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A. 1793.

D E B A T E S.

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The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, It is impossible, in the present situation of affairs, not to look to the means of providing for those exigencies which must arise, and of prosecuting the struggle in which we are engaged with the utmost vigour. I have accordingly taken the earliest opportunity which was afforded me, of laying before you the expences of the present year, and the means and aids by which they are to be supplied: but before I proceed to this enumeration, I must first mention the leading object which has governed my mind upon this occasion, namely, the recollection of the unanimous opinion, with respect to the present struggle, which the House have carried to the Throne, and published to the world; that they regarded it as a struggle for whatever was most dear and sacred, for the security of the Throne, and the preservation of the Constitution; and that they were prepared to prosecute it with the greatest exertion, and a zeal proportioned to the importance of the objects of contest. Fortified with these considerations, I am prepared for that talk which my duty on the present occasion requires me to undertake. What, in the first place, is to be looked to, is the vigorous and effectual prosecution of this war, in which we have every thing at stake; and it is by such a prosecution of the war, that we shall best consult true prudence and rational œconomy. I do not wish to conceal from the House, and from the Public, that large preparations must be made, and considerable expences incurred. Œconomy to me seems in our present situation to consist, not in limiting the extent of these expences, but, in controlling their application. In this point of view, I rely upon this House for a liberal supply, adequate to the exigency and importance of the crisis.— There is another point which I wish to inculcate; that whatever degree of exertion we may regard as necessary, or may be disposed to make, the Public ought not in any respect to be deluded and flattered—they ought to be made sensible of the full extent to which they may be liable to be called upon to defray the expences of the war. I will omit nothing on my part to bring forward annually the whole accounts. But, though in calculating the expences of a war, much may be done by estimate, a great deal must still depend on contingency. Un-

foreseen occurrences will continually arise; which will render additional expences necessary. Taking then these occurrences into view, it is proper to allow considerable latitude for the expences that may be incurred. It is part of my plan to allow a considerable sum for these extraordinary emergencies, so as to make a full provision for every part of the expence. But there is another object to be attended to, whatever degree of exertion may be made in the present contest, which involves the dearest and most sacred objects. Still we must not allow ourselves to neglect what likewise involves in it the permanent interests of ourselves and our posterity. I not only mean still to employ the annual million for the reduction of the National debt, but likewise the sum of 200,000l. which was last year understood to be set apart for that purpose, so as to provide, even during the continuance of the war, for the lessening of the debt by compound interest. I likewise mean to avoid another evil which has taken place in all former wars—the accumulation of an unfunded debt. I therefore intend to bring the unfunded debt every year to a distinct account. In conformity with this principle, I shall propose the payment of the navy debt, in order to reduce it to the establishment mentioned by the Committee in their report last year. I shall now proceed in the usual way to state, first, the total amount of the Supply, and the total amount of the Ways and Means, distinguishing the excesses of the services, and of the resources.

SUPPLY.

NAVY.

25,000 Seamen, including	
Marines, -	£. 1,300,000 0 0
20,000 ditto, -	1,040,000 0 0
Ordinary, 669,205 5 10	
Extraordi-	
nary, 387,710 0 0	
	<hr/> 1,056,915 5 10
Excess of Navy Debt beyond the Estimate of the Committee, - -	575,000 0 0
	<hr/> 3,971,915 5 10

ARMY.

Army, - -	£. 2,573,187 18 0
Hanoverians, - -	455,851 14 8
Militia, - - -	939,519 15 7
	<hr/> 3,968,559 8 3

ORDNANCE.

Ordinary, } 502,686 13 5	
Extraordi- } naries, }	
Additional	
Estimate, 281,079 18 8	
	<hr/> 783,766 12 1
Cobb. at Lyme, -	9,802 4 0
	<hr/> 793,568 16 1

	£. 8,734,043 10 2
Miscellaneous Services, - - -	175,844 11 2½

DEFICIENCY OF GRANTS.

Arising from Interest on Exchequer Bills, } 222,325 2 4	
Lottery, - - - - -	
Deficiency of Ways and Means, - - -	
Deficiency of Land and Malt, - - -	350,000 0 0
To be made annually to the Sinking Fund, 200,000 0 0	
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With regard to the first article, the total amount of the expence of the navy, for which there have been already voted 45,000 seamen, I would by no means have it understood that these are the whole number which may be necessary to be employed. These sums however constitute the whole of the supply in the ordinary mode of the estimate; to which is to be added, such a sum as the Committee may think proper to allow for the latitude of unforeseen and unavoidable expence. I have before mentioned the extraordinary charges which may be expected to occur. I have just now stated the possibility of some exceeding with regard to seamen. If the situation of this country lead us, as I hope it will, to take an efficient part along with our numerous allies, in carrying on offensive operations against the enemy, a considerable increase of expence in our military establishment will be necessary. Hitherto, we have hired none but the Hanoverian troops; but, in this case,

we may have occasion to employ a considerable body of other foreign troops, in order to press on all sides the common enemy. Some additional expence will be incurred by domestic encampments. An increase will also accrue in the sum allowed to the Loyalists, some of whom have been sent to Canada. A loss may perhaps accrue in the lottery, on account of certain regulations which it has been found necessary to make. It is, therefore, my opinion, that a considerable sum should be set apart to enable His Majesty to provide for the unexpected occurrences of a war, and defray its exigencies as they arise. So many are the contingencies of a war, that, whatever sum may be voted for this purpose, I will not pledge myself for its sufficiency. In other wars, let it be recollected, that, after the sums allotted for them had been expended, very considerable debts were brought forward to be defrayed at a future period. After endeavouring to take every thing into the account, and to calculate as exactly as I can, I will not pretend to state the precise sum; but I would not propose less than a million and a half should be given to His Majesty with a view to contingencies. The mode of giving it, I would suggest to be by Exchequer bills upon a vote of credit; but as I do not wish the number of Exchequer bills in circulation to be increased, I would likewise propose to pay off a million and a half of those which are now in circulation. The total of these sums amount to 11,182,213l. 3s. 8½d.

I now come to state the means with which we are furnished, and to suggest the aids which may yet be wanting to defray this expence.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land Tax,	-	-	-	£. 200,000
Malt	-	-	-	750,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund on 5th Jan. 1793	-	-	-	435,696
Surplus of Consolidated Fund on April 5, 1794, viz.	-	-	-	
Expected Surplus on 5th April, 1793,	£.	274,000		
Expected Surplus of the 4 Quarters to 5th April, 1794, estimated on the 4 years average as below, after deducting 220,000l. for Duties to be ap-				

appropriated to pay the Interest of Money to be borrowed - *2,185,000
 Imprest Monies to be repaid - 250,000
 Money to be paid by the E. India Comp. 500,000
 ----- 3,209,000

Money from the Commissioners for the National

* Year ending January 1790, Total Amount of Taxes	15,991,000	
Deduct Land & Malt	2,558,000	13,433,000
1791, Total Amt. of Taxes	16,437,000	
Deduct Land & Malt	2,558,000	13,879,000
1792, Total Amt. of Taxes	16,730,000	
Deduct Land & Malt	2,558,000	14,172,000
1793, Total Amt. of Taxes	16,970,000	
Deduct Land & Malt	2,558,000	14,412,000

Average of 34 years 14,154,330.

£. 55,896,000
 Deduct on acct. of repealed Taxes in three years 669,000
 Ditto in 1792-3 90,000
 ----- 759,000
 £. 55,137,000
 Average, £. 13,784,000
 Add 1-6th of a 53d Week 32,000

£. 13,816,000
 Deduct, permanent Charges on Consolidated Fund - 11,391,000
 And for Interest on Money to be raised 240,000
 ----- 11,631,000
 £. 2,185,000

§ Total Amount of Taxes - 15,116,000
 Land & Malt - 2,558,000
 ----- £. 17,674,000
 Deduct, Total Amount of New Taxes in 1793 - 832,760
 From which is to be abated Old Stamp Duties - 128,600
 ----- 704,000
 ----- 16,970,000

Debt, including the annual Contribution of	
200,000l.	† 1,650,000
Continuation of temporary Taxes	255,000
	<hr/>
	£. 8,299,696

That part of the statement, which relates to the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, on the 5th of January last, I trust will afford much satisfaction. Gentlemen will recollect that the expences of 1792 were to be defrayed by the amount of the revenue to the 5th of April, 1793; but it happens that the expences were not only defrayed on the 5th of January 1793, but a surplus actually remained; consequently the produce of the quarter ending on the 5th of April, is applicable to the exigencies of the present year; of the produce of this quarter 435,000l. have been already voted. Supposing it to be as favourable as it has been in former years, 274,000l. will remain of this quarter, in addition to the 435,000l. of which the nation will have to avail itself. Still, however, I mean to carry on the year from the 5th April, 1793, to the 5th April, 1794. However sanguine in my own expectations of the flourishing state of the revenue, I have always wished to be moderate in my calculations; therefore have, upon former occasions, as at present, taken it upon the average of the four last years. It is my intention to continue those temporary taxes which were imposed upon occasion of the Spanish armament, and which ~~expire at different periods.~~ They had been found to be attended with no particular inconvenience to the country, and would consequently be submitted to with less reluctance than any fresh imposts. These amount to 255,000l. which sum I should henceforth propose to consider as part of the Supply. The aid which I have now to suggest is, what often has been

† Monies to be received by the Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt in the Four Quarters to 5th January 1794.

Quarter ending 5th April 1793	£. 583,195
5th July 1793	361,489
10th October 1793	349,195
5th Jan. 1794	375,703
	<hr/>
	£. 1,650,000

looked upon as entirely chimerical, and has been treated, at best, as precarious and uncertain; namely, the assistance to the finances of this country to be derived from those of India. This assistance my right honourable friend pledged himself for, when he could neither foresee the war which threatened the opulence of India, nor the present war which could render its resources desirable to this country. I am now happy to state that the fulfilment of his promise has arrived, notwithstanding the difficulties which seemed to bar its accomplishment; and that, in 1794, a sum of not less than 500,000l. from the finances of India, will be applicable to the expences of this country. My right honourable friend has not only stated his propositions on this subject distinctly, article by article, but published them to the world; and thus taken every method to invite discussion, and challenge contradiction. The political and commercial arrangements of India are not yet before the House; nor has any plan, with respect to them, been definitively settled: but, whatever may be the plan adopted, I trust it will be one attended with no less advantage than that proposed by my right honourable friend; so that, in any case, I may with confidence, promise the benefit which it has been stated will result from the assistance of India. The whole make a total of 6,649,000l. so that there remains 4,500,000l. to be provided for by other resources. Of this sum, there is 1,650,000 in the hands of the Commissioners of the National Debt, which they would readily subscribe; and for the rest there will be wanting a loan of 2,900,000l. I have not made any proposals concerning the terms of the loan, because I considered it, first, as my duty to submit this statement to the Public, in order to avoid any thing which might have the appearance of deception. A sum of 240,000l. will be wanting to pay the interest of this loan, for which purpose I mean to devote the taxes imposed upon occasion of the Spanish armament. These taxes were of two kinds, some of them temporary, and others perpetual. Of these, the additional tax on bills, and the game duty, amounted to 85,000l. The tax of one penny per gallon on all British spirits, which surely was, in itself, a matter of proper regulation, produced a sum of 112,000l. Another of these was the addition of ten per cent. upon all assessed taxes, which amounted to about 90,000l.; making, upon the whole,

a sum of 287,000l. According to the present price of stocks, and recent events are not likely to diminish their value, I will now lay before the Committee a general statement of the whole subject, in one connected point of view:

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Supply	£. 11,182,213	
Do. of Ways & Means	8,299,696	
		2,882,517
Add, Money from Commissioners	1,650,000	
		£. 4,532,517 say, 4,500,000
4,500,000l. at 75 per cent. is equal to	-	£. 6,000,000
6,000,000l. at 3 per cent. is equal to	-	£. 180,000
To which add an additional 1 per cent.	-	60,000
		£. 240,000
10 per cent. on Assessed Taxes,	£. 90,000	} Temporary Taxes to be continued.
British Spirits	112,000	
Bills and Receipts	- - - - 68,000	
Game Duty,	- - - - 17,000	
		£. 287,000

This, I believe, is nearly the statement which I meant to submit to the Committee. You will have perceived that I have stated a large and ample provision, in point of expence, with a view to an extended scale of operations. You will also perceive that I have made a large provision for the extraordinary and unforeseen occurrences which may arise during the war; while, at the same time, I have attended to the object of keeping down the unfunded debt, and applying the annual surplus to the extinction of the funded debt. The Committee will at least see that I have not neglected, however painful, to do my duty. That I have prepared, decidedly, to meet events; and let them know the extent of the operations with which

the present and future state of the war may be attended; and though I should deem it presumptuous to speculate much about the events of a war which must always be accompanied with some degree of suspense and uncertainty, I do not think it useless to suggest some observations with respect to this war in which we are engaged. The excess of the permanent revenue, if kept up, is no less than 900,000l. above the peace establishment; which even, if destroyed by war, will leave the country in possession of all its ordinary revenue. This 900,000l. I have not taken into my reasoning. I have taken care not to found any calculation upon it; because I was desirous to leave it as a security against those accidents and contingencies to which every war is liable. Nothing, certainly, is so impossible, as to calculate, with any degree of certainty, upon the events of a war; yet, if the same good fortune which has attended us in the outset, shall continue to accompany us, we have every thing to hope, and little reason to dread that our commerce will meet with much interruption; in which case, our revenue could not suffer. At the same time, it has been my object to prepare you for sinister events, and to make provision against every calamity that can possibly occur. The Committee will see, from the statements which I have submitted to them, that even if the struggle in which we are engaged should last beyond the present year, we shall be able to carry it on during the next, without any additional burden. I am not desirous to draw a sanguine picture. I was careful to state none of these encouragements to a war in any of the previous discussions. I considered that we ought then to determine solely on the merits of the case; and that, if we considered a war as necessary, we were bound to meet it, even to its utmost extent. There is no part which we ought not to be prepared to sacrifice for the preservation of the whole. This is a war in which, not merely adopting empty professions, but speaking the language of our hearts, and fulfilling the impressions of our duty, ~~we are ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes for the safety of the country, the security of Europe, and in the cause of justice, humanity, and religion.~~ I will not do such injustice to any one as to suppose, that in such a cause, they are not ready to go the greatest length, and to make every sacrifice that may be required. I will here barely touch upon

*No Taxes next year
Saved 1794
£ 911,000*

the contrast which the present situation of the country offers to the flourishing state during the last session with regard to revenue. That contrast no man feels more severely than I do. No man can more deeply regret any interruption to the prosperous state of the revenue, the object of my most anxious attention and my most favourite wishes; but if they consider the situation of the neighbouring and hostile state with respect to revenue, they have no reason to despond. Instead of giving way to feelings of useless regret upon that occasion, I trust you are influenced by far different sentiments. Many are the motives which have induced us to enter into a war.— I have heard of wars of honour; and such, too, have been deemed wars of prudence and policy. On the present occasion, whatever could raise the feelings, or animate the exertions of a people, concurred to prompt them to the war.— The contempt which the French had shewn for a neutrality, on our part most strictly observed; the violations of their solemn and plighted faith; their presumptuous attempts to interfere in the Government of this country, and to arm our subjects against ourselves; to vilify a monarch, the object of our gratitude, reverence and affection; and to separate the Court from the people, by representing them as influenced by different motives, and acting from different interests.— After provocations so wanton, so often repeated, and so highly-aggravated, does not this become, on our part, a war of honour; a war necessary to assert the spirit of the nation and the dignity of the British name? I have heard of wars undertaken for the general security of Europe: was it ever so threatened as by the progress of the French arms, and the system of ambition and aggrandizement which they have discovered? I have heard of wars for the defence of the Protestant religion: our enemies, in this instance, are equally the enemies of all religion—of Lutheranism, of Calvinism; and desirous to propagate, every where, by the force of their arms, that system of infidelity which they avow in their principles. I have heard of wars undertaken in defence of the lawful succession; but now we fight in defence of our hereditary monarchy. We are at war with those who would destroy the whole fabric of our constitution. When I look at these things, they afford me encouragement and consolation;

The French

and support me in discharging the painful task, to which I am now called by my duty. The retrospect to that flourishing state in which we were placed previous to this war, ought to teach us to know the value of the present order of things; and to resist the malignant and envious attempts of those who would deprive us of that happiness which they despair themselves to attain. We ought to remember, that that very prosperous situation at the present crisis supplies us with the exertions, and furnishes us with the means, which our exigencies demand. In such a cause as that in which we are now engaged, I trust that our exertions will terminate only with our lives. On this ground I have brought forward the resolutions which I am now to propose; and on this ground, I now trust for your support.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt then concluded with moving the first resolution.

Mr. SHERIDAN
fer

with an harangue more calculated for the General of a heated army going to storm a French redoubt, than a Minister of Finance discussing accounts in the sober hour of calculation with the stewards and attornies of a burdened and patient people. Whenever he saw exertion and eloquence so misplaced, he always suspected there was some weakness to cover in the subject itself. He was the more led into the apprehension by some very alarming hints the right honourable gentleman had dropped respecting new connections still to be formed. It seemed the expensive corps of 12,000 Hanoverians were not the only foreign troops we were to pay: new subsidies and foreign mercenaries were announced, and in a manner that seemed to avow that Government was adopting the general principles and views of the Austrian and Prussian confederacy, which he had hitherto flattered himself had not been the case, whatever had been the wishes and arguments of some individuals in that House. - He had been in hopes that the war was

erous

Lawes. 1793

Constitutional Duty of Mr. Pitt
 money as made out. when supposed 1794 taken for £ 86,000
 Little as I can give spirit D. — £ 154,000
 * £ 240,000

* These are the Duties that Mr. Pitt
 actually appropriated for the service
 of this year tho' it is impossible
 to gather it from the accounts
 reported

Supplies for the service of the Year 1793

Navy	3,854,915	5	10
Army	3,968,559	8	3
Ordnance	900,766	12	1
Miscellaneous Services	9,075,477	9	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<u>17,799,718</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5 $\frac{3}{4}$</u>

Ways and Means

By Land Tax	2,000,000
By Duty on Malt	750,000
By Surplus of the Cons. ^d fund	
5 January 1793	435,696
Out of S ^d from S ^d Loans: 1793	
to 5 April 1794	3,464,000
By Loan	4,500,000
By a Lottery	675,000
By Exchequer Bills	5,500,000
	<u>17,324,696</u>
	<u>1,475,022</u>
Requiring of Ways & Means	<u>17,799,718</u>
	<u>15</u>
	<u>5 $\frac{3}{4}$</u>

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