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Mr. FOX faid, he owned the right honourable gentleman had now explained to him more plainly the purpose of sending out a regiment for other uses besides its military capacity—they were to be artificers, and work in every employment that might be necessary. Now he certainly thought other means might have been fallen upon for this purpose, nor could he see the smallest necessity for being at the expence of a regiment, and adding to the Minister's influence, by appointing the officers, except it was the opinion of the right honourable gentleman, that whenever work was to be done, a regiment must be raised to do it; and work done in this way, he contended, wherever it happened, was not done in a cheap way for the country.

The refolutions were then feverally put and agreed to, and ordered to be reported to-morrow.

The SECRETARY AT WAR gave notice that he should move the extraordinary of the army on Wednesday next.

The House adjourned.

#### Thursday, 16th February.

Before the report of the Army estimates was brought up,

General BURGOYNE stated, that he meant to move for an account of arrears due to subalterns of the different regiments on the British establishment: he understood the Secretary at War was to oppose the production of this account; but he hoped he would have it in readiness against Tuesday, in case the House should be pleased to order it.

The SECRETARY AT WAR faid he confidered this as notice of a motion, and when that motion came forward, he would make a reply.

The report was then brought up, and agreed to.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS faid, that in consequence of fomething that had passed last night, he had been at pains to find out the exact difference on the expence of the corps raised for Canada, from that of any other corps. He stated the first to be little more than six thousand pounds, while the latter exceeded ten thousand. He had omitted to state last night, that Colonel Simcoe, the Colonel-commandant of that corps, received no pay by his appointment to it.

Colonel FITZPATRICK faid, there was another matter, which from information he had known fince last night. The right honourable gentleman had said, Colonel Simcoe had been appointed on account of his local knowledge of that province; now, with regard to that officer, he believed no better, or more proper, person could be appointed; but as to his local knowledge, he had heard that the Colonel never was in Canada before in his life.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS faid, he never meant to fay fo; but that from the knowledge which Colonel Simcoe had acquired by his fervices in America, he was able to fay, that there would be no occasion to recruit that corps in future from England, because there would be many in the neighbouring countries who would readily go into it.

Colonel FITZPATRICK faid, he believed the House understood the right honourable gentleman precisely as he had done. They never could have an idea that he meant to mention the Colonel's future local knowledge as the cause of appointment.

Lord HOOD presented an account of the dates of issuing and recalling the press-warrants in 1790 and 1791.

The annual papers were presented from the India House. The House adjourned.

## Friday, 17th February.

In a Committee of the whole House, to consider of so much of His Majesty's speech, on opening the session of Parliament, as relates to the public revenue and expenditure, the following paragraphs from the speech being read,

- "I entertain the pleasing hope, that the reductions which may be found practicable in the establishments, and the continued increase of the revenue, will enable you, after making due provision for the several branches of the public fervice, to enter upon a system of gradually relieving my fubjects from some part of the existing taxes, at the same
- "time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the fuccess of which our future case
- " of the national debt, on the fuccess of which our future ease and security essentially depend;
  - "With a view to this important object, let me also re-

" commend it to you to turn your attention to the confideration

" of fuch measures as the state of the funds and of public credit may render practicable and expedient towards a reduc-

"tion in the rate of interest of any of the annuities which are

" now redeemable,"

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, that the paragraph of His Majesty's speech, which had been referred to them, and just been read, had already announced to them the most welcome information that could have been received. It had held out to them the pleafing expectation, after all the difficulties they had experienced, of the happy period being at length arrived, when they might be enabled, with fafety to the country, to diminish in some degree the burdens of the people, and at the same time to give additional efficacy to the plan established for the reduction of the national debt, upon a system which could not fail of producing the most solid and substantial advantages to the kingdom, and which, therefore, he hoped, would ever be held facred and inviolable by that House. On the first day of the fession, he had taken an opportunity of stating the general refult of the finances of the country, which he should then proceed more minutely and specifically to detail. In entering upon a field at once fo interesting, and fo extensive, it would be in some fort his duty to trespass a good deal upon the time and attention of the Committee, endeavouring, however, to compress and reduce the fize of the whole as much as the nature and importance of the subject would admit. He said, he fhould think-it particularly his duty to lay before the Committee fuch specific points as might enable the Committee themfelves to judge of the propriety of the resolution he should have the honour to fubmit to them, and the ground upon which that refolution was brought forward; and in doing this part of his duty, it was a great fatisfaction to his mind to reflect, that in consequence of the frequent discussion of the subject which had passed of late years within those walls, the intricacy and myflery of finance no longer existed, and that gentlemen would be able to comprehend, and decide without difficulty or embarraffment, upon the important points that he should have to detail, and which at the fame time that they were all blended together in one general view, he wished to detail separately to the House, and elucidate his statement by touching on all the

relative circumstances and considerations as he proceeded. He fhould afterwards flew how these considerations applied to the resolution that he should submit to the judgement of the Committee, and then propose to move in the Committee of Supply and Committee of Ways and Means, other necessary resolutions, the objects of which he should have occasion to explain in the course of what he had now to submit to the Committee. Some of the articles included in the Supply and Ways and Means of the present year, were yet to be voted, but as the amount was ascertained by estimate, and they were of fuch a nature as not to be likely to meet with oppofition, he should state, and calculate upon them as already voted. He should first state the permanent income, compared with the permanent expenditure; fecond, how the furplus might be applied; third, how the House might vary the mode of application on the principles already adopted; and last of all, the reasons on which they might found a probable opinion of the permanence of the present surplus.

The actual produce of the permanent taxes, from 5th January, 1791, to 5th January, 1792, £.14,132,000

The actual produce of the land and malt 2,558,000 In the provision for the expence of the Spanish armament, there was a regulation in the stamp

duties, intended to be permanent, which produced about

40,000

These three sums, taken together, made 16,730,000 The year before, deducting the produce of the fifty-third week, which occurring once in fix years, the fair mode of estimate was to divide it into fix parts, and add one of these parts to the receipt of each year, the amount of the above taxes was £.16,437,000

On an average of two years, it was 16,615,000 16,418,000 Of three years - 16,212,000 Of four years

So that the amount of last year exceeded the average of four years by about

The Committee would therefore see, that in founding his estimate of the future permanent income on the average of four

years, he was not reckoning too fanguinely on the future profperity of the revenue; and that he was careful, as he ought to be, not to hold out a prospect of relief from public burdens, which was likely to end in public delusion.

He came next to compare this fum with the annual permanent expence, as estimated by the revenue Committee of last year, with fome additions and deduction, each of which he fhould diffinctly mention.

The permanent expence, by the estimate of the Commit-£.15,969,000 To this was to be added an additional charge

on the Sinking Fund, for the Duke of Clarence, of 12,000 For the establishment of Upper Canada 12,000 Proposed establishment for the Duke of York 18,000

Total - f.16,011,000

From this was to be taken the following reductions in the feveral articles of expenditure, including the Hessian subsidy, which being now expired, His Majesty's Ministers were not of opinion that the circumstances of the country required its renewal.

In the expence of the navy £104,000 Of the dock yards 10,000 Of the army 50,000 Hessian subsidy 36,000

> Total £.200,000

All the above favings would not take place in the first part of the present year, but they would in the course of it, and might be confidered as permanent. Deducting the amount from the estimate of the Committee, with the additions as above, the future permanent expenditure would be 15,811,000l. Thus the future permanent income, estimated on an average of four years, exceeded the permanent expence, including the million appropriated to the gradual reduction of the debt, by Еe

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401,000l. which fum might be applied in aid of the million for reducing the debt, to the immediate relief of public burdens, or perhaps more wifely divided between both.

Such was the prospect for suture years. Let the account for the present year be next examined. The House had voted supplies:

Navy—Seamen	•	£.832,000
Ordinary	-	672,000
Extraordinary	·	350,000
Reduction of Debt to cover increase by t	he	
Ruffian armament	•=	131,000
	Total -	1,985,000
	1 Otal -	1,905,000
Army—Ordinary		1,474,000
Extraordinary	_,	277,000
Troops in India	<u>-</u>	63,000
	Total -	1,814,000

The expence of the troops in India was money advanced for, and to be repaid by, the India Company.

Miscellaneous services, including 6,000l. for the expence of Mr. Hastings's trial, and a sum, he trusted, would be granted to the settlers removed from the Musquito shore, 145,000l. desciency of grants for last year, including 123,000l. repaid of the Bank loan, and lessened by about 10,000l. the excess of the ways and means above the estimate 436,000l. desiciency of land and malt 350,000l. then adding 100,000l. for the produce of the new duty on Malt, if the House should think proper to repeal it, and 400,000l. in addition to the sum for reducing the public debt, and the whole amount of the supply would be 5,654,000l.

In this account he had faid nothing of the Loyalist's debentures, because they were provided for by the lottery, nor of the sloating Exchequer bills, which being annually renewed, would stand equal on both sides.

To provide for this supply, the ways and means were, Land and malt - £.2,750,000 The consolidated fund for three quarters, from 5th April, 1791, to 5th January, 1792, had produced a sum equal to what it was taken at for four quarters, and estimating the fourth quarter on an average of sour years, it would furnish to the ways and means.

The furplus of the confolidated fund on the 5th January, 1792, was 155,000l.

The produce on estimate from 5th April, 1792, to 5th April, 1793, after repealing certain taxes, 2,300,000l.

These three made a total of ways and means of 5,691,000l. exceeding the supply by about 37,000l. The resources of the present year were therefore amply sufficient to cover the expence, the repeal of the temporary duty on malt, and the addition above stated to the sum for reducing the debt. In suture years the expence would be, as before estimated, with very little variation, as far as could be now foreseen; although he did not pretend to fay that there might not be some addition to the miscellaneous services. The completion of the dock yards at home would require fome addition, although the principal expence was already incurred; and if the House should think proper to follow up the plan of fortifying the West-India islands, that, he was forry to fay, would require a much more confiderable fum than had been at first supposed. This, however, would be matter of future confideration. He should take an opportunity of submitting a distinct proposition refpecting it, on which the House would decide. He was happy, however, to acquaint the Committee, that by the care of looking into the public accounts, it was found that the balances of the public money were not yet exhausted; he expected a fum of three or four hundred thousand pounds of imprest monies to be paid into the Exchequer in the ensuing year; and was confident that the extraordinary refources would be found fully equal to the unforeseen expences.

From what he had faid, he hoped the Committee would be of opinion, that there was nothing to hinder the immediate repeal of the new duty on Malt, and the partition of four hundred thousand pounds, between paying off debt and easing taxes, if they should be of opinion that it was proper to grant a farther immediate relief.

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In taking off taxes, two objects were to be principally confidered; first, that the relief should be clearly felt by the payers of taxes, instead of serving only to increase the profits of the dealers in a particular article, without reducing the price to the confumer, which might formetimes be the case; and second, that the relief should extend to the yeomanry, artificers, and industrious poor. Taxes raised by affestments, were well calculated to answer the first of these considerations, being paid immediately from the persons on whom they were levied, into the hands of the receivers for the Public. But there might be taxes on confumption, which would also answer this object as well as the fecond, being particularly felt by those whom it was most desirable to relieve. Of this description was the tax upon malt intended to be repealed. There were three others which might also be supposed to unite both considerations. The tax on female fervants, paid chiefly, perhaps, by those whose industry was of the greatest importance to the prosperity of the country, amounted to 31,000l. The tax on carts and waggons affected the yeomanry and the agriculture of the country, and the inconvenience to those who paid was perhaps greater than the fum. It amounted to 30,000l. and by the repeal 90,000 persons would be relieved. The tax of 3s. on houses under feven windows was paid by those to whom he was forry to fay that fum, finall as it was, formed no inconfiderable object; it amounted to 56,000l. and the repeal would be an immediate relief to between three and four hundred thousand families. By repealing a halfpenny per pound of the duty on candles, to take place on the 5th of April, and allowing a drawback of the duty on the stock in hand at that period, it might be expected that a proportional reduction in the price would immediately take place, and the industry of the country experience a confiderable relief. This, with the former two, would make about 222,000l.

If the taxes he had mentioned were properly felected, the only question would be the propriety of this division of the surplus between the liquidation of the public debt, and lightening the public burdens. It did appear to him to be the wisest course, which without infringing on the system adopted for the reduction of the debt, would convince the people that their ease was seriously and effectually intended, and prevent any

rude hand from attempting to violate that facred principle of discharging public engagements by public means, upon which national credit and national prosperity so much depended. He was therefore of opinion, that they might safely apply the other 200,000l. to the reduction of the debt. If they looked at the progress already made, they would be convinced that the ultimate object was not only attainable, but brought considerably nearer: and in the course of his speech, he should suggest some improvement of the plan by which it was to be accomplished.

When the House first entered on the plan of reduction, it was a question, whether the commission should be allowed on the real or nominal fums redeemed, and in which of the feveral funds it was most advantageous to buy. Fortunately, that question was now at an end. The remaining debt would probably be redeemed at par; he had preferred the application of the furplus million to the purchase of three per cents, as more advantageous to the credit of the country, and perhaps ultimately to the object in view, although apparently less fo in the first instance. It would be the means of obtaining better terms for reducing the four per cents to three and a half, and then to three; and the five per cents, at a proper time. In four years the American Loyalists would be paid, and if the House should be of opinion with him, that a lottery was as unprejudicial, and as proper a refource as the Public could have recourse to, there would be an addition to the public income of 300,000l. a year, supposing the price, of which there was no reason to apprehend a fall, while that of every thing elfe was rifing, should continue the same. By means of these additional aids, twenty-five millions of the three per cents would be paid off, and the Public enabled to redeem at par, or reduce the interest of the five per cents. It was to be understood, however, that the finking fund was to have the whole benefit of the interest redeemed by these operations, to which the faith of Parliament was pledged, till the annual fum applicable to the redemption of debt amounted to four millions. When this was stated in 1786, the looking forward to it at an early period, would have been treated as chimerical; calculating however on the income and expenditure as he had flated them, it might be expected in 1808; so that in fifteen years.

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from the present time would that surplus of four millions, which neither he, nor those who thought most favourably of the plan of redemption, a few years back have ventured, even to hope at fo early a period, actually be at the disposal of Parliament. He was not so fanguine as to look for the uninterrupted continuance of those fortunate circumstances which had contributed fo much to accelerate this period. He could not expect that in fifteen years no accident would happen to retard it; but of this he was sure, that as far as a judgement could be formed on present circumstances, such accidents were less to be apprehended than at any former period. It was the duty of Parliament to maintain, and if possible to invigorate, a system of so much actual benefit, and fo much promife; and at all events, to allow the furplus to accumulate in the finking fund, till it bore fome fixed proportion to the debt undischarged, below which it ought not to be suffered to fall. But he wished to do fomething more. In 1786 Parliament did as much as was in their power, and the people chearfully contributed to give efficacy to their exertions. Having furmounted the difficulties which then furrounded them, they ought to provide against the permanent accumulation of debt in future. This he was confident was practicable, although it might not be fo to raife the whole fum required by extraordinary exigencies within the year; and he should move as an amendment to the system of 1786, that on all future loans, not immediately provided for, an annual fum, over and above the interest, shall be paid from the finking fund, bearing the fame proportion to the whole loan, as the whole redemption fund to the whole of the unredeemed debt. This amendment he had in contemplation, when he moved the provision for the expence of the Spanish armament; and he should only now observe upon it, that the whole of fuch a loan would not operate as an additional charge, because the system of redemption, fixed and established, would obtain better terms for the Public in the rate of interest.

He now turned to a general review of his subject, observing, that by granting an immediate relief of taxes, to the amount of 200,000l. a year, the system of redemption would not be broke in upon, nor cause given to complain, that Parliament had been more attentive to temporary convenience than to suture strength, and the interests of posterity. When he looked

back on the progress of our prosperity, the prospect of its not only continuing, but improving, was flattering. The revenue of last year, exclusive of new taxes, exceeded that of 1786 by more than two millions; and that of 1783, the year immediately after the war, by more than four. This review was fo much the more fatisfactory that the improvement had been progressive, except in the year 1786, which failed from a temporary interruption of commerce in the contemplation of the commercial treaty, and yet that year had greatly exceeded 1782. If the particular heads of this increase, fince 1783, were inquired into, one million might be taken as the produce of new taxes; one million as the consequence of regulations in the mode of collecting existing taxes, by which smuggling was suppressed, and the revenue benefited, even in those branches to which the regulation did not immediately apply, and the remaining two to an increased consumption in consequence of increasing wealth and prosperity. If they looked to the average increase of the customs in four years, it would be found that it did not confift in articles, the quantity of which varied with the feafon, as fugar; but in articles not fubject to fuch variation, and the raw materials of manufactures. In the Excife this was still more striking. The duties arising from malt in various ways, although a commodity subject to variation from feafons, had increased progressively, as had those on foap. candles, leather, ftarch, &c. &c. even the duty on bricks and tiles, articles of unequivocal confumption, had increased, as had the duties on falt and the affeffed taxes. The stamps fince 1783 had increased 700,000l. and the revenue of the Post-Office very confiderably; all tending to confirm the conclusion, that increasing prosperity was the sole cause of increasing revenue. This increase was spread over all the branches of confumption, and a corresponding increase in the trade and manufactures of the country, which the best accounts that could be had, although the best were defective, all tended to confirm. put the conclusion beyond the possibility of doubt. By these accounts, the imports in 1782 amounted to 9,714,000l.; in 1790 to 19,130,000l. In 1782 the exports of British manufacture and produce were 9,109,000l.; in 1790 14,921,000l.; and in 1791 16,420,000l. In 1782 the exports, British and foreign, were 12,239,000l.; in 1790, 20,120,000l. It was also

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probable that our internal trade had increased in a greater and more beneficial proportion.

When we thus faw the revenue, and the trade of the country increasing, it was natural to inquire into the causes. Of these the first was undoubtedly the industry and energy of the country, but there must be secondary causes to give to this its effect. The increase of skill in our artizans and manufacturers, the great improvements in the application of machinery, and the various ways by which labour is faved, fubdivided and expedited by ingenuity, had done much, and the facility of credit, arifing from the confidence in the public faith, gave great advantages to the manufacturers at home, and by enabling the merchant to extend his credit abroad, gave great advantages in the foreign market, and thus operated in a double ratio. This was first the fign and immediately the cause of our profperity. The enterprise of commercial men had pushed adventure and judicious speculation, wherever a market was to be found or created; and the liberal policy of a more unrestrained intercourse with France, though less felt from the distracted fituation of that country, had greatly contributed to our fuccefs. But more than all other causes had operated the accumulation of capital, the effects of which were never fully understood, till a philosopher of our own country, who was now no more, the celebrated author\* of the Wealth of Nations, with a depth and clearness of investigation, fitted to enlighten and direct the internal policy of any state, discovered and pointed them out. This accumulation operated with all the effect of compound interest: every addition to it was the immediate cause of another, and its force encreased in an accelerated ratio through its progress-

# . Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

If such had been the effect of such a principle already, what might not be expected from it in suture? In the hour of difficulty and distress, it was hardly to be repressed; it mitigated if it did not prevent every national evil; and in prosperity no bounds could be set to its vigour. While therefore human skill in any

\* Dr. Adam Smith.

branch of mercantile commodity was capable of improvement; while a fingle fpot of ground remained uncultivated; or a new mart of commerce remained unexplained, it was impossible to fay that this country had reached the pitch of wealth and prosperity to which it was capable by its own energy of advancing. Every country emerging from barbarism, the advancement of every neighbouring state in the arts of life, and the increase of luxury and confumption at home; all would tend to increase the demand for, and give new activity to the produce of our wealth and our industry. Far therefore from having reached a point at which it was likely to ftop, our prosperity might long be permanent and progressive. All these advantages, however, were connected with peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, although with the latter much more intimately. Under the family on the throne for a long feries of years we had enjoyed the inestimable blessing of domestic quiet, with little interruption; the benefits of the constitution, as fettled at the revolution, connecting liberty with law; and at once providing a barrier against the usurpations of power, and the infringements of popular innovation. To this the laborious industry of our peasantry, the skill of our manufacturers, and the enterprise of our merchants, owed their vigour and activity. While we felt and acknowledged the value of a constitution, the bleffings of which were fast encreafing upon us, he would not suppose for a moment that we should be deficient in zeal or attention to preserve it; and on this he rested the permanent prosperity of the nation. As far as human speculation could be relied on, we had sure ground of confidence: The experience of the past afforded the best warrant for our future hopes. The day of anxiety and folicitude was now past; and he might fay, that instead of hopes conceived in his wishes—Jam fiduciam et robur assump-

ferit. On this he congratulated the House; he congratulated the country; and made it his most earnest prayer, that they might suffer no intermission of their vigilant attention to the revenue; to maintaining with the loyalty and virtue of a free people, that domestic peace and order, to which the speech from the Throne so truly ascribed the protection and security of all the advantages they possessed.

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He concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that the last additional duty on malt do cease from and after the 5th day of April, 1792."

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, the splendor of the right honourable geatleman's speech had made such an impression on the Committee, they had been fo led away by the figures of rhetoric from attending to the figures of arithmetic, that he should find it difficult to recal them to the true object of the discussion. He fancied, however, that this dazzling beauty would not be found fo captivating to the people, after the rapturous accounts of prosperity which they had heard; it would be a disappointment to them that all the accounts of furplus funk fo infinitely small. Who that had read or heard the reports of a furplus of 1,200,000l., of near 900,000l. being actually in hand, would have believed that in truth the furplus would turn out to be no more than 58,000l.?— He was generally incredulous on these anticipating reports; but he confessed, when he heard of the King's coming down, announcing a furplus, and the Minister immediately after holding out taxes to be repealed, he thought there must be fome great stupendous increase of revenue; and his confidence would have been greater, if he had not unfortunately heard all the Minister's former pledges, and particularly that folemn, religious pledge, that no interruption should be made to the application of our furpluses until they amounted to four millions a year. He then examined the statements of Mr. Pitt, and drew from his review this conclusion, that the increase of our prosperity had not brought with it a proportionate increase of our revenue. The increase of the latter was to be afcribed to the new burdens laid on the people, or to the regulations of the old taxes, which, in fact, were fo many additions to them. Taking the reports of the two Committees as his guides, he took the amount of the new and regulated taxes from the general total, and shewed that the actual increase of the permanent revenue since the year 1786, was 130,000l. If he were asked fairly, whether the amount of our taxes was, from experience, fuch as to warrant the Legislature to dispense with a part of them, he would frankly answer No.-But if he were defired to revise the

whole fystem of our taxation, to see if the people might not be materially eafed from the most grievous of their burdens, and the revenue be even improved thereby, he would give his chearful confent, and think that the House might render most essential service to their constituents. The plan purfued by the right honourable gentleman, which was calculated to embarrafs the House, put him and every gentleman into an infurmountable difficulty. It was held out to the nation, that the Crown, from a motive of endearment, had proposed the ease of the people, and that the Minister had even named the taxes which were to be abolished. If they should, from a fense of their duty, declare that this could not be done without a deviation from fystem, without hazard to the national credit, without diforder to the finances, the House of Commons was about to be made odious to its constituents, and the Crown was made the object of popular confidence. Such was precifely the case in which they stood, and yet fo far was this from being a proof of endearment, that it was a stratagem calculated to millead and betray them. It was a complete furrender of the principle of redemption. We were now, in 1792, to redeem less stock than we did" in 1786; for it was a clear proposition, that by the increased price of the funds, and by thus diverting fo large a part of the furplus from its devoted and facred end, we were to buy up less annuity now than heretofore. What was the reason of all this? If the right honourable gentleman were called upon to fay why, with this prosperous revenue, we were to redeem less debt, he would answer, because we could not afford it. Why the right honourable gentleman did not think it right to extinguish the unfunded debt, a great part of which bore interest, and hung about our necks with great inconvenience, as the right honourable gentleman felt in his Spanish armament, he could not take upon him to fay; he fupposed it was that only would be a proper, but not a shining measure. It would be a great and effectual benefit to the revenue, but it would not ferve the purposes of momentary fame, by taking off the odious taxes which he had laid the year before. He now proved how well he could have

opposed these taxes, if they had come from any other perfon; and the House would now find, by his own language, how much they had been to blame in yielding to the arguments by which they had been originally recommended.-The House would see now, that though the ungracious task had been imposed on them to lay these taxes, their constituents were not to look to them for their relief. A new fentiment of hope was to be inspired into the people-a new feeling of gratitude was to be planted in their bosoms—they were to be taught to petition for relief from taxes. It was a very delicate subject for every gentleman to speak upon; it was laying an embargo on the House. No man could put himself into the ungracious state of opposing the repeal of afflicting taxes. Who could deny to the poor family the boon of getting their candles a halfpenny cheaper? If a fevere fense of duty should urge gentlemen to look the true fituation of the country in the face, and to oppose this artful and infidious way of attacking the privileges of the Commons House of Parliament, he knew well how easily a cry might be raifed against him, and with what facility he might be made the victim of a little well-managed mifrepresentation. He remembered a verse or two of a faying made upon his honourable friend, by one of his constituents, which never failed to produce a torrent of applause; not from the elegance of the poetry, fo much as from the sturdy ad captandum praise which it gave him. His friend, who, with all his merits, had certainly no pretenfion to the praife, would pardon him for repeating it-

- "Whenever a tax in the House it was projected,
- "Great Fox he rose up, and always objected."

Now this, which was certainly untrue, might be turned very neatly to the detriment of those who might think it their duty to inquire before they acted—to ascertain whether we really had a surplus before we gave up our income; and that at any rate the grace should come constitutionally from that branch of the Legislature which had the power of the purse, and which had been called upon so unmercifully by

the fame right honourable gentleman to draw the ftrings.-Why had he not waited, and given the House the grace of originating the measure? The truth was, it had been craftily confidered as the best answer to all the imputations against him for the Russian and Spanish wars; so at least other men, who had lefs candour and respect for him than he possessed, would infinuate, and fay. They would draw strange conclusions from the circumstance, and the nation might be brought to think that blunders were more advantageous to them than wisdom: that when he was convicted of error, he threw forth to them relief: a fession without a blunder, would be a fession of calamity; but an armament would be desirable. I have involved you in a quarrel with Spain—here, there's a tax upon malt for you-I have made the English name ridiculous all over the world by bullying Ruffia—here take back the female servants, I have no use for them .- I have involved you in a war with Tippoo Saib—take your candles a halfpenny cheaper in the pound. Thus they are to be taught to love misfortune—to be enamoured of misconduct—and if an administration should succeed him where wisdom and prudence produced their usual effects of security and quiet, the right honourable gentleman would be at the head of the most violent and clamorous opposition that ever this country faw. They would call out for a change.—" Give us back that " buftling and dangerous Administration, that went on arm-" ing and difarming, taxing and untaxing; who committed " fo many blunders that they were for ever making atone-" ment; who broke our heads that they might give us a " plaster. We abhor this uniform system of order and " quiet." The fentiment that this conduct was calculated to excite was tumultuous and alarming; it was appealing from the judicious to the giddy; and feriously speaking, every judicious man would know and feel, that if there had been no Russian armament, there would have been no repeal. He then shewed, that, by the original statute, the malt tax now to be abolished would have endured only of itself a few months longer. But by this management, a confiderable part of the Exchequer bills issued for the Spanish armament might in 1795 come on the confolidated fund, and be a

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grievous burden to us. He alluded to Mr. Dundas's affertion that it was infinitely more probable that we should receive aid from India fooner than we should be called on for affistance to India—an affertion upon which Mr. Pitt, though he knew the full amount of his friend's confidence, could not suppress a degree of stifled astonishment. He seemed, on the occasion, to feel the fentiment expressed by Earl Cornwallis, "That " he hoped he should never be reduced to a wretched and " precarious dependance on the buzar of his Mahratta ally." He recalled the words of Mr. Dundas, that fuch was the awe and power of our arms in India, as to make us difregard its united force in array against us. Was he to believe this on the affertion of Earl Cornwallis—that the finances of the Company were actually ruined by the protraction of the war? He concluded with faying, that in order to give to the nation the true benefit of wife reduction, if reduction was practicable, and to fave them from the partialities likely to arife from the vanities of authorship, he should at a future day propose, that a Committee be appointed to revise the amount, nature, and effects of the taxes, on the laborious and indigent classes of the community: and to report to the House what abolitions might be made therein. This he should at least propose, and place upon the Journals.

Mr. Chancellor PITT faid, he regretted being obliged to trouble the Committee again, but it was absolutely neceffary to make a few observations on what had fallen from the honourable gentleman. He did think, from the opening of the honourable gentleman's speech, that he meant to confine himself to arithmetical figures entirely, but found that he had altered his mind, and gone into a fystem of diversion, and what might be called well-managed misreprefentation. In place of arguing to the points which formed the principal part of his statement, the honourable gentleman had made a variety of remarks on the Russian armament and negociation. The honourable gentleman had faid he was not in the House on the first day of the Session, and he would fay that if he had been in the House he would have found that the business of that armament had not been fo completely conceded as the honourable gentleman feemed to think. There certainly would be a day of going into a discussion on that subject, and if the honourable gentleman would be in the House on Monday or Tuesday next, on either of which days he understood a motion on that business was to be made, he might have an opportunity of knowing that there was still a good deal to be faid upon it. The honourable gentleman had gone from Russia to the East Indies, and introduced the war in that quarter of the globe. He should have thought a day might likewise be expected for discuffing that subject feparately; yet as it had been mentioned now, and that in a manner which ought to be answered, he had no objection to explain his own ideas fully. The honourable gentleman feemed to think that he had not agreed in opinion with his right honoutable friend, when he faid that the refources of India would add to the revenues of this country, and the honourable gentleman had faid that he obferved a certain degree of altonishment in his face, when his honourable friend made that affertion. Now he believed the honourable gentleman would himfelf appear much more aftonished, when he told him, that he did not merely agree with his right honourable friend on that point, if possible, stronger as to the probability of that prospect. The honourable gentleman had rather stated his honourable friend's words differently from what they were, but he believed they were, that from every appearance at prefent, the period when the refources of the East India Company would aid the revenue of this country, was nearer than that which would occasion any demand from this country to aid them. This was fo completely his opinion, and they were within his hearing near him who knew it, that he meant to have stated it when he was up before as one of those future resources upon which he thought he could rely, and in the multiplicity of the articles he had to trouble the Committee with, it had escaped him, although it was his intention to have included that expectation when he stated his hopes of the growing refources of the country. On this fubject he wished to be perfectly understood, and to speak in the most explicit manner; what he meant to fay was this, that if there was a speedy termination of the war, when the charter came to

be renewed, it was his opinion, that an opportunity would then occur for treating on liberal conditions with the holders of India stock by funding their debts, and after all, that a very confiderable furplus would remain, which might be appropriated towards paying off the national debt. The honourable gentleman had taken great pains to state, that the increase of the last year only exceeded the former year by 58,000l.; but he had forgot to mention, that the 53d week having happened in 1790, made the furplus actually 300,000l. The next thing the honourable gentleman had asked, was, why he did not begin with paying off the unfunded debt? and the honourable gentleman had gone fo far as to fay he was pledged to do fo before he attempted any other method of relieving the country from the burdens laid upon it. He had several reasons for preferring the paying off of the funded debt in preference to the unfunded, which he stated; but the principal one was, by these means he would sooner be able to reduce the four per cents. which were now redeemable, to three and a half per cent. and afterwards to pay off fo much of the national debt as to enable him to redeem the five per cents, which could not be done until 125 millions of the national debt were actually paid off. As to what the honourable gentleman had faid that we were proceeding in a retrograde manner, he fcarcely knew how to answer such an observation; and as to his remark with regard to the unfunded debt, on the event of the Spanish armament, he could not fee where it applied; the grants of the year, and the taxes voted for that purpose, had answered to the amount of 1,300,000l. and the Bank of England had given at the usual interest 1,800,000l. which made up the whole of that expence. It had been flated, the new taxes were not productive; they certainly were not the first quarter; nor could it be expected; but the refult had shewn, that within the year they exceeded what was stated as their probable amount. The honourable gentleman had next indulged himfelf in a strange fort of comparison between his feelings when he laid on these taxes, and his feelings when he had it in his power to propose taking off. Now he would appeal to the House whether he might not be allowed to indulge, or perhaps, even

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in the warmth of his hopes to relieve the people from any part of the existing taxes, to express his feelings as strongly as he could, without being remembered, that when he laid on those taxes, the same regard and attention to the most indigent and the most industrious part of the community, did not form part of his speech; his reason why it did not, he trusted, was obvious to the House, for it was necessary his feelings on that point, whatever they might have been, fhould give way to his duty and the necessity of the time. The honourable gentleman had wished the Committee to think that he was, by way of catching popularity, making a fet-off of repealing taxes against the blunders of his Administration. This, to be sure, was giving him great credit for his ingenuity, but when the honourable gentleman stated, that the furplus of the revenue, and the general profperity of the country, was of his creation, merely for the purpose of atoning for the blunders he had committed, then he must fay, that allowing much to the honourable gentleman's candour, this certainly was an excess of compliment and flattery, which he by no means merited. He recollected nothing else in the honourable gentleman's speech, which it was necessary for him to detain the Committee upon.

DEBATES.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, the right honourable gentleman had completely mifrepresented what he said, and meant; if he thought he gave him any credit for the furplus of the revenue, or the general prosperity of the country, the contrary was the fact; for he never had ascribed to his ingenuity, either the one or the other, though he certainly had ascribed to his art and management the use that was made of both. With regard to India, he found that the honourable gentleman wished to fay, that he coincided in opinion with his right honourable colleague; but he did not know, whether the right honourable gentleman would thank him much for what he had faid. The right honourable Secretary had affirmed, that the fact would be as he had stated it; and the right honourable gentleman had faid, hypothetically, that if the war is terminated, he has not a doubt but it will be fo when he comes to make conditions with the company for 2

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renewal of their charter. He still thought, that there was fo much dread on the part of Ministers about the opinion of the country, on the war with Russia, which, but for the timely and constitutional interference of that House, they would have plunged us into, that they wished to avoid the effects of it by foothing the people with an idea of lightening their burdens, and taking off taxes, most of which they had themselves put on. As to the arguments for preferring the mode of taking off taxes in place of paying a part of the unfunded debt, he was perfectly against it, because he thought that was where they ought to have begun. And he would only fay, that the Minister, by taking one mode. might have done a filent, quiet, and effential benefit to the people; whereas the one he has taken is an oftentatious, delusive, and dangerous catch at popularity for the moment, without any regard either to principle, or the real lasting good of the country.

Mr. DRAKE, jun. faid, he was more than anxious to express his exultation and happiness at what he had heard; indeed ever fince the King's most gracious speech from the Throne, he had in common with his constituents, enjoyed the most pleasing joy and hopes of future comfort. This made him ready to join in the chorus of applause to a most excellent Minister, who was to alleviate the burdens of the people; and he must take the same opportunity to praise our glorious, and he hoped, permanent Constitution. This, he faid, was a jubilee night in Finance. Great as it was. however, he recommended public occonomy as the best means of improvement; and he trusted and wished, that the Gazette extraordinary of this night might be published over all this country—over all civilized countries—and he had almost faid over all favage countries. He concluded with a quotation, which he deemed applicable to the present fituation of Britons.

## O Fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint!

Mr. FOX, after a short allusion to the triumph of this jubilee of sinance, and stating that the business of this day was of the utmost importance, took occasion to pay a com-

pliment to the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and to the philosophical principles of Government on which he argued. He had enumerated the causes of national prosperity, with truth and fplendor. He fubscribed to his statement cordially, and if he did not himself go over the same ground, it was because he had nothing to add to what had been already said, nor could he hope to express it better. But he begged to be understood, that these reasons were all applicable to the prosperity of the country, not merely to the prosperity of the revenue. The honourable gentleman had fairly faid, that above all, they were to be ascribed to the happy form of our Constitution. If this was true, and that it was fo, every gentleman would concur-it was their duty to maintain the Constitution by that vigilance and jealoufy which were the chief duties of that House; and to take care that no infringements should be made under any colour or pretext, to trench on any of its vital parts; and fo far from thinking with the honourable gentleman who had fpoken last, that we could not value our present situation too highly, he thought we were in danger from being lulled into an excess of security. He was drawn to this observation, naturally from the business of this day; for he was still of the opinion that he had delivered on the first day of the session, that there was in the manner of introducing this proposition fuch a violation of a most valuable principle, and such an infult on the House of Commons, as demanded their most ferious reflection. It had been too often his duty to remark the variety of abuses which had been fuffered in the administration of the honourable gentleman, and which, indeed, marked his ministry, more perhaps than any other that had ever occurred in this country. There feemed to be a regular and fystematic intention in His Majesty's Ministers to annihilate the functions of that House, and to arrogate to Government every measure that properly belonged to them. The nation was made to look lightly on the popular branch of the Legislature, and in every instance to turn their eyes to Government, as to the fountain of every good. In this view he had stated the recommendation in His Majesty's fpeech from the Throne, in regard to the repeal of taxes, as an attempt to take from that House, in truth, the power of deliberation, the freedom of debate. Instead of coming unfettered to the consideration of the present state of the receipt and expenditure, fo far as to enable them to form a free judgement whether, confistently with their honest duty to the empire, they might relieve their constituents from fome part of their burdens, they were put into the unfeemly state of either complying implicitly with His Majesty's recommendation, or of being confidered by their conftituents as the oppofers of the boon which he had held out to them. "I complain for the Constitution, violated by this proceeding -I complain for the popular branch of the Legislature infulted — I complain for the People, really and effectually cheated by this infidious intervention, calculated to divert them from their true guardian and servant, the House of Commons, and to delude them, by fixing their hopes on the Government. I am not afraid of unpopularity in the honest discharge of my duty-I am not asraid of encountering all the hazards of artful mifrepresentation; but I complain that I am put into a fituation where I cannot exercise my judgement, and where I cannot pronounce my opinion that this is not the moment when Parliament can fafely, prudently, or honeftly furrender any part of the existing revenue, and where I cannot oppose the measure without the fear of bringing on the country a greater and more alarming evil, than by complying against my judgement.

Not only was his Majesty unconstitutionally advised to come down and recommend this measure, contrary to the first principles of Parliament, but to add to the impropriety, the Minister coming immediately from the closet, points out as a second part of the same speech, the very taxes which ought to be repealed; thus taking it out of the hands of Parliament to revise the whole, and see which of them, if any, could be repealed, were most grievous to the public, and conciliating themselves to their constituents by proving that they were attentive to their interests. Instead of coming forward handsomely and fairly as he ought to have done, and stating fairly the receipt on the one side, and the expenditure on the other, and calling on the House to take the condition of the Revenue into their

view, and see if they could not spare something to the people, he comes down with a declared furplus, for which, by the by, he has no experience, in one hand, and a number of odious and unpopular taxes, mostly of his own imposing, in the other, and thereby makes it impossible for the House to hesitate in their compliance. And, by the bye, if the People were much obliged to him now for repealing these taxes, they were likewife indebted to him in the first instance for laying them on.— " Can I object to the repeal of the malt tax-I, who opposed it so pointedly, when imposed by the honourable gentleman last year? Can I object to the repeal of the tax on female fervants, a tax which I always thought odious and abominable? I cannot—the House cannot, and, with their eyes open to the impropriety of the measure of giving up Revenue without an experience that we can afford it, we are brought into a fituation, when we cannot deliberate on the measure."

The question, to have been stated fairly, should have been as follows: There is a furplus of 400,000l. Will you apply it all towards the extinction of the national debt, or towards the immediate relief of the burdens of the people, or partly to the one, and partly to the other? Stated in this manner, the House would have come fairly to the exercise of their deliberative powers; and he had no helitation in faying, that if the question had been so stated to him, he would have answered, in the present situation of things, acting on a consistent principle, and defirous of having the benefit of experience, that the whole ought to be applied towards the diminution of the national debt. In faying this, he would at least have the credit of a fincere opinion; for evidently he courted no party on the occasion. He could not court the King, for the King had in his Speech recommended the measure. It was not a declaration by which he could expect to court the people, for evidently the repeal of a temporary burden, however it might operate in throwing diforder into the finances of the kingdom, diffurbing the credit, and finally of imposing more grievous burdens, would yet be popular, and an objection to it the contrary. But if he had to answer that question simply, he would do it, and maintain it on arguments provided for him by the honourable gentleman. He would use his own words. He would take his own fystem. He would prove that his own principles

were clearly against the measure which he now proposed. He would fliew, even from what the honourable gentleman had faid this night, that when felf was out of the question, he was ftill of opinion that the measure now proposed was erroneous and detrimental. For, faid the right honourable gentleman, in the year 1808, when by the operation of the plan for diminishing the debt, there would be a fum of four millions applicable to this object, he would take care that no Minister of that day fhould have it in his power to do, what he was doing in this, with only four hundred thousand, instead of four millions. Here, when he was impartial, and when he was not acting for himself and his faction, he was such an enemy to the national debt, that no room should be left for popularity to any Minister, by doing so fatal a thing to the nation, as that which he was now doing himself. Such is the difference between self and principle, fuch is the difference between the clear, manly discharge of duty, and the subterfuges of a dextrous pursuit of popularity. He had often heard it faid, that it was the character of men who were indulgent to themselves, to be severe to others. Never did he see this trait of the human mind more glaringly displayed than in this measure. For after having laid down a principle to be most obstinately persevered in, that the furplus of the Revenue should be with a facred and inviolable hand applied to the discharge of the debt, with all its compound interest, until it should amount to an applicable surplus of four millions. Such was his Language in 1786; fuch was the principle of his fystem. Now, however, he departed from this engagement for the fake of a little momentary popularity to himself, and held out to the nation a boon of 200,000l. But, fays he, I know I do wrong; I know it is a dereliction of my principles, but permit me to do this little mischief, and I will compensate for the laxity of my own system, by tying down my fuccessors. Fifteen years hence, a period to which it was impetible to carry forward the idea of parties and partialities, he would take care that even when there were four millions the fystem should not be thus violated.

It would have been at least prudent to have waited until we had the experience of a single year, a single month, or a single day, in which the receipt of the county had exceeded the expenditure, to justify us in saying that there was an applicable

furplus at all. Nothing could be more indefenfible than the intemperate raffiness of the proceeding. He went completely upon speculation. What speculation of expenditure had not turned out to be fallacious? Every statement of the honourable gentleman, with regard to reduction and economy, remained to be fulfilled. The Committee of last year, composed of very honourable men, had given a statement of what was likely to be the peace establishment. It might, perhaps, be found exact; but let it be remembered that the statement of the Committee of 1786, a Committee equally honourable had fallen short by 500,000l. of the actual expenditure, and the fubsequent statement might be liable to the same deficiency. It would have been well, at least, to have taken the benefit of one fingle year's peace establishment. What could be the reafon of this intemperate hurry? He had no helitation in agreeing with his honourable friend, that it was the Ruffian armament which preffed upon him, and which had produced this hafty, ill-timed, and, as it had been conducted, unconstitutional facrifice to popularity. He faid unconflitutional, for every thing that crippled the proceedings of Parliament, every thing that placed the Crown between the House of Commons and their Constituents, was unconstitutional and alarming.-If the question had come fairly before them, he should have given it his negative; now, however, he could not do this, fince a greater evil might be incurred from the danger of a division between that House and the people, a division, which the unparliamentary and improper recommendation from the Throne might occasion. That pressed on the subject of the Ruffian war, fenfible that his head-strong interference in a difpute had involved him in a dilemma, from which the refult could afford him no argument of defence, he had thrown out this boon to the public, to divert them from the contemplation of his conduct. He did not mean to acccuse him of being fo poor a logician, as to fet this up as the ratio justifica, but he was well aware, that, tempting and agreeable, it would ferve as the ratio fuaforia.

Having thus objected to the principle, he faid he equally objected to the manner in which this was done. What rule was to be established in future? In case of suture surplusses, were they always to act by this precedent, or what rule was

there to be established? Opposition at present could not be faid to be engaged in a struggle for power, the other party were too decidedly fuperior in numbers, and too much in poffession of the confidence of the country to admit of such an idea on their part: But though in the present state of the parties of this country, perhaps no immediate use might be made of this manœuvre, for it could only be regarded as a finister manœuvre. But if there should be in that House again a struggle for power, if the parties were more nearly on a par than at prefent, what miferable use might not be made of this precedent? One fide, in case of a surplus, might be for giving half to the people in taxes, another for giving the whole, and there might be inflituted between the two an auction for power, in which the highest bidder would attempt to purchase the favour of the Country at the expence of its interests. The whole manifested a most blameable care for the moment, a fubterfuge against charges to which he knew he was liable, and for which he felt that he had no justification. The Ruffian armament stared him in the Face; he knew that the nation were of one mind on the subject of his disastrous impolicy, and that the Indian fystem was equally pregnant with danger and difgrace. On the fubject of India there was nothing more alarming than the difference which appeared in the two Ministers on the subject. The one affirmed to the House that there would be affistance derived from that quarter, the other coupled the affertion with an if the war was speedily terminated.

In regard to the reduction of the 4 per cents, he was clearly of opinion that it was a most politic and proper measure. From the calculation that he had made on the subject, the nation might draw annual benefit of between 260 and 270,000l. from this branch, and he wished the right honourable gentleman had stated what was his plan for the measure. A well-conceived plan for the measure should have his support.—The rise of the funds, in his mind, was a great national benefit; for though it threw obstacles in the way of paying off the debt, it invigorated every branch of our prosperity. In proportion as the funds were high, money for every object of commercial enterprize, of manufacture, of agricultural improvement, of trade and industry of all kinds, became more easily attainable. It

added, therefore, to the capital of the nation, it enlarged the fphere of activity, and produced the wealth which more than counterbalanced the difference which we had to pay in buying up the debts. If we confidered the amount of our debt as a capital, the capital was certainly encreased by the rise of the funds. The capital of our debt was clearly more now than in the year 1786, but the annuity was lefs, and to the annuity he always looked as to the true debt which was our enemy. What, then, ought to be the conduct of the nation on these premises? If it was true that the rise of the funds imposed on the nation the hardship of paying a greater sum for redeeming the fame quantity of annuity; but that at the fame time the rife of the funds fo largely promoted the general opulence of the nation as to make it more easy for us to redeem such annuity, the conclusion of the proposition clearly is, that the moment of wealth is the moment of redemption. What do we do? Instead of taking the true benefit of the opulence which the high price of the funds has given us, by opposing more vigoroufly our great enemy the national debt, we flacken, while this enemy goes on; for he rears his head, and if we do not, in the moment of prosperity, encrease our efforts against him he gains ground upon us. To be uniform in the combat, therefore, it is necessary that we should add as much to the fum applied to the diminution of the debt, as the proportion between the profperous and the adverse moment. Surely, in a day of prosperity, it was easier for the nation to buy up an annuity of 42,000l. than in the day of advertity, yet we were to follow the exact contrary fystem by this new plan, and therefore he afferted that the Minister was courting popularity by the dereliction of principle.

It was the fashion of the day to praise the Constitution, and to labour to destroy it. They were for ever pouring forth encomiums on it in the lump, and mangling it in detail. Every stratagem was used to make the functions of that House ungracious to the people, to make them out of favour with their representatives, to make it impossible for men to act faithfully in the discharge of their trust to the empire without having odium excited against them. Considence in the Crown was set up in the stead of considence in the House of Commons; and the entrenchments on the Constitution were carried on by appeals

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to the passions of the inconsiderate. For himself he had so often occasion to notice this settled plan in the administration of the present day, and with so little effect, that he despaired of producing any effect on the tempers of the House.

But having frequently showed himself unawed by the influence of power, he trusted he should be able on the present occasion to maintain an equal superiority, and testify himself no less unmoved by popular prejudice and clamour; and though it would be presumptuous in any man to apply to his practice, yet he would take upon himself to apply to his sense of his duty the celebrated passage,

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida————

Mr. Chancellor PITT reverted to the King's speech, and to what he had faid before, and asked if any thing therein mentioned tended to call upon the right honourable gentleman for fo vehement a defence of the rights and privileges of that House, when no attack was made upon them. He would only trouble the Committee with a few words. The right honourable gentleman had stated, that his arguments and propositions, if followed up, weakened the fystem for paying off the national debt, settled by the bill of 1786. This, however, he thought he had faid enough to controvert. The right honourable gentleman feemed to think himself not at liberty to go into the question with the freedom he could have wished, but in his opinion, the only question of importance was fairly at issue between them, and that was, that upon taking an average of four years, whether there was a furplus fufficient to enable him to appropriate part of it towards discharging the national debt, and the remainder towards relieving the subjects from fome of the most oppressive taxes. In his opinion we were arrived at that period when the surplus was fuch as might be appropriated in that way; in the right honourable gentleman's opinion, we were not, and the matter remained for the decision of the House. He contended, the present situation of the finances of this country far exceeded any expectations that

were formed of them in former years. He then came to make fome reply to what the right honourable gentleman had faid of his felfish attention to the moment, and his severity to those Ministers who might succeed him. How this came to be argued he was at a loss to account for, except the right honourable gentleman had a view to what might occur when he came into office. Great fault had been found with him because he proposed to follow a system that he was convinced was beneficial to the country beyond the period to which it had been originally intended to carry it; and this it was faid he did to prevent any future Minister of the time from enjoying the popularity of it. His propofal went to the year 1808, and he would ask, where was the difference, with regard to whomsoever might be Minister, between this scheme and that of the Committee in 1786, but about one year and a half; but in the period of fifteen years, taking in all the viciffitudes and changes that might happen, he did not know whether he might not be as well disposed to the Minister of that day, and have as good a chance of being his friend, as the right honourable gentleman. It had happened that feveral gentlemen, who fat on the fame fide with the right honourable gentleman, had before now been out of their reckoning as to the changes of administration, and it might so happen again.

Mr. FOX faid, except he was wilfully mifrepresented, he could not account for the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had argued. He, when he fpoke before, never meant to enter into any speculation with regard to who would or would not be Minister fifteen years hence. No such idea had ever entered his mind, and he begged the right honourable gentleman, and the House, to recollect, that when he had put that part of his argument, he stated it as asking a question of the right honourable gentleman, upon which he knew he must be impartial, and which had no reference or regard to the person who might be Minister. He, perhaps, in the right honourable gentleman's opinion, was not a man of great wisdom, but he trusted he was not so foolish as to indulge any fuch speculation as the right honourable gentleman hinted at. As matters at prefent were, he could have no hopes of fuccess, so unequal were the numbers; nor could he think that

because he was some years older than the right honourable gentleman, that was any reason for his speculationupon being his fuccessor fifteen years hence. The right honourable gentleman boasted, in high language, of the unexpected increase of the revenue. He allowed all the causes stated by the right honourable gentleman; but he certainly would not allow that the increase was either unexpected or unforeseen, whatever pains might be taken to spread abroad fuch an opinion, for the purpose of momentary popularity, which scemed to be the chief study of the present day. The Minister took every method to persuade the country that he was not only the person who could pay off the national debt, but the fole inventor of a plan for the reduction of that debt; and that it never had been thought of till he came into power to put it into practice; and that it originated entirely with him. It required, however, nothing from him to put that matter out of doubt, because the right honourable gentleman, and many in the House, must know the contrary.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved his resolutions severally, which were agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

The House, in a Committee of Supply, and afterwards in a Committee of Ways and Means, came to several resolutions, which were ordered to be reported on Monday.

Mr. Chancellor PITT prefented the following Copy of a Treaty of Marriage between the Duke of York and the Princess Royal of Prussia. He then gave notice, that in the course of next week he should move the settlement, as agreed to be made upon the Dutchess, and the provision required for the Duke of York.

## TRANSLATION OF A TREATY

BETWEEN

HIS MAJESTY AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA,
On the Marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of York,
with her Royal Highness the Princess Frederica Charlotte
Ulrique Catharine of Prussia.

Signed at Berlin, 26th Jan. 1792.

In the Name of Almighty God, Be it known to all persons now living and to come, that the

1111.	18 4 1700
Supplies for the fewer of	The Jeas 1 9 L.
Aimy	_ 1,943.882
Ordnance	-1.814.800 - 4
Otenanu	- 463.601.11.3 -7.957.1451/2.
<i>.</i>	12.179.428.12.62
Mays and Means	
By Land Tax	2.000.000
By Buty on Chall	750.000.
By Suplan of consol Jund 5 lan	
By 00 5 April 1792	- 436,107.11.2 - 2,300,000
By a Lottey.	812.500
By Excheque Bills	_ 5,500.000.
î î	11.954.103.10.22
Defining of Ways Means.	225.025.2.2
	12.179.428.12.62