how were they employed? Not in making conquests; but in hard struggles to

demned by Parliament, a practice which has been reprobated in a Speech of His Majesty from the Throne, and a practice which the Chancellor of the Exchequer solemnly pledged himself to the House, not to give into. Having thus gone through the detail, let us take the different sums together, and put them in one point of view. For the joint Services, there have been voted on Estimate, Thirty-five Millions, the whole amount of the Debt contracted; beyond the Estimate is Thirty-one Millions. All this money has been spent in three years, and the only fruit of it has been defeat, discomfiture, and disgrace. For a British House of Commons to let such a statement pass without a serious enquiry into its truth, is neither more or less than to rob and plunder the Nation. Perhaps the Honourable Gentleman may remind us of some successes in a certain quarter of the world which have been obtained in the course of the War. In this I am certainly very nearly interested, and it would become any man rather than me to speak of them. There certainly was a short period of success in the West Indies; but what has since happened in that part of the world, fully justifies me in not exempting it from having contributed its share to complete the picture of general disgrace. Were I to leave the subject here, I certainly might challenge an Enquiry upon the grounds I have already taken. But it does not stop here. We not only find an extravagance of expenditure in the Public Accounts, but we find the money applied to purposes the most unconstitutional in themselves, and the most dangerous to the State.—Who is not astonished, for instance, at the incredible sum which has been expended in the erection of Barracks?—When the system was first undertaken it struck me as being a very unconstitutional proceeding, and as a gross infringement upon the rights of the House. Upon the score of unconstitutionality however, I had little hopes of the interference of the House, for from what I have had occasion to observe, they have seldom displayed any great anxiety to prevent the encroachments of the crown. But nothing could exceed my surprise, when I found in the accounts of the Army Extraordinaries the expence of erecting permanent barracks since the year 1790, stated at the enormous sum of 1,000,000. and in addition to this a purpose avowed of laying out 200,000. more for the same object. That this should have been done without the consent and authority of Parliament, and merely at the discretion of a Minister, appears to me the grossest insult that ever was offered to the House of Commons. What fort of army are we to have? I have been told that the barracks already erected are calculated to accommodate 40,000 men, whereas the usual peace establishment used to be only 18,000 men. In the system of erecting Barracks not only the expence, but the influence created by them is an object for the consideration of the House. Barrack-masters have been appointed in great numbers; with large salaries; and contracts have been entered into all over the Kingdom, so that the salaries and places, to which they have given rise, will amount to half the reductions of Mr. Burke's Reform Bill. There is also a curious circumstance in the accounts. Some of the Barrack-masters are stated as *adjudging*. Pray, what are the others doing? Perhaps they are preparing for a General Election. A very odd circumstance has happened to come to my knowledge, respecting a Barrack-master, at Lincoln. An intention was formed of building Barracks at Lincoln, the ground was never so much as marked out however, and at last the intention was relinquished. As soon, however, as it was first thought of, it was absolutely necessary to have a Barrack-master. Accordingly they appointed a person of the name of Parsons, a Dancing-master or Saddler, to the situation. He enjoyed a salary of 200. for two years, and then they gave him a compensation when they found it necessary to deprive him of it, for having enjoyed it. But is this extravagance confined to the land service? Does not the naval department afford many instances of a similar nature? During the American War there was a Navy Commission. The business however, has been found too arduous for the Commission, and a Deputy Comptroller has been appointed. The management of the Transport service also was considered as imposing too much duty on the Commissioners to the Navy, and accordingly a Transport board with five Commissioners, with salaries of 1000. each, has been appointed; and this too in the modern stile of conducting the public business without the consent or authority of Parliament. But why do I mention this? Because the debt incurred by this branch of service alone amounts to 2,500,000. a sum which under Lord North's administration, was thought an extravagant estimate for building seventy ships of the line. And how is the service managed by this new Board and these new Commissioners? Admiral Christian was detained in port for the want of the ordnance transports, till the season for sailing passed by, the wind changed, and all the disasters which afterwards befel his

contriving to repeal an existing Statute, which tended to obstruct his unconstitutional measures. I have great objections to Votes of Credit; on two general grounds; they lead to concealment on the nature of the expence, and they put it out of the power of Parliament to judge of the merit of the service to which the expence is applied, till after it is incurred. In the present Session, he pressed the Vote of Credit Bill through the House, in such a way as evidently it proved, that its operations were to be retrospective, contrary to the express intention with which it was voted. We have upon the Table an account of the money advanced by the Bank for the Public Service. Parliament, in various instances, has sanctioned the practice. But the Bank of England is a resource of which Parliament ought to be extremely jealous, and which no good Minister would wish to trifle with.—The Bank has made greater advances during the present War, than at any former period; a circumstance which has contributed not a little to distress the Commercial World, by putting it out of its own power to grant its usual accommodations to the Merchants.—In December, 1795, the money advanced and outstanding by the Bank, amounted to eleven millions; and what was very remarkable, it appears by the accounts that they were in advance on two votes of credit at the same time. Neither has the mode on which this money has been procured been the most honourable; by means of Treasury Bills of Exchange, a mode which is a direct infringement of the Act of William and Mary, respecting the Bank. This Act, by a clause surreptitiously introduced into the Bill, and which the Secretary to the Treasury, without any proper notice to the House muttered in a sort of running Bass, has been artfully repealed. I say artfully, for he never stated that the act had been violated, and that the Bank was subject to the penalty of the law. But the more abundant the supplies granted by Parliament, the greater seem to be our deficiencies. Last year, a loan of unusual magnitude was voted. In the month of September the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered into a negotiation, which in any mercantile house would have been considered as an Act of Bankruptcy. In the month of October he was obliged to meet Parliament for a new loan; and in the month of February following a vote of credit is demanded to pay off part of arrears. And after all 14,500,000 is left unprovided for at the end of the year. There is another subject on which I wish to say a few words. When Parliament votes sums for any particular purpose, does it, or does it not mean that these sums shall be applied to the purposes for which they are voted? And when they are differently applied, will they, or will they not, consider misapplication as matter for serious animadversion? If they do, then I bring something like a serious charge, when I assert that the Disposition Paper cannot be depended on. By the Appropriation Act, it is enacted that the money for the clothing of the Army shall be applied half-yearly. In this Paper, it is stated as having been regularly disposed of according to Act of Parliament; whereas I know that no money has been issued for this purpose since Midsummer 1794. What is also very strange, there is not one of their agents to whom Government is not in debt, and one, I am told, draws no less than 800,000. interest for his arrears. The money voted for the Staff also has not been applied to the purpose for which it was voted. With these facts before me, I ask, as a Member of Parliament of a British House of Commons, have I, or have I not, submitted a grave and serious charge, a charge into the grounds of which it is well worth their while to enquire? What will be our situation if we arrive at a Peace? What will be the probable expence of a Peace Establishment?—The Committee appointed to enquire into the National Resources in the year 1786, reported, that they estimated that the Peace Establishment in 1790, might be 15,000,000. per annum, including the annual million. In 1791, another Committee was appointed, who enlarged the estimate to 15,900,000. always including the annual million. I must confess I am rather inclined to form my opinion upon the actual expence, than on any fanciful theory which a Committee might form. I would take therefore, the average expence of the five years preceding 1790, which in 1788 was 16,700,000. to which, if you add the interest due upon the capital of Debt, contracted since the commencement of the War, amounting to 2,600,000. one million for interest of Unfunded Debt, and some allowance for an increased Half Pay List, and the expence of Barracks, together with the additional 200,000. which I suppose, will be continued to be appropriated to the Liquidation of the National Debt, I cannot estimate the probable Peace Establishment at less than Twenty-two Millions. Now I would beg leave to call your attention, to the mode in which they mean to provide for this Debt. The net produce of the permanent Taxes, is now precisely 15,735,876. which, together with the Land and Salt, effi-

House who have manifested, on trying occasions, a noble and manly spirit of Independence.—If there is any Gentleman more than another, whose fortune is such as might be expected to beget such a spirit, it is the Honourable Baronet (Sir W. Pultney) who spoke the other night, and who expressed his surprise, approaching almost to that which he would have felt at a miracle, at the accuracy of the Public Estimates. When I inform that Honourable Baronet that the expences had been just about double the amount of the Estimates, I hope the information will correct his views, and that he will come forward in a manly way, this night, to support a motion for an enquiry.—I hope also, that the Country Gentlemen, seriously convinced of the alarming crisis to which we are hastening, and actuated by a just regard for their own property, as well as for the National interest, will free themselves from the influence of that loadstone which is imperceptibly drawing them into the gulph of ruin. The present extravagance of Government is a Monster, which if you do not destroy, it will soon destroy you. It is a Monster which must be destroyed early; for if you once give way, not all the Herculean strength of the Country will be able to vanquish it. Mr. Grey concluded with moving for a Committee of the whole House to enquire into the State of the Nation.

Sir WILLIAM PULTNEY spoke a few words in explanation to the Honourable Gentleman's allusion to him, by referring to the words he had used in a former debate.

Mr. JENKINSON said, that he would freely admit that the Honourable Gentleman's sentiments, who made the Motion, were strictly consonant to his own with respect to his assertion, that Parliament should watch with a jealous eye the Purse of the Nation. Its power over the public Treasure no person could deny; and while the House exercised its inquisitorial functions in this particular, there were two objects which never should be forgot, and these were Confidence and jealousy. But while the House should act with jealousy on such occasions, it was equally its duty to grant that fair and candid confidence to Ministers, which, in their arduous situation, was necessary to give effect to their operations.—There was one principle laid down by the Honourable Gentleman, that the resources, and the application of the Finances of the Country, demanded investigation; and another, that on such occasions it was the duty of Parliament to institute an enquiry. Now he insisted, the last proposition of the Hon. Gentleman would, in its principle, be defeated, if on light or trivial grounds, the House should withdraw its confidence from Ministers, and proceed to enquire into the State of the Nation. In the present State of the Country, there were many obvious objections, why the Committee moved for should not be granted; without the Hon. Gentleman had shown strong sufficient, and satisfactory grounds to enforce the necessity of the measure. In speaking on this question, he claimed the same indulgence that the Hon. Gentleman did, with respect to the Financial statements to which he would have occasion to recur. As to the question of expence, that taken by itself was no ground of enquiry; for the expences of the War must have increased in proportion as every article necessary to carry on the War had increased in price and value. The expences of Government were large, because necessity required that the War should be conducted on the broadest scale; and in proportion to the magnitude of the service must be the expences incurred. The next question that occurred was, the enemy with which we had had to contend; an enemy that sacrificed the whole Commerce of the Country, and spent five thirds of its specie to carry on the War; and it was a self evident proposition, that in proportion to the expence the enemy incurred, must have been the preparations made by Great Britain to meet its exertions. If the War was just and necessary, and that it was, he would ever avow, for Parliament had sanctioned the measure as absolutely necessary to the existence of the country, then he did not see why the expence of the War, which was also sanctioned by Parliament, should be sufficient ground for instituting the enquiry called for by the Hon. Gentleman. The American War had been mentioned in his speech, in a comparative point of view with the present War, to prove an improvident expenditure of the public money; but taking the average of the four last years of that War, compared with the present, it would be found that the Hon. Gentleman's statements in this particular were erroneous. He insisted that without taking into the account the depreciation of Assignats, that the expences of France were more, by several Millions, than ours, including our subsidizing of Foreign Powers. The four last years of the American war the money borrowed amounted to 44,500,000. the Unfunded debt was 20,000,000. amounting together to a sum of 64,500,000. now estimating the expences of the present war at 51,000,000; there was a balance in favour of his argument, of 13,500,000. At the winding up of the

of the same three years of peace, amounted to 19,236,000. and the average on the three last years of the present war, exceeded the total of peace near One Million and an Half. From those statements the House would perceive that the Commerce and Revenues of the Country, under the pressure and burden of War, were in a state more flourishing than ever remembered even during the time of profound peace. The next topic which naturally occurred was that of the mode which his Right Hon. Friend had taken, to borrow money to defray the necessary expences of conducting the present just and necessary War; and here certainly it was natural to expect, that in proportion to the magnitude of the sums borrowed, that the interest must increase, and yet even in this particular, the money was borrowed, this War, at an advantage of one and a half per cent. in favour of the Country, when compared to the Loans made during the American War. At the conclusion of every preceding War there was an immense unfunded debt left; in the present instance there will be less when Peace arrives than at any former period, in consequence of the salutary plan adopted by His Honourable Friend in funding Exchequer Bills. In pursuing this system it must be grateful to the House to hear, that his plan for liquidating the National Debt was still further improved. The Hon. Member adverted to former times as a reason why the House should agree to his Motion for a Committee of Enquiry; but he did not give the Chancellor of the Exchequer credit for the plan he pursued, for appropriating the annual million towards the sinking fund. The National Debt did not commence till a year before the Revolution; had the plan been adopted then for paying off the Debt, which his Right Honourable Friend had introduced, the National Debt would be now extinct. This War he must ever look at, as one that preserved the Liberty of the individual, the Constitution, and the very existence of the Country; and the plan of paying off the National Debt produced a saving to the nation sufficient to pay off the interest of the debt incurred in the prosecution of this just and necessary War. Considering the present contest as such, posterity could not, in justice, exclaim against the burdens which they would have to defray; for the prosecution of the War was not more for the purpose of preserving ourselves, than for handing down, to future generations, our Constitution unimpaired, and our Liberties inviolate. Besides, when we took into the account, the funded system, as adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would certainly leave a balance in their favour, however great the expences may be of the present War. It was certainly the duty of the House not to leave a Debt that would press severely on posterity; but it should be considered, that while Parliament was laying heavy burdens on future generations, that it was, on the other hand, redeeming a Debt; which altered the case materially. The next question which occurred was, how far the expences; and on this ground he insisted that, by every fair argument, they were defensible. Let Gentlemen look to the number of men this Country has brought into the field, and the number of ships put into Commission, and the charge of improvidence against Government, when comparing the present with the American War, and such charge must vanish. During the last war there were 314 ships in commission, at present there are 308, and the latter in size considerably larger. Taking into the account the number of foreign and other Troops, which amount to no less than 217,206, a greater number than was engaged in any former war,—the advanced increase in every article necessary to carry on the war—the expence of Transports, &c. and the House must agree that the charge of extravagance was totally unfounded. We had a much larger force employed than on any former occasion, and it partook, from the nature of the contest, as much of a Continental as a Maritime War; our Naval exertions were greater than ever before experienced, and the subsidizing Foreign Powers was found policy, as the War by land certainly diverted the attention of the French from their Marine. In consequence of the pressure on the Enemy by land, it reduced France to that situation, that she was not able to pursue a Naval War for a period scarcely of two years, therefore a Land War was the best possible auxiliary for the object which we had in view. Much had been said last year on the subject of the Loan to the Emperor, but what was the consequence of that Loan? The consequence was obvious; it diverted the attention of the enemy from its Marine, and though it were never liquidated, this country was amply repaid in the crippled state of the French Navy. It was true there was a large unfunded debt, but he contended that this was provided for in the Ways and Means of the Year. If the War was only confined to one point, then it was practicable to present clear and satisfactory estimates, but as we were never engaged in a War which was carried on in so many different

have nothing to do with the internal Government of France, and had shifted their grounds to the general objects of the war; if this were the case, certainly those objects, were attained, for look at the situation of France and who would not say, that her Navy never suffered so much in any preceding war, and that the Navy of this Country never appeared more formidable in point of number, or more glorious with respect to its achievements. He next defied the House to contemplate our acquisitions in the East-Indies, the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and Corfica, the taking of the most important fortresses in Martinique; which Marshal Bouille, pronounced the key of the West India Islands. He next took a view of the expences incurred for secret service; these were many in the reign of George the first, and the succeeding reign, which he pronounced much more extravagant than any that since occurred, and concluded by hoping the House would not agree to the motion, as there were not sufficient grounds stated to shew the necessity of instituting a Committee of Enquiry.

Mr. CURWEN said there was no man in that House, who had a greater deference to French principles than he had; but he was firmly persuaded, that the conduct and extravagance of Ministers were calculated ultimately to introduce the very principles in this Country, which they were the object of the War to prevent. He was surprised to hear the arguments urged by the Hon. Speaker, that because France had declared herself by the War, that we were justified in following her example. This, in his opinion, did not bear on the question in debate. The question was, whether the enormous extravagance of Ministers, and their total failure, to almost every expedition they had undertaken, called for a Committee of enquiry to be instituted or not? It was the duty of the Members of that House to watch, with a jealous eye, the expenditure of Public Money; and how could they, he asked, return to the country, and say that they had voted away large sums, and declined examining how far the expences were justified or not. What had been said of the American War was a fact—the expences were certainly extravagant and enormous, and the House found it necessary, on the occasion, to institute a Committee of Enquiry. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and His Majesty's Ministers had nothing to fear, why object to a Committee? If their conduct could bear examination, they should call for an Enquiry, as it would operate to encrease the Confidence of the People.—During the American War there were from forty to fifty thousand men employed beyond the Atlantic; but we have had not more than two thousand latterly serving on the Continent.—Nothing could be more preposterous than the conduct of Government, who, if it acted wisely, could have made Peace when the Enemy were driven out of Holland. He reprobated the system of Barracks, and said the Estimates had not been fairly laid before Parliament, who seemed careless on this important topic, though they refused to give a million for the erection of Fortifications. If the House did not interpose and stop short, the Public would not be able to bear their burthens, and then they would be driven to acts, which, without having any attachment to French Principles, would induce them to proceed to such extremities as must render it impossible to foresee the consequences.

Mr. MONTAGUE was of opinion that the present was rather a delicate subject; but nothing he heard advanced could induce him to vote for the Motion of his Hon. Friend. He justified Ministers as to the expences they incurred;—it was true, he observed, that they were great and enormous—the establishment was gigantic, but this was necessary, to bring all their force and foreign Powers into action, as the best means to prevent the protration of the War, and to accelerate a speedy and honorable Peace.

Sir GREGRORY PAGE TURNER was averse to a Committee of Enquiry, and conceived that much danger would ensue from Gentlemen at the opposite side of the House bringing forward, day after day, their foolish Motions. What good, he asked, could arise from exposing the Finances of the Country; and what man would go about the Town, in his senses, crying Rinking fish? The Stocks, he remarked, were twelve per cent. higher now than they were during the American War.

Mr. STEELE said, the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, had entered into a variety of statements, and was certainly entitled to every explanation on the subject. It was certainly true that very large sums had been obtained, but these were not without the approbation of Parliament. The sum, he contended, with respect to the Navy Debt, for the last three years, was not equal to the whole of what the Honourable Member advanced. He had stated it at 15,000,000. but the sum did not amount to more than 13,000,000. The sum voted for the Service of the Navy was four pounds per man, in time of Peace; but even at such a period, it is not equal to the Service. In War time, it is much less so, for the victualling, naval

amount, 700,000. would be saved from the grants of 1793 and 1794, for the general saving, which will reduce the Extraordinaries to 8,300,000. Taking this as the sum, it will be found to be less than what was incurred for the last three years of the American War.—He felt that there was in the Army Extraordinaries a great number of articles combined, which from their nature it was impossible to bring forward in any other way. In the year 1783, the Committee on the State of the Nation made a report in very strong language, but that was not followed with any act, as it was found, that in case of War, Ministers must be entrusted with a certain latitude for the benefit of the service. He insisted that what had been asserted with respect to his Right Hon. Friend's departure from the Appropriation Act, was nothing more than what has been before done by his predecessors. He did nothing but what had been done from the years 1782 and 1783, and for half a century before. It appears from the accounts that the sum borrowed from Grants amount to 2,600,000. The money granted to repay that sum will be to be paid over to the Army for 1795, which will pay off all arrears of the Army to December, 1795. It had been asserted that the Staff remained unpaid, but he affirmed that it was paid down to 1794.—It was true some arrears may be due to Officers abroad, but this often arose from their receiving money from their Commissaries, and the delay was generally owing to their Agents, and the necessary enquiries to be made with respect to the transaction. There was one debt, he believed, due since the year 1783, of 900,000. to the Gentlemen; but for that, and every other arrear, a provision had been already made. There was an unfunded debt remained on account of the Vote of Credit, and if it was considered as one common purse with other public monies, he did not conceive how the Public could suffer by applying it to the payment of a sum antecedently incurred. The Ordinance and Navy Debts may have exceeded the estimates of former Wars, but when it was considered that a greater number of ships than ever before remembered were now in Commission, the exceedings in the Navy could not be a matter of surprise, but rather a circumstance of great consolation to the Country. But for these, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made fair and ample provision, to the amount of eleven millions. The next subject which occurred was the Barracks, which the Hon. Member stated were calculated to accommodate 40,000 men; here he believed he was in error. The sum of 430,000. which he stated to have been expended in their erection, was an expence incurred by them as well as temporary Barracks, during the time the Enemy over-run Holland, and when so much was apprehended, in the House, of an Invasion.—The feeling of Parliament on that occasion was in the remembrance of every Gentleman present, and the expences incurred, they must admit, were justifiable, as it would be a great oppression to quarter so large an army in country towns and villages. The whole of the expence was included in the estimate, and he was of opinion that 150,000. would complete the present Barracks erecting. He admitted that the Hon. Gentleman had attempted to make out a very strong case, and he affirms what should be stated by a Committee. On the contrary, observed Mr. Steele, I assert, in contradiction to his statements, that there is not a large Unfunded Debt provided for, and the House, on these grounds, will judge how far it is necessary to institute an Enquiry. He had this objection to make to the motion, it would lead the Public, if agreed to, to think that the situation of the Finances of the Country were in a desperate situation; and it was so far unnecessary, that the House, from the items already produced, could examine the merits of the subject in as clear a manner as if the enquiry was instituted. The prosperous situation of the Revenue, Mr. Steele maintained, was unexampled; for the average of the new Taxes for the last three years of War, exceeded their estimate; and the permanent Taxes, which always diminished in time of War, remained equally productive as in time of Peace: for these reasons he was against the Committee as unnecessary, and calculated to excite public alarm.

Mr. M. ROBINSON censured the waste of money expended on Barracks, which whether called temporary or permanent, will no doubt be made permanent. Loans he thought a most dangerous mode of corrupting individuals, and procuring support to the Government. The public money he thought had been expended in a very improper way on the Navy: instead of doing it a benefit, a system was begun which would occasion much neglect in the Naval Department.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer shewing no inclination to rise, there was a cry from the Treasury Bench for the Question, when

Mr. GREY rose to reply, and expressed himself nearly as follows:—Sir, the very full statement with which I prefaced my Motion, affords the House a sufficient security against my adding much in the way of Reply. Indeed, from the

but have been implicitly admitted and acknowledged to be true. As it is not my intention to introduce into my reply any matter extraneous to the question, the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) will excuse me, if, without meaning any personal incivility to him, I do not feel it all necessary to notice the greater part of his Speech. To the question which I immediately brought before the House, he did not say much that requires an answer. If I had argued the principle of the War, if I had insisted on the best mode of making a Loan, if I had gone farther, and stated any thing respecting the Austrian Loan, the reply which he gave, would then have been perfectly proper. But having studiously avoided all those points, in order to call the undivided attention of the House to a topic of the most serious importance, and solely to press, what I consider as the strong and urgent case which imperiously calls for enquiry—the fate of the existing Expence of the Country, I must confess, that the topics on which the Hon. Gentleman chose principally to enlarge, were not so entirely applicable. I can easily, however, perceive the circumstance from which he has been led into this mode of treating the Subject. When I gave notice of a Motion respecting the Finances of the Country, the Hon. Gentleman naturally supposed, that I would furnish myself with materials from an admirable Pamphlet lately published on that topic, and was, in consequence led to prepare an Answer to that Pamphlet. (Mr. Grey here alluded to the excellent Pamphlet of Mr. Morgan, published by Debrett, and of which a copious Analysis has appeared in this Paper.) It happened, however, though I confess myself greatly indebted for information to the profound and ingenious Author, that I did not much avail myself of the statements of that Pamphlet, nor follow the particular track of discussion, which he has there so ably prosecuted. The only thing like an answer to my statements, which he at all attempted, occurred in the early part of the Hon. Gentleman's Speech, in which he compared the expences of the four last years of the American War, to the expences of the present War. This he insisted to be the proper period of comparison.—By the bye he did not advert that in drawing the comparison from the four last years of the American War, he took too large a scale of time, as hitherto the present war has only lasted for three years. The proper period of comparison began with the year 1778. It was incredible with what rapidity the demands of succeeding years of the present War had been mounted up, and in how large a proportion they rose above one another. The amount of the supply in 1793, was 4,500,000. In the following years it rose to eight and eleven millions. The whole extra expence of the last years of the American War was some millions short of what had already been incurred in the present War. This fact the Hon. Gentleman was obliged to omit. He affected to treat it as a matter of trivial consequence, and to wonder that the expence of the present contest had not exceeded, in a larger proportion, that of the American War. I desire the House to attend to the nature of this defence. It is admitted as an incontrovertible fact, and considered as matter of surprise and congratulation, that the scale of expence in the present War is only in a certain proportion greater than that of the American War.—The American War, which had ever been held out as unexampled in point of extravagance and profusion, which had been recognized as such by the House, which had been generally and strongly reprobated in the Country, and which had been pointed out and forcibly arraigned by the Right Honourable Gentleman himself. If Ministers are contented to rest their conduct on such a defence, I freely leave them to enjoy all the satisfaction which they must derive from such a vindication. If such are the grounds on which they lay claim to merit, I envy them not that share of praise which must attach to their conduct. I leave to them the full credit of an economy, which more than serves for an apology for the most unbounded extravagance of former times. But, Oh! then we are told of our great exertions, of our unparalleled efforts in the present contest; of our immense means, and of our extended scale of operations. We are told also of the prodigious exertions, and enormous expenditure of the Enemy. We are told that they have exhausted no less than 240 millions in the present contest, as if the expenditure of the Enemy formed any criterion to regulate the expences of this Country. This mode of arguing proceeds from a total misconception of Gentlemen on the other side. They mistake extravagance for exertion, and profusion for activity. They estimate the importance of the service by the magnitude of the expence, and seem to think that they have sufficiently proved how much has been done, when they have shewn how much has been expended. Unfortunately this mode of argument, in the present instance, is not only entirely inapplicable, but the reverse of the conclusion, which, they would insinuate, is actually the case. For the enormous expence which has been incurred



in former times. I am ready to admit that, considering the increased expense of every thing, it is impossible to carry on a War now as economically as at a distant period. But this admission must be received with some grains of qualification. In every comparison, however contrasted, there must be something like proportion; and some attention also must be paid to the rise of the articles which enter into the departments of expence, of which the estimate is made. The Extraordinary of the Army in King William's nine years War, did not exceed a million. In the eleven years War, in the Reign of Queen Anne, they did not exceed two millions: so that during the twenty years War, in the Reign of King William and Queen Anne, the Extraordinary of the Army did not amount to more than one half of the Extraordinaries of the present year. In King William's time there were no complaints of extravagances? Were there no complaints against the Duke of Marlborough for his prodigal expenditure both of men and money? But the expence at that time was not incurred for nought. It was a War of Victories. The Victory of Ramilies and Blenheim were gained, and Gibraltar was captured. Last year no Victory crowned our exertions; we had not a single advantage to compensate for our loss of treasure. We had no where 5000 men in action. When these circumstances are considered, I would be glad to know if there is any proportion between the increase of our exertions, and the increase of our expences; or if there be not the disproportion of forty to one between the necessary expences of the present, and the expences of past wars? In some things the expence now is not more than it was then. An officer at present is not allowed more money than he was allowed in the time of Queen Anne. We heard sometimes, however, that a number of different expences were thrust among the Extraordinaries of the Army, which it is not strictly comendable that description. Of this it is only necessary to say, that it is a gross abuse, and an imposition attempted to be practised upon the Public. But leaving those times, when great men performed great exploits, with small means—times, the review of which are calculated to inspire contempt of present men and present measures, let us come down to a more extravagant period, and compare extravagance with extravagance. I know of no period in the History of the Country with which the present might be supposed to derive more advantage from a comparison than that in which we were engaged in a War with France in 1778, 1779, and 1780; and the expence even of this War will be found extremely moderate when compared with the present expence. In 1778, three millions (we state it in round numbers) was voted on Estimate for the Army—in 1779, four millions were voted—and in 1780, four millions were voted for the same Service. In 1778, the Extraordinaries of the Army amounted to one million—in 1779, they were one million—and in 1780, they were two millions; making in all five millions. The Extraordinaries of the Army in the present War, have already amounted to nine Millions, besides Votes of Credit to the amount of five Millions more, exceeding the Votes of Credit at that time (which altogether only made 2,700,000.) by almost one half. I will appeal to the judgment and integrity of the House, if such a difference, between present and past expences, and between the actual expence and estimate provided for, be not a fit object of Enquiry. The reason for an Enquiry, becomes still more pressing, when we compare what has been done now, with what was done then. In that War we had to support an Army of 40,000 men in America; we had a large Army in the West Indies; and we had a gallant Army, whose Services will never be forgotten, defending themselves in Gibraltar, against the combined efforts of France and Spain. In the course of last year, where had you an Army? What single advantage did you gain? You had indeed an Army of 20,000 men, buffeted about from one German Principality to another; from the Electorate of Hesse Cassel to another; from Hanover to Bremen; still at last they were forced to embark for England. You planned a ridiculous expedition to Quiberon, and another, as ridiculous, to the West Indies indeed; but how were they employed? Not in making conquests; but in hard struggles to defend our own possessions. With such facts before us, if the House refuse to enter into an enquiry, they may at once waive their privilege, desert their duty, and surrender their controlling power over the public purse. So much for the Army: Now for the Ordnance, that branch of service, in which we have heard so much of economy, and of reduction of expence. For this head of service, 2,608,000. was voted on estimate; and it appears from the accounts, the Extraordinaries amount to 2,964,000., a sum actually exceeding the estimate, which was offered, and this too in a branch of service, the expences of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer promised to keep as low as possible. To this deficiency, the same observations which were made upon the Army and Navy, apply with equal propriety. It is a practice unconstitutional in itself, a practice which has been con-

sidered neither more or less than to rob and plunder the Nation. Perhaps the Honourable Gentleman may remind us of some successes in a certain quarter of the world, which have been obtained in the course of the War. In these I am certainly very nearly interested, and it would become any man rather than me to speak of them. There certainly was a short period of success in the West Indies, but what has since happened in that part of the world, fully justifies me in not exempting it from having contributed its share to complete the picture of general disgrace. Were I to leave the subject here, I certainly might challenge an Enquiry upon the grounds I have already taken. But it does not stop here. We not only find an extravagance of expenditure in the Public Accounts, but we find the money applied to purposes the most unconstitutional in themselves, and the most dangerous to the State.—Who is not astonished, for instance, at the incredible sum which has been expended in the erection of Barracks? When the system was first undertaken it struck me as being a very unconstitutional proceeding, and as a gross infringement upon the rights of the House. Upon the score of unconstitutionality however, I had little hopes of the interference of the House, for from what I have had occasion to observe, they have seldom displayed any great anxiety to prevent the encroachments of the crown. But nothing could exceed my surprise, when I found in the accounts of the Army Extraordinaries the expence of erecting permanent barracks since the year 1760, stated at the enormous sum of 1,000,000. and in addition to this a purpose avoided of laying out 200,000. more for the same object. That this should have been done without the consent and authority of Parliament, and merely at the discretion of a Minister, appears to me the grossest insult that ever was offered to the House of Commons. What sort of army are we to have? I have been told that the barracks already erected are calculated to accommodate 40,000 men, whereas the usual peace establishment used to be only 18,000 men. In the system of erecting Barracks not only the expence, but the influence created by them is an object for the consideration of the House. Barrack-masters have been appointed in great numbers, with large salaries; and contracts have been entered into all over the Kingdom, so that the salaries and places, to which they have given rise, will amount to half the reductions of Mr. Burke's Reform Bill. There is also a curious circumstance in the accounts. Some of the Barrack-masters are stated as *adling*. Pray, what are the others doing? Perhaps they are preparing for a General Election. A very odd circumstance has happened to come to my knowledge, respecting a Barrack-master, at Lincoln. An intention was formed of building Barracks at Lincoln, the ground was never so much as marked out however, and at last the intention was relinquished. As soon, however, as it was first thought of, it was absolutely necessary to have a Barrack-master. Accordingly they appointed a person of the name of Parsons, a Dancing-master or Saddler, to the situation: He enjoyed a salary of 200l. for two years, and then they gave him a compensation when they found it necessary to deprive him of it, for having enjoyed it. But is this extravagance confined to the land service? Does not the naval department afford many instances of a similar nature? During the American War there was a Navy Commission. The business however, has been found too arduous for the Commission, and a Deputy Comptroller has been appointed. The management of the Transport Service also was considered as imposing too much duty on the Commissioners to the Navy, and accordingly a Transport Board with five Commissioners, with salaries of 1000l. each, has been appointed; and this too in the modern stile of conducting the public business without the consent or authority of Parliament. But why do I mention this? Because the debt incurred by this branch of service alone amounts to 2,900,000. a sum which under Lord North's administration, was thought an extravagant estimate for building seventy ships of the line. And how is the service managed by this new Board and these new Commissioners? Admiral Christian was detained in port for the want of the ordnance transports, till the season for sailing passed by, the wind changed, and all the disasters which afterwards befel his fleet was the consequence. Now I hear the Ordnance Office wish to provide their own transports, they have been so ill supplied by this Transport Board. Having stated the immoderate expence of a three years War, I have now to add a few considerations on the mode which the Hon. Gentleman has adopted of raising money. One would have supposed, that a Minister, who has never been denied by Parliament any thing ever he demanded, who has only to ask in order to receive, who has had the whole management of the War exclusively to himself, and who has been furnished with the most liberal Grants for carrying it on, would never have had recourse to any unusual or unjustifiable means of raising money. But instead of this we find him moving for Votes of Credit, to defray the expences of past service; and by means of one of these Bills,

the conclusion of every preceding War there was an immense unfunded debt left; in the present instance there will be less when Peace arrives than at any former period, in consequence of the salutary plan adopted by His Honourable Friend in funding Exchequer Bills. In pursuing this system it must be grateful to the House to hear, that his plan for liquidating the National Debt was still pursued. The Hon. Member adverted to former times as a reason why the House should agree to his Motion for a Committee of Enquiry; but he did not give the Chancellor of the Exchequer any credit for the plan he pursued, for appropriating the annual million towards the sinking fund. The National Debt did not commence till a year before the Revolution; but the plan being adopted then for paying off the Debt, which his Right Honourable Friend had introduced, the National Debt would be now extinct. This War he must ever look at, as one that preserved the Liberty of the individual, the Constitution, and the very existence of the Country; and the plan of paying off the National Debt produced a saving to the nation sufficient to pay off the interest of the debt incurred in the prosecution of this just and necessary War. Considering the present contest as such, posterity could not, in justice, exclaim against the burdens which they would have to defray; for the prosecution of the War was not more for the purpose of preserving ourselves, than for handing down, to future generations, our Constitution unimpaired, and our Liberties inviolate. Besides, when we took into the account, the funded system, as adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would certainly leave a balance in their favour, however great the expences may be of the present War. It was certainly the duty of the House not to leave a Debt that would press severely on posterity; but it should be considered, that while Parliament was laying heavy burdens on future generations, that it was, on the other hand, redeeming a Debt which altered the safe materials. The next question which occurred was, how far the exertions of Ministers was proportioned to the expences; and on this ground he insisted that, by every fair argument, they were defensible. Let Gentlemen look to the number of men this Country has brought into the field, and the number of ships put into Commission, (and the charge of providence against Government, when comparing the present with the American War) and such charge must vanish. During the last war there were 314 ships in commission, at present there are, 268, and the latter in size considerably larger. Taking into the account the number of foreign and other Troops, which amount to no less than 217,206, a greater number than was engaged in any former war, the advanced increase in every article necessary to carry on the war—the expence of Transports, &c. and the House must agree that the charge of extravagance was totally unfounded. We had a much larger force employed than on any former occasion, and it partook from the nature of the contest, as much of a Continental as a Maritime War; our Naval exertions were greater than ever before experienced, and the Subsidizing Foreign Powers was found policy, as the War by land certainly diverted the attention of the French from their Marine. In consequence of the pressure on the Enemy by land, it reduced France from that situation, that she was not able to pursue a Naval War for a period scarcely of two years, therefore a Land War was the best possible auxiliary for the object which we had in view. Much had been said last year on the subject of the Loan to the Emperor, but what was the consequence of that Loan? The consequence was obvious; it diverted the attention of the enemy from its Marine, and though it were never liquidated, this country was amply repaid in the crippled state of the French Navy. It was true there was a large unfunded debt, but he contended that this was provided for in the Ways and Means of the Year. If the War was only confined to one point, then it was practicable to prefer clear and satisfactory estimates, but as we were never engaged in a War which was carried on in so many different quarters, it was impossible to present estimates more satisfactory than those presented to Parliament; and it was impossible, but much unforeseen expence must arise, of which the House could not immediately be apprized. The Hon. Member in his speech had adverted to the erection of Barracks, as if this was a subject to which Parliament was a stranger; but the accounts of the annual expence were, for the last five years, constantly laid on the Table. The system was certainly a new one, but it was approved as necessary to be carried into execution; it was a system which Parliament conceived as prudent and wise; it was a system proper to be carried to its utmost extent, and of course the House must be prepared to expect the estimates on which the Honourable Member had so much enlarged. Those who are against the War say, that Ministers should

have announced the key of the West India Islands, the next took a view of the expences incurred for secret service; these were many in the reign of George the first, and the succeeding reign, which he pronounced much more extravagant than any that since occurred, and concluded by hoping the House would not agree to the motion, as there were not sufficient grounds stated to shew the necessity of instituting a Committee of Enquiry. Mr. CURWEN said there was no man in that House, who had a greater detestation to French principles than he had; but he was firmly persuaded that the conduct and extravagance of Ministers were calculated ultimately to introduce the very principles in this Country, which they professed to be the object of the War to prevent. He was surprised to hear, the arguments urged by the last Hon. Speaker, that because France had declared herself by the War, that we were justified in following her example. This, in his opinion, did not bear on the question in debate. The question was, whether the enormous extravagance of Ministers, and their total failure, to almost every expedition they had undertaken, called for a Committee of enquiry to be instituted or not? It was the duty of the Members of that House to watch, with a jealous eye, the expenditure of Public Money; and how could they, he asked, return to the country, and say that they had voted away large sums, and declined examining how far the expences were justified or not. What had been said of the American War was a fact—the expences were certainly extravagant and enormous, and the House found it necessary, on the occasion, to institute a Committee of Enquiry. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and His Majesty's Ministers had nothing to fear, why object to a Committee? If their conduct could bear examination, they should call for an Enquiry, as it would operate to increase the Confidence of the People. During the American War there were from forty to fifty thousand men employed beyond the Atlantic; but we have had not more than two thousand laterally serving on the Continent. Nothing could be more preposterous than the conduct of Government, who, if it acted wisely, could have made Peace when the Enemy were driven out of Holland. He reprobated the system of Barracks, and said the Estimates had not been fairly laid before Parliament, who seemed careless on this important topic, though they refused to give a million for the erection of Fortifications. If the House did not feel able to bear the burthen, the Public would be driven to do so, which, without having any attachment to French Principles, would induce them to proceed to such extremities, as must render it impossible to foresee the consequences. Mr. MONTAGUE was of opinion that the present was rather a delicate subject; but nothing he heard advanced could induce him to vote for the Motion of his Hon. Friend. He justified Ministers as to the expences they incurred—it was true, he observed, that they were great and enormous—the establishment was gigantic; but this was necessary, to bring all their force and foreign Powers into action; as the best means to prevent the protrusion of the War, and to accelerate a speedy and honorable Peace. Sir GREGORY PAGE TURNER was averse to a Committee of Enquiry, and conceived that much danger would ensue from Gentlemen at the opposite side of the House bringing forward, day after day, their foolish Motions. What good, he asked, could arise from exposing the Finances of the Country; and what man would go about the Town, in his senses, crying 'Rinking fish?' The Stocks, he remarked, were twelve per cent. higher now than they were during the American War. Mr. STEEL said, the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, had entered into a variety of statements, and was certainly entitled to every explanation on the subject. It was certainly true that very large sums had been obtained, but these were not without the approbation of Parliament. The sum, he contended, with respect to the Navy Debt, for the last three years, was not equal to the whole of what the Honourable Member advanced. He had stated it at 1,500,000. but the sum did not amount to more than 1,200,000. The sum voted for the Service of the Navy was four pounds per man, in time of Peace; but even at such a period, it is not equal to the Service. In War time, it is much less for the victualling, naval stores, &c. which have considerably increased in price, are all to be provided for by this Vote of four pounds per man. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, he affirmed, had made ample provision, equal to the amount of the debt, which was thirteen millions. There was from this sum to be deducted a Saving of 1,500,000 pounds, which would leave the sum provided 1,500,000 pounds.—This he contended, was the true and fair state of the Navy Debt. As to the Army, the Hon. Member was not quite fair as to the excess, which he stated at 1,000,000. The Army Extraordinaries were 9,000,000. the Vote of Credit 5,000,000. which, added together, made a sum of 14,000,000. which Parliament had sanctioned. The Army Extraordinaries were encreased by Bills drawn from abroad, which, when repaid, will be deducted out of the total

with a certain latitude for the benefit of the service. He insisted that what had been asserted with respect to his Right Hon. Friend's departure from the Appropriation Act, was nothing more than what has been before done by his predecessors. He did nothing but what had been done from the years 1782 and 1783, and for half a century before. It appeared from the accounts that the sum borrowed from Grants amount to 2,600,000. The money granted to repay that sum will be to be paid over to the Army for 1795, which will pay off all arrears of the Army to December, 1795. It had been asserted that the Staff remained unpaid, but he affirmed that it was paid down to 1794.—It was true some arrears may be due to Officers abroad, but this often arose from their receiving money from their Commissaries, and the delay was generally owing to their Agents, and the necessary enquiries to be made with respect to the transaction. There was one debt, he believed, due since the year 1789, of 300l. to one Gentleman; but for that, and every other arrear a provision had been already made. There was an unfunded debt remained on account of the Vote of Credit, and if it was considered as one common purse with other public monies, he did not conceive how the Public could suffer by applying it to the payment of a sum antecedently incurred. The Ordnance and Navy Debts may have exceeded the estimates of former Wars, but when it was considered that a greater number of ships than ever before remembered were now in Commission, the exceedings in the Navy could not be a matter of surprise, but rather a circumstance of great consolation to the Country. But for these, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made fair and ample provision, to the amount of eleven millions. The next subject which occurred was the Barracks, which the Hon. Member stated were calculated to accommodate 40,000 men; here he believed he was in error. The sum of 430,000. which he stated to have been expended in their erection, was an expence incurred by them as well as temporary Barracks, during the time the Enemy were in Holland, and when so much was apprehended, in the House, of an Invasion. The feeling of Parliament on that occasion was in the remembrance of every Gentleman present, and the expences incurred, they must admit, were justifiable, as it would be a great oppression to quarter so large an army in country towns and villages. The whole of the expence was included in the estimate, and he was of opinion that 450,000. would complete the present Barracks erections. He admitted that the Hon. Gentleman had attempted to make out a very strong case, and he affirms what should be voted by a Committee. On the contrary, observed Mr. Steele, I assert, in contradiction to his statements, that there is not a large unfunded Debt provided for, and the House, on those grounds, will judge how far it is necessary to institute an Enquiry. He had this objection to make to the motion, it would lead the Public, if agreed to, to think that the situation of the Finances of the Country were in a desperate situation; and it was so far unnecessary, that the House, from the items already produced, could examine the merits of the subject in as clear a manner as if the enquiry was instituted. The prosperous situation of the Revenue, Mr. Steele maintained, was unexampled; for the average of the new Taxes for the last three years of War, exceeded their estimate; and the permanent Taxes, which always diminished in time of War, remained equally productive as in time of Peace; for these reasons he was against the Committee as unnecessary, and calculated to excite public alarm. Mr. M. ROBINSON censured the waste of money expended on Barracks, which whether called temporary or permanent, will not doubt be made permanent. Loans he thought a most dangerous mode of corrupting individuals, and procuring support to the Government. The public money he thought had been expended in a very improper way on the Navy: instead of doing it a benefit, a system was begun which would occasion much neglect in the Naval Department. The Chancellor of the Exchequer shewing no inclination to rise, there was a cry from the Treasury Bench for the Question, when Mr. GREY rose to reply, and expressed himself nearly as follows.—Sir, the very full statement with which I prefaced my Motion, affords the House a sufficient security against my adding much in the way of Reply. Indeed, from the turn which the Debate has taken, I do not feel any great reason to trouble the House much at length. There are, however, some points, which have been urged by Gentlemen on the other side, to which I must advert. Before I pains in my power, to enquire into the Subject which I meant to bring forward. The result of my enquiries was such, as completely to satisfy my own mind as the conclusions which I have drawn. But as the matter was new to me, I still conceived, that even after the fullest investigation on my part, there would remain much room for explanation on the other side; and that there would be many points in my statements, which would be liable to be controverted. I now feel much pride and satisfaction, that not only the leading points of my statement have not only not been attempted to be controverted,

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created and unbounded profusion, reached to create surprise. After a certain period, it failed even to attract notice; already thirty-five millions had been expended on the estimated services of the War, and twenty-nine millions on the Extraordinaries; an enormous sum this last, if it was considered that it was applied to objects without the knowledge and consent of Parliament. On this ground I chiefly object to granting money by Vote of Credit, since the money thus granted never comes directly into the contemplation of Parliament, and seldom comes under its diffi- cusion. The Hon. Gentleman says that a Vote of Credit is an admirable mode of proceeding; that is, only an authority to raise a sum of money, which may afterwards be applied to any service, no matter what, provided it be brought before Parliament. But I desire him to look to the letter of the Act of Parlia- ment.—A Vote of Credit is only to be applied to those unforeseen emergencies, which may arise in the current year. It is only to have a prospective influence, and ought not to be diverted to other purposes, or to cover the deficiencies of former years. Against such an abuse I will ever raise my feeble voice, and exert the little influence of which I may be possessed. It is in vain to urge to me that such at all times has been the practice of Ministers; if the practice is bad, it ought not to be continued. At any rate, either the Law or the Practice ought to be abolished. At present, the Practice is in direct violation of Law, and partakes of all the guilt and the means of an attempt to raise money by fraudulent pretext. Why should the Chancellor of the Exchequer not prevent the effluence of the whole services? Why should it be necessary to borrow from any branch of the Public Service, in order to cover an expense, which could be ascertained. It was highly unjustifiable to apply to one service, what was granted for another. Here Mr. Grey referred to the Appropriation Act, and read a Resolution of the House on the 15th May, 1711. Our ancestors were not so careless of the disposal of public money, they were not inclined to readily to comply with the demands, and so implicitly to confide in the discretion of Ministers." On a sum of much less importance than those which I have now brought forward, they passed that Reso- lution, to which I request your notice. The Resolution stated, that the sum of £600,000, granted for the service of the Navy, having been di- verted to the Land Service, such diverting of Public Money lessened the credit of the Navy, and is a misapplication of the Public Money. Exactly, said Mr. Grey, in the point of view which this Resolution states, do I consider the recent practices of Ministers as injurious to the National Credit, and a misapplication of Public Money. But the Hon. Genl. seemed to pay no more attention to the very Act, which had originated from his own Office, than to the General Law on the Subject. By that Act it was provided, that the Clothing half-yearly is- sued to the Army, should be regularly paid. In the Disposition Paper it was accordingly put down as paid, while in reality the sum remained due. This was a species of fraud, which Parlia- ment, consistently with that regard which they owed to their own honour and to the interests of the Country, ought no longer to suffer to pass unnoticed. I am aware, that it is impossible that all Accounts can be provided for by Estimate in the first instance. But every precaution ought to be taken, to keep the Ex- traordinaries in as low a proportion as possible. In the present War the amount infinitely ex- ceeds that of all former Extraordinaries, and is out of all Estimate. This fact surely of itself furnishes a strong ground for Enquiry. Of the expence of the Staff, which was also stated in the Disposition Paper, as paid, there remains yet a balance 16,000. due so far back as 1794. There are several other points which I brought forward, of which no notice at all has been ta- ken, and which I shall not now recapitulate. The Hon. Gentleman accused me of a wilful mis-statement respecting the amount of the man- ny expended on Barracks. I stated it to form a sum of 1,100,000. from the authority of an intelligent friend, to whom I am chiefly in- debted for information on that subject. Here Mr. Grey read the result of the different accounts, which altogether made a sum of nine hun- dred thousand pounds.—He remarked, that he had unfortunately mislaid one paper re- specting the Ordnance Barracks, which, in all probability, occasioned the difference from his former statement with respect to the number of men for whom these Barracks are built. I find that I am strictly accurate; they are calculated to accommodate a number not less than 40,000, a consideration truly alarming for the Unfunded Debt. With respect to the amount of interest with which the Country would be burdened, even after the happy period of the return of Peace, I took no unfair advantage of that of the Taxes of the Right Hon.

Yesterday morning we received the Paris Journals of the 4th and 6th inst. *L'Esclair*, of the 5th day, the Inhabitants of the Clubs in Tourverfere-street, where they demanded a Dictator, had been previously apprized of the Decree for shutting up their Hall. They immediately sent a Deputation to the Pantheon, to concert means of resistance. Their fury rose very high, and they declared against the Directory in all parts. Some of the most energetic Orators propounded a plan to rise in a mob; but the most prudent foresaw the danger of such a proceeding. In the mean time the Cavalry arrived; the Brothers received orders to depart, and the Insurrection was adjourned till more happy times. All the Journals congratulate the Directory on this measure.

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At Two o'clock HIS MAJESTY came in his private coach to St. James's Palace.

The Drawing Room began at half-past Two, but being thinly attended was over at four. The QUEEN continuing ill indisposed with the complaint in her feet, neither HER MAJESTY, nor either of the PRINCESSES were present. Lord St. Asaph and Mr. Liffon, were presented to the KING, on their late marriages.

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A Council will be held after the Levee, when the Recorder of London will attend with his Report.

In the evening the Royal Family go to the Ancient Music Concert, by appointment.

Mr. Bassett, the Messenger, who set off last month for the Continent, has arrived safe at Lauzanne, in Switzerland; where, after having fulfilled his commission, he set off for Vienna, from whence he may be expected home in the course of next month.

Yesterday's business at the India House proved completely in favour of the New Owners, who carried two divisions with a high hand.

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One reason why Painting is preferable to Poetry, says Mr. CHARLES, is because Truth is fixed in the mind much better by the Eye, than by the Ear.

PORTSMOUTH, March 6. Yesterday a Court Martial was held on Captain Alcock, for the loss of His Majesty's ship Amethyst, and the sentence of the Court was, that he be dismissed.

To be viewed 'till the Sale, and Particulars may be had at the House; at Garraway's and the Baptist Coffee-houses; and of Mr. Willock, No. 25, Golden-square.

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By Mr. DEVENISH.

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West Indies; we had also an army engaged in the defence of Gibraltar, which they go gallantly maintained against the united force of the French and Spaniards. Thus far, I have thought necessary to notice the only argument of the Honourable Gentleman, which applied to the immediate question. As another Honourable Gentleman (Mr. M. Montague) went entirely into a general argument respecting the War, it will not be necessary for me to advert to any of the topics which he advanced. The Honourable Baronet who succeeded him (Sir Gregory Page Turner) pursued a different course. Entertaining the opinion which he does, he undoubtedly felt himself to be right in the course which he took occasion to take on the conduct of Opposition. How far the charge, "That they were continually pelting the House with Motions to no effect," was either decently expressed or properly applied, it is for the House, and not for me to decide. As to the particular, "That these Motions in that House were without effect," to the truth of the fact I must subscribe, and leave to the Hon. Baronet all the benefit of the conclusion. If he pleases to bring the charge against me, to that charge I must patiently submit. I assure the Hon. Baronet, that no fear of any imputation will prevent me from pursuing that line of conduct, which I think calculated to put the Public in possession of information respecting the real state of the Country. Whatever reception such Motions may experience in this House, their effect will not be lost, if they shall tend to open the eyes of the Country at large, and to inspire a proper sense of reflection with respect to their real situation. As to the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Steele) who spoke last on that side of the Question, he admitted all the leading points of my Estimate to be accurate, and differed only as to a few trifling particulars. He says, that provision has been made for the Navy Debt. I want to know, what provision is made for that purpose. For my own part I know of none. I admit, indeed, that the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his Budget, talked of funding Five Millions of Navy. He talked also of appropriating the sum arising from the Lottery, to defray the Interest of that Service. It is a principle universally recognized, and indeed in its own nature incontrovertible, that every addition to the Public Expenditure ought to be provided for by a permanent article of Revenue. But who ever considered the Lottery as coming under that description, or dreamt of applying it to such a purpose? The Lottery has never been set down under the head of Permanent Revenue, nor can it properly be so classed. It is a Fund, with respect to the expediency of which much difference of sentiment has been entertained, but which has always been only available for incidental claims, and cases of emergency. But whatever may be alleged on this head, will it not be admitted that a great sum of Navy Debt must be brought to account, whenever the accounts come to be settled? I now come to a subject which falls more directly under his knowledge, namely, what he stated respecting the Army. The estimated service on this head during the War, amounts to seventeen millions, and the Extraordinaries to nine millions. Out of this last sum, the Honourable Gentleman contends, that a saving of a million and a half ought to be deducted. This is granting my general statement to be true, and also admitting that the Extraordinaries of the War amount to seven millions and a half. Well, said Mr. Grey, I will take it even upon this supposition, which I contend however not to be correct. During the years 1798-9-10 of the American War, the Extraordinaries only amounted to five millions. So, that even upon the Honourable Gentleman's own showing the Extraordinaries of the Army during the present War, are two millions and a half greater than those incurred in the same period of the American War. In return for this enormous expense, I call upon him to show me what has been done. What expedition has been undertaken, of which Ministers have not had cause to be ashamed in the result? What acquisition has been made to the Country, if we except those possessions which have been taken from the Dutch. Paltry gratification indeed for the National Pride! We stated, that the great object of the War was to save Holland and its dependencies; and now as a compensation for all the defeats we have sustained, for all the sacrifices we have made, we are to satisfy ourselves with the plunder of our former Ally. But I am now to show, that the deduction for which the Hon. Gentleman contends, ought not to be made. This deduction ought to be set against the sums, which were now owing. Let me suppose the estimated service fairly provided for; so much has been voted by the House; a certain saving has occurred—but an equivalent sum is now owing; it is evident that the one can only be considered as covering the other, and not as a solid acquisition to the public purse. But I will not dispute for trifles. In an account of such magnitude, a sum of a million and a half may be accounted a trifle, and may be but little noted in the magnificent scale of expenditure adopted by Ministers; however seriously such a sum might have formerly been deemed to call for the attention of the House. Re-

peating the Hon. Gentleman says that a Vote of Credit is an admirable mode of proceeding; that is, only an authority to raise a sum of money, which may afterwards be applied to any service, no matter what, provided it be brought before Parliament. But I desire him to look to the letter of the Act of Parliament.—A Vote of Credit is only to be applied to those unforeseen emergencies, which may arise in the current year. It is only to have a prospective influence, and ought not to be diverted to other purposes, or to cover the deficiencies of former years. Against such an abuse I will ever raise my feeble voice, and exert the little influence of which I may be possessed. It is in vain to urge to me that such at all times has been the practice of Ministers; if the practice is bad, it ought not to be continued. At any rate, either the Law or the Practice ought to be abolished. 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The whole amount of the present Taxes is seventeen millions; the Land and Salt Tax I set down at two millions and a half. Thus, at the return of Peace, even supposing that no defalcation take place, there will still be a necessity to impose two millions of fresh Taxes, in order to meet the rate of interest. Let me again address the Country Gentlemen, they are sensible of the pressure of the present Taxes, they see their operation in the country, the means to which Government resorts in order to enforce them, the rigour which is exercised with respect to Defaulters, and the Agency of a vile herd of Informers. The poorer and industrious class of Farmers are the sufferers

Mr. Grey then recapitulated the object of his statements. He concluded—It remains undoubtedly with the House to exercise their discretion with respect to my Motion. I sit down with the impression, that in bringing it forward I have discharged an important duty to the Country. It has been intimated that it is our duty to make the people think well of our resources, and that this motion has an opposite tendency. I, on the contrary, think that by declining to go into a Committee of Enquiry, we shall shew an evident distrust of our situation, and fan the melancholy apprehensions; whereas by looking the state of our finances in the face, and candidly bringing forward the result, we shall inspire more credit and confidence, than by any measure of supply.

Mr. STEELE and Mr. GREY explained.

Mr. MARTIN. I have heard this night too many reasons for an enquiry, and not one against it, that I should be ashamed to shew my face in the present distressed state of the Country, and should think myself unworthy of a seat in this House as a Representative of the People, if I did not give the original motion my decided support.

The House then divided.

Against Mr. Grey's Motion 207.

For it 45.

Adjourned.

### THE MORNING POST.

#### LONDON.

MARCH 11.

Yesterday morning we received the Paris Journals of the 5th and 6th inst. *L'Esclair*, of the 5th says, the Inhabitants of the Clubs in Traversiere-street, where they demanded a Dictator, had been previously apprized of the Decree for shutting up their Hall. They immediately sent a Deputation to the Pantheon, to concert means of resistance. Their fury rose very high, and they declaimed against the Directory in all parts. Some of the most energetic Orators proposed to rise in a mass; but the most prudent forebore the danger of such a proceeding. In the meantime the Cavalry arrived; the Brothers received orders to depart, and the Infurrection was adjourned till more happy times. All the Journals congratulate the Directory on this measure.

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One reason why Painting is preferable to Poetry, says Mr. CHARLES, is because Truth is fixed in the mind much better by the Eye, than by the Ear.

PORTSMOUTH, March 9. Yesterday a Court Martial was held on Captain Affleck, for the loss of His Majesty's ship *Amethyst*, and the sentence of the Court was, that he be dismissed the service, put at the bottom of the list, and rendered incapable of ever serving again. A great number of transports are getting ready to receive troops, which will fall in about ten days with Admiral Christian.

Yesterday the following Numbers were drawn: Prizes at Guildhall above 181. viz.—No. 54,633: 20,000. No. 43,581, 5000. No. 45,935, 1000. 21,105, 1000. Nos. 10,738, and 11,502, 500 each.

The Ticket No. 43,581, drawn yesterday a Prize of Five Thousand Pounds, was sold in two Fourth, two Eighth, and four Sixteenth Shares, by RICHARDSON, GOODLUCK, and Co. at their Officers Cornhill, and Charing-Cross, where Tickets and Shares, warranted undrawn, continue on Sale every Morning, from Eight till Nine o'clock, or from Two till Eight in the Afternoon.

CORRECT PRICE OF STOCKS.

Bank Stock	100	Ditto Bonds 50 dit.	100
3 per Cent. Red. shut	100	Old Ann.	100
3 per Cent. Con. 68 1/2	100	Ditto New Ann.	100
1 per Cent. Strip 70 1/2	100	1 per Cent. 1795	100
4 per Cent. Con.	100	New Navy 4 1/2 dit.	100
Ditto Strip	100	Exch. Bill dit.	100
5 per Cent. A.	100	Lot. Tick. 171-151 1/2	100
B. Long A.	100	Irish ditto	100
Ditto Strip	100	Dominion	100
Do. Short A.	100	Imprest 1 per Cent. 65 1/2	100
India Stock	100	Ditto Ann.	100

**HORSES AND CARRIAGES, &c.**

**SALES BY AUCTION.**

By Mr. TATTERSALL, on Monday next, **FOUR SEASONED HUNTERS**, some Fair, some of different colours, several odd ditto, some of which were well educated to run in a Gigs, a great many strong heavy Geldings and Mares, fit for Machines, Post Chaises, &c. Also some strong well-known good Hack, in good condition and fast trotters. A Bay Gelding, six years old, a Brown Gelding, seven years old, a good Hunter, a Chestnut Gelding, 6 years old, a good Roadster, a Black Mare, 7 years old, a good Hack; several Galloways, and Ponies, in the whole near sixty Lots.

To be viewed, and trials allowed.

By Mr. TATTERSALL, on Monday next, **SEVEN CAPITAL HUNTERS**, the Property of a Gentleman, and have been regularly bunted this Season.

1. True Blue, a Chestnut Gelding, 6 years old, by True Blue.
2. A Chestnut Gelding, 6 years old, by Morwick.
3. A Bay Mare, 6 years old, got by Jallap.
4. Header, a Black Gelding, 7 years old, by Caristacus.
5. A Bay Mare, 7 years old, by Chantler.
6. A Bay Gelding, 7 years old.
7. A Grey ditto, 8 years old.

By Mr. TATTERSALL, on Monday next, **BROWN MARE**, by Goldfinder, dam by Blank, grand dam by Cade, Crab, Partner, Bay Bolton.

A Brown Bay Mare, got by Eclipse, dam by Herod, grand dam by Marsk, ill nix, Driver, foaled in 1782.

A Brown Filly, rising four years old, by Highflyer, her dam by Matchem, out of an own sister to the Ancestor Stabling.

To be viewed.

**LIGHT HORSE.**

By Mr. LANOHORN, At the City Repository, in Barbican, on Tuesday next, March 15, 1796, on account of the number of Lots, at Half past Eleven o'clock precisely.

**ONE HUNDRED AND FIVE WELL-SHAPED HORSES**, colours Bay, Brown, Black and Chestnut; ages four five six and seven years old, in good condition, and were lately in the Royal Service, in the Light Cavalry.

In the above are five Grey Horses, that have been run by Trumpeters.

The above Horses are part of a dismounted Regiment of Light Horse, were lately purchased, but are now reduced from the Service, and will positively (by express orders) be sold without Reserve.

To be viewed on Monday, March 14, prior to the Sale, and Catalogues may then be had at the Repository in Barbican.

**SALES BY AUCTION.**

**TAVISTOCK STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.**

By Mr. WILLOCK, At Garraway's Coffee-house, in Change Alley, Cornhill, on Wednesday next, at Twelve o'clock.

**SUBSTANTIAL** and exceedingly desirable **LEASEHOLD HOUSE**, situate No. 38, on the North Side of Tavistock-street, Covent-Garden, containing **THREE ROOMS** on each Floor, an excellent shop, Parlours and Dressing Room, with very convenient Offices, in the Occupation of Mrs. WHITE, Printseller.

**SEVENTEEN YEARS AND THREE QUARTERS** of the Lease unexpired, at a **VERY LOW RENT**.

To be viewed till the Sale, and Particulars may be had on the Premises, of Mr. Hardisty, Solicitor, Great Marlborough-street; at Garraway's Coffee-house, Change Alley; Baptist Coffee-house, Chancery-lane; and of Mr. Willock, No. 25, Golden-square.

**OPPOSITE SOMERSET-PLACE, STRAND.**

**TO PLUMBERS, &c.**

By Mr. WILLOCK, At Garraway's Coffee-house, in Change Alley, Cornhill, on Wednesday next, at Twelve o'clock.

**A VERY DESIRABLE LEASEHOLD HOUSE**, and OLD-ACQUAINTED PLUMBERS-SHOP, very snugly situate, No. 28, in the Strand, opposite SOMERSET-PLACE, containing two Rooms with Closets on each Floor, Shop, Accompanying House, Parlour and spacious Plumber's Shop, with Glazier's Shop over, and extensive Cellaring under, in the Occupation of Mr. GEORGE TODD, who will give Possession at Lady-Day next.

**NINE YEARS AND A HALF** of the Lease unexpired, at a **VERY LOW RENT**.

To be viewed till the Sale, and Particulars may be had at the House; at Garraway's and the Baptist Coffee-houses; and of Mr. Willock, No. 25, Golden-square.

By Mr. DEVENISH, On the Premises, on Monday, the 14th instant, and five following days, by Order of the Aiding Executors.

**THE Elegant Household Furniture**, a large billiard table, a library book-case, a bedstead, constructed by Mehin, a grand piano forte, a harpsichord, clocks and dials in Ormolu and mahogany cases, cut-glass lustres, china, glass, five arms, two diamond rings, pierce mangle, kitchen and dairy utensils, extensive wardrobe of wearing apparel, and bed and table linen, a curious set of tables, and a cabinet turning table, with complete tools in a mahogany case, collection of pictures, valuable library of books, prints, books of prints, and drawings, two live eagles, stuffed birds, and various curious articles, late the property of

**JOHN BAYNE, Esq.** deceased, at Ball's Court, Kensington.

The whole may be viewed on the Premises, This Day, the 11th, and till the Sale, which will commence each day at Twelve o'clock.

Catalogues may be then had at the place of sale; at the Coffee-house, and at the New-Tavern, Kensington; and of the Auctioneer, Villiers-street, Strand, at six-pence each, to be returned to purchasers.

N.B. Ball's Court, near St. George's, and Grosvenor, will be sold early in the Spring.