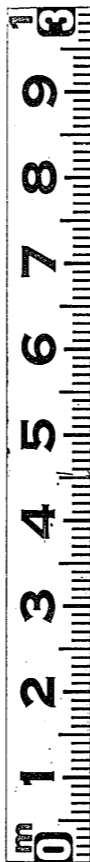


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ministration, as he certainly did in the responsibility of the expedition to the coast of France, and when that subject came under discussion on *prima facie* grounds of misconduct, he pledged himself to convince the House, that there was no ground of censure, no violation of their duty, in the confidential servants of the crown, though the gentlemen on the other side had been as profuse of epithets as they were deficient in argument. At present the question he conceived involved the consideration, whether there existed any public or parliamentary grounds for the production of this letter. The right honourable gentleman assumed, that the Count de Sombreuil laboured under the imputation of having advised this expedition? no such imputation had, however, been thrown upon him, and it was impossible that it should. It did not appear upon the face of the transaction, that he had any share in it, and, in fact, the expedition was planned, and had actually commenced, before the Count came from the Continent with his regiment. He served whatever might have been his talents, in a subordinate capacity and possessed no power of remonstrance as a commandant. Even if there had been any imputation resting upon him, was it not fully done away by the publication of this letter? It appeared, therefore, that the gentlemen on the other side called for the production of a letter, to rescue the character of this gentleman from an imputation that could never have attached upon it, and which, if it had attached, must have been wiped away by the publication of the letter. The right honourable gentleman had misrepresented his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham.) He did not say that he waited for a motion for the production of this letter to give an explanation, but he said, he waited until the subject of the expedition itself should be brought forward, that he might, with propriety, perform the request of a gallant and heroic officer. If the gentlemen were so deeply impressed with the necessity of producing this letter, how happened it, that with this strong impression upon their minds, they had waited so long without calling for it?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded with declaring that no parliamentary ground whatever had been laid before the House to justify its production; and every end that the Count could have had in view, had been answered by its publication; he should therefore move the order of the day.

Mr. Fox explained. He said the production of the letter was not more necessary in the House to exculpate Sombreuil, than to criminate the persons who advised and conducted the calamitous expedition in which he lost his life.

Mr.

Mr. Sheridan said, the Secretary at War, in claiming the privilege of an *angry man*, had substituted words and passion for proof and argument. Whether he had said any thing to provoke irritation he knew not, he should, however, even at the hazard of incurring the right honourable gentleman's resentment, assert, that he was authorized by the letter to contend that Sombreuil left London under an impression that he was to have the supreme command, and that he would have declined the service altogether, had he known that De Puisaye was to have had that distinguished rank. The calamity that attended that expedition he attributed solely to the division of council, for the coward Puisaye secured his retreat, while the other brave companions of his voyage were left a prey to his treachery, and that calamity he charged as a crime against his Majesty's ministers.

The motion for the order of the day was put and carried without a division.

THE BUDGET.

The House then resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and said, that the subject which he had to lay before the committee that night was particularly deserving of their attention; considering the extent of the public burdens in the course of the war, and the aggravation which during a part of that period, had arisen from collateral circumstances. Under the very arduous nature of the contest in which we were engaged, and of the peculiar situation of this country, in consequence of our having recently received a public avowal of the present sense and dispositions of those who govern the councils, and direct the government of our enemies, it became peculiarly proper and requisite to enter into an examination of the further exertions which might be necessary on our part to continue the contest, by an examination of our resources, depreciated as they had been by the enemy abroad and attacked at home by the strongest exertions and talents of some honourable gentlemen, he feared but too successfully, it became a subject of the greatest magnitude and importance which could claim the attention of the House, to shew by the fair result of a distinct examination of the true situation of this country, what were its resources; on which, in a great measure, might depend the ultimate issue of the contest, and the fate of this country, and of all Europe. Such was the subject of that night; he approached it, and indeed it was impossible not so to approach it, with a considerable portion of anxiety and solicitation, and

yet

yet he would sincerely say, that after revolving it in his mind as carefully and deliberately as it was possible for him to do; and after endeavouring to examine it most minutely in all its parts, he approached it with a sincere and rooted confidence, and if he should be able to do justice to the truth of the facts which he should have to state, and by which the judgment of the House ought alone to be guided, he then should be able to give the surest grounds of hope, and of just confidence in the resources of the country, and disappoint the proud and presumptuous expectations which an enemy had founded upon a contrary supposition. Before he entered into any detail, he was anxious to convince the House of the importance of the subject, and to impress it on their minds to its fullest extent. The general discussion, which he had to submit to their consideration, and which he should endeavour to compress within as narrow limits as possible, would comprehend three distinct heads.

1st, The substitution of such new ways and means as might be thought adviseable by the committee, and as he should suggest in lieu of those proposed before Christmas, but which, upon representations that had been made and after due enquiry, he had thought it policy to relinquish.

2d, The statement of such services as had not been foreseen, in providing for the services of the year, and in proposing to the committee the means of meeting those services.

3d, The measure that he thought it would be adviseable for the committee to adopt, in order to remove the distress occasioned by the temporary demand for money, and in order to give facility to commercial credit.

These were the three principal points upon which he had that day to call the attention of gentlemen, and from the discussion of which he was assured that they would derive the full and perfect satisfaction; which he felt in his own bosom, not merely with regard to the general sufficiency of the country, but also with regard to its growing and unprecedented prosperity.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE TAX ON PRINTED COTTONS.

In stating the ways and means in December, he had mentioned his intentions of providing taxes for a calculated yearly value of 1,120,000l. of which 135,000l. was to arise from a certain tax on printed cottons and calicoes: he meant, in the first instance, to provide substitutes for this tax, as it was thought adviseable to withdraw it. The house would therefore see, that with regard to this part of the subject he did not

mean to lay fresh burdens on the people in point of amount, but to find a different mode of imposing them. A measure brought forward by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Dent) would afford him a substitute to the amount of the greatest part of the deficiency; he meant the tax on dogs. The house were of opinion with him, that if the owners of dogs were proper objects of taxation, a certain proportion of that tax ought to be applicable to the public service; this, according to the statement he had made on a former night, which would arise from the surplus of two shillings on dogs kept by persons paying the assessed taxes, and a greater increase on those who kept a plurality of dogs, would produce, according to his calculation, 100,000l. a year, and which he had reason to believe would be collected with great facility. This sum deducted from the amount of the deficiency, left 35,000l. for which he would provide after the following manner. It was generally allowed to be the least unexceptionable, and the most desirable tax, which might arise by such regulations as would prevent the evasion of any existing duty, and enforce its due collection:—

DUTY ON HATS.

The duty laid upon hats at present had been found to decline yearly in its produce since its first institution, and was reduced so low, as to be scarcely of any service to the public revenue; and at the same time that it afforded no advantage, it had this particular attendant quality, that it fell particularly heavy on the conscientious trader; any just and honest hatter, who paid the Tax, ran the risk of disobliging his customers; whilst, on the other hand, the fraudulent trader had every encouragement and advantage. A mode of collecting it, he said, had been communicated to him which must enforce the duty, and which was as simple as it was likely to be effectual. He meant, that, instead of being collected by a stamped paper, which was easily separated from the hat, it should be collected by a stamp upon the lining of the hat, in a way which would make it impossible for the wearer not to know whether he had or had not paid the duty. He would not then enter more particularly into the subject of that tax; perhaps it would be more convenient to the house to reserve any particular discussion of it, until a bill should be introduced in consequence of the resolution of the committee. It would be only necessary for him to state its probable amount, and this, he believed, gentlemen must be aware, was a tax of which it was difficult to enter into any calculation; he had heard, that when it was originally laid on, it was calculated to produce 100,000l. but he believed

believed that it had never actually produced more than 30,000l. which was the amount the first year after it was imposed; ever since which time it had been gradually diminishing, and in the last year it produced 6000l. only; he could not state what might be the addition by the present proposed mode of enforcing the duty, but he believed he might safely calculate it 40 or 50,000l. beyond what it at present produced. He would, however, only state it at 40,000l. per annum; which added to the 100,000l. a year arising from the surplus dog tax, would amount to 140,000l. This sum was more than sufficient to supply the deficiency by abandoning the tax on cottons; and the substitutes, he conceived, were the more advisable objects of taxation, and would press more lightly and more generally than the cotton tax, which he had stated in the former budget.

ARMY, ORDNANCE, AND NAVY.

The next point which he had to state for the consideration of the committee was of a much larger extent, and one to which it was necessary, more particularly to call their attention; he meant such increased charges as it might be necessary to provide for, and which had occurred since the statement of the budget at Christmas, as also for services which were not at that time foreseen, together with their amounts, and the mode which he meant to propose for defraying them. That mode, he said, was connected with another object, viz. that of giving relief to the general state of credit in the country. He should, therefore, first state the amount of the services, and the mode of defraying them; which was also in some degree connected with the measure which he meant to propose in the exigency of the present enlarged demand of accommodation in the commercial world; the measure was, to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper constituting the unfunded debt, and by that means relieve the Bank from the advances which they had made, so as to enable them to allot a larger sum of money to commercial discounts; this operation would necessarily demand some increase of the public burdens, as they would have to provide for the difference between the small interest which this floating debt now bore, and the higher interest which it would bear on being funded, he would more particularly explain this in the proper place. And, first of the services; there had been incurred since the 31st of December last; and not provided for under the head of army extraordinary, 1,000,000l. of Ordnance, 1,000,000l. and 1,000,000l. The additional sum required for the creation of Barracks he estimated at 267,000

The

The sum for secret service, above the sum included in the last estimate, and above the sum of 25,000l. allowed in time of peace, including likewise sums paid to the suffering Clergy of France, he took at

And the sum which in the last statement the ways and means were short of the supply,

These services made together,

To which he should add a sum which he felt would be necessary to make good the further army extraordinaries up to the end of the year 1796,

Making in all of new services above the statement opened in the month of December last for the services of the current year the sum of

The next point which he was led to consider was a charge, of which he would now only state the general result; he meant the provision which under all the circumstances existing at present it might be necessary to make for the funding such parts of the increase of the navy debt during the war, which had not been provided for in the course of the preceding years; and not to leave any which had not been already provided for of that debt incurred since the commencement of the war; or rather since the first of December 1791. The sum for which interest was found in the course of the year 1795, amounted to 3,594,000l. because it had been the custom always to make provision in the preceding year as far as may be calculated; to that must now be added 1,640,000l.

The next charge which he had to state was, what debt it might probably be found necessary to incur, supposing the war to continue to the 31st of December 1796; he had stated it before Christmas as likely to amount to 2,500,000l. which calculation he had made by conjecture, derived from a comparison of the then supposed navy debt incurred in 1795; but as that debt had stretched out, by the operation of unforeseen causes to the amount of above 1,600,000l. more than was then expected; the same cause, he meant the adverse winds which obliged the large equipment destined for the West Indies, to put back, would also produce expences running into the service of the present year, such as the expences of repair, and also the detention and hire of transports; the additional expence, amounting, as he supposed it would, to about as much in 1796 as in 1795, he must agreeable to the rule and mode which he had laid down as his duty to follow, of keeping back no proportion what/ever of the expences, bring

bring forward; and he would calculate it at 1,500,000l. which, in addition to the former computation of 2,500,000l. would produce a navy debt up to the 31st of December 1796, of 4,000,000l. and he must here remark, that although he had stated a farther increase of extraordinaries of the army, to the amount of 1,200,000l. yet, if under all the circumstances, a further increase of 800,000l. should be unexpectedly incurred, he begged to inform the committee that there were resources to provide for the full amount.

The next head of charge was one that did not arise from any new services to be provided for; but only because it became necessary, under the present circumstances, to diminish the unfunded debt, by taking 3,500,000l. in Exchequer Bills out of the market; to do which it became necessary to borrow that sum. The motive that led to this measure was, that, while all the unfunded debt remained in the market, it prevented the bank from the usual assistance for the relief of trade. Interest for this sum of 3,500,000l. to the amount of three and a half per cent. had been provided already; but in order to fund this debt, it was necessary to provide two and a half per cent. in addition to the three and a half already provided, viz. one and a half per cent. to make up the deficiency of the interest, and one per cent. for the sinking fund; this two and a half per cent. upon 3,500,000l. would amount to 875,000l.

The sums he had already stated, he would recapitulate, in order that the house might go along with him in the statement; 2,500,000l. exchequer bills to be funded; 1,640,000l. of navy debt already incurred; the estimated navy debt for the year 1796, was 4,000,000l. The other exchequer bills, which were to be funded for the relief of the market, 3,500,000l. There was another sum of 1,000,000l. which was also to be funded, but was already provided for, both as to interest and the one per cent. for the sinking fund; for the house would recollect, that in providing for the expences of the year 1795, he provided for a loan of 10,000,000l. though he only took 18,000,000l. the other million had been allued in exchequer bills, and had been fully provided for, as he before stated.

In order to give the committee a perfect view of the present state of public finances, and of all the expences that he could foresee, he ought to mention that there was one more contingent service that might occur in the course of the present year, the probable allowance of 1,000,000l. for liquors on board, to be imported according to the act had which passed at the beginning of the present session. At the time that this provision

Navy Debt

vision was made, it was hoped that we should be able early to ascertain the amount of the sum to be required, fortunately we had been relieved from our apprehensions, sooner than was expected; and there was every reason to believe, that the sum to be paid had been greatly over-rated: it was not now he thought likely, that more than 300,000 quarters of wheat would be imported in the course of the present year, in consequence of the high bounty the nation was to give; and he had the pleasure to say, that the greatest part of this grain would come to us from the recently acquired possessions which our arms had gained; and which, if we should be so happy as permanently to retain, he would be bold to say, would create a new æra in the commercial establishments and prosperity of this country. Considering the very material change that had taken place in the aspect of our own corn market, and in the certainty of a supply to the amount, at least, of the quantity which he had stated, the minds of gentlemen would be relieved from all apprehensions of a scarcity; and he had further the cheering and comfortable information to give to the committee, that even for this probable bounty of 300,000l. on 300,000 quarters of wheat, he had a sure and ample resource without any further demand upon the country; he had the happiness to inform them that such was the prosperous state of the affairs of the East India company, that even in the very first year of their new acquisitions, the country would be enabled to participate to the amount at least of this sum to be required for bounties. He had no doubt but that we might now look annually to the East India company for the 500,000l. which had been set down as the estimated participation of the public in their profits. To what further amount the new acquisitions in the east that had been made, would carry those profits, it was hardly possible for the mind of man to conjecture. The public might with confidence look for very considerable aids from this source. These were all the heads of service which he had to submit to the committee, and which he could foresee for the additional supply of the year. From these several heads then the sum to be permanently charged upon the country was as follows:

The interest on the sum of 2,500,000l. of services added to those in his former statement, and including always the additional one per cent. towards the sinking fund, would be	1,500,000
The difference of the interest on the navy debt unfunded would be	98,400
The interest on the 4,000,000 of navy debt	240,000
	The

The difference of the interest on the sum of 3,500,000l. of Exchequer bills above the rate of interest already provided for them 87,500
 Making altogether the annual sum to be provided for by taxes of 575,900
 And in order to make the operation immediate for the benefit of the commercial world, the amount of the money to be raised by loan, and to be appropriated in the manner which he had stated, was this:
 The amount of the extraordinary services for the year 1796, was 2,500,000
 The sum of Exchequer bills, to be bought from the bank, or from the Market, was 3,500,000
 The sum of navy bills to be bought from the bank was 1,500,000
 And the sum to be repaid the bank for the advances they had made in Exchequer bills on the security of the consolidated fund, was 1,000,000
 Making together a sum to be borrowed by a new loan of 7,500,000

SCARCITY OF MONEY.

That there had existed an inconvenience from the increased demand, was true, and he did not hesitate to say, that it was not at all surprising. When he examined the causes which gentlemen on the other side of the house thought proper to impute to the scarcity of money which existed at present, he believed that they proceeded from causes of an opposite nature, and instead of being the result of poverty and decrease, they arose partly from the increased commerce of the country. He had no difficulty in allowing that they had proceeded partly from the great expences of the war in which we were engaged, and from the necessity of remitting large and unusual sums of money to the continent, and those sent for defraying the army extraordinaries in maintaining a continental army, and also by the operation of a loan to the emperor, which certainly drained a great portion of money; but which loan he was proud to state, had produced in a great measure those important and gallant victories of the Imperial armies over the French, which they had gained towards the conclusion of the last year.

When he considered the prosperity of this country, by which it had been enabled to support all its burdens—when he compared the state of the commerce of this country with its commerce in former years, it furnished a just and solid ground of satisfaction to him, and certainly to those in the country who were acquainted with the subjects of commerce and finance. He felt, indeed, great matter of consolation, when he considered various subjects relating to commerce; when he

he considered the general state of exchange at that time; when he compared the state of the commerce and balance of trade with our situation in former wars; when he considered that the state of exchange was nearly brought to a level, and was opening floodgates, through which the money expended was pouring back in torrents, to increase the prosperity of this country, and, by the silent and natural progress of commercial causes, furnished ground for reasonable hope that all that was sent abroad would return with the more extended influx of general wealth. One of the causes of the present temporary scarcity, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, evidently arose from the support of our foreign allies, and our army extraordinaries; there were other causes, which also in a great measure contributed to that effect; causes, he was happy to add, not connected with the difficulties of the country, but connected with its large growing resources and rich increasing prosperity. It was a fact known to deep and acute politicians, that the circulating medium of a country must bear a certain proportion to the extent of active capital, to the extent of commercial speculation. Allowing this to be just as a general proposition, it applied particularly in this country at present. The extent of our trade, evident and acknowledged, had increased a demand for money for the purposes of additional speculations, of that which was the source of wealth and national prosperity, and had called for a large quantity of medium. That increased demand being allowed as one cause of scarcity, and the scarcity being confessed and apparent, it remained to consider what were the proper methods of remedying such a difficulty. Every man acquainted with great mercantile subjects must know, that where scarcity of money existed, a large quantity of unfunded debt would increase that scarcity in a great degree, and that scarcity will tend to depreciate the unfunded debt; the consequence of which depreciation would be, that men possessed of cash would lay out the ready money on the discount of the unfunded debt, which would then be large, instead of applying it to mercantile purposes, or speculations in manufactures &c. which diversion of their capital must be injurious to the public. The funded debt of the country spread far and wide as a medium, in the most extended commerce, in foreign nations, and all through this kingdom; but the unfunded debt was confined to the capital, chained the current of its commerce, and swallowed up a great part of the medium. When a scarcity existed, there would naturally be a considerable demand for discount at the Bank, and the large unfunded debt would make

make it impossible in the Bank to supply the merchants so much in advance, as they might do if the debt were funded. It was therefore necessary at present to assist the Bank, by funding to the amount of the incurred and probable expences, by funding the unfunded debt of 3,500,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills for which an additional interest of two and a half *per cent.* would be to be provided, and also to find cash for the 500,000*l.* of the Navy Bills held by the Bank, and by increasing their cash, to afford them the means with prudence, of continuing the discount to the merchants for the benefit of trade. The seven millions and a half which he proposed to raise would be applicable to assist the Bank, whilst it provided for the different services incurring and incurred. Gentlemen conversant in subjects of this nature, would know that this plan was likely to have the effect of giving a speedy and effectual relief to the temporary scarcity of money.

He had already stated the three objects of what he would propose, he meant the amount of the expence of providing for the remaining services existing or foreseen, for giving that relief necessary from the general state of credit, and for providing a substitute for the cotton tax, which last he had already fully considered. The other two objects would produce an increase of interest, of the annual sum of 575,000*l.* a year. It was therefore important, for the purpose of raising the just hopes of this country, and of diminishing the hopes of our enemies, that we should shew that our resources were equal, without the possibility of cavil, to meet the service and all the exigencies of the present year. He should not take into the account, the resource of the lottery, though he was of opinion, that the lottery was a resource that might very well be taken into the account, if he saw fit, from year to year, to do it. He would, however, reserve it as a fund with other funds, to defray any possible increase on a peace establishment. He was contented to take upon himself the burden of 575,000*l.* without the lottery; and he confessed he did not see any shape in which he could put that yearly sum as an increase to the public taxes, without making a further appeal to the spirit and resources of the country, but he had the satisfaction to think, that in the tax he should propose, he had little fear from any disappointment of its produce.

NEW DUTY ON WINE.

Gentlemen would recollect, that in the course of the last year he had proposed, that there should be a considerable addition to the duty on wine, and with respect to any obligation for

limiting this tax, he thought it a matter of prudence; he did not immediately see any other limit than that there should not be too great an inducement leading to fraud and abuse, and also on the probability of diminishing its consumption. He confessed, that in the present instance he felt no anxiety on either of these heads on the question of finance. The diminution in the consumption of wine would naturally lead to an increase in the consumption of other liquors which might be more beneficial to the country in other respects, and perhaps equally productive to the revenue. The system of the excise laws he was confident was capable of repressing all frauds internally, and with respect to a clandestine importation, it never could prevail to any great extent; as to the danger of a decrease in the consumption, he felt no anxiety on that account, because he found that the last tax, instead of operating to promote that decrease, had on the contrary been attended with an increased consumption of that article. He thought therefore that a further duty to the same amount would not make it necessary for any gentleman to save his money by altering the consumption. It was, he said, a striking and important fact, that in the course of twelve months, from the imposition of the duty (deducting the sum raised by the duty attaching on the stock in hand, which amounted to the sum of 320,000l.) it had yielded the sum of 600,000l. upon 30,000 tons of wine at 20l. per ton. It appeared that the quantity imported during the last year was 30,000 tons. He did not believe that any defalcation whatever would arise; and therefore he thought himself justified in stating the amount of the increased duty on the same quantity as that of last year, and it was peculiar to the nature of this tax that if he touched it at all, he could not propose less than what he had charged it with before. He therefore meant distinctly to propose to the House that a tax which would make 6d. a bottle to the consumer, should be imposed — This would amount to 20l. per ton, exactly the same as the former tax, and would produce annually 600,000l. The committee would recollect that he had stated, that he would find it proper to have a sum in ready cash, to pay the Bank their share of the navy debt, &c. He should, therefore, as the tax would operate immediately on the consumer, think it necessary also to make it attach, like the former tax, immediately on the vender. The quantity of the stock in hand, under the operation of that tax, would produce probably (though it could not be easily ascertained) 320,000l. but which he now thought proper to calculate at between 350,000l. and 360,000l. From 900,000l. to 1,000,000l. would

would therefore be the produce of the present year of the sum permanently necessary to defray the sum borrowed; a considerable portion would not be paid in the present year, particularly on extraordinaries; there would therefore be a large surplus of cash in the present year, applicable to the purposes before stated.

THE LOAN.

He next thought it his duty to lay before the committee the terms upon which he had been enabled to raise so large a sum of money as seven millions and an half, under all the circumstances of the war. These were as follow:

£. s. d.		£. s. d.
120 0 0	3 per cent. consols, at 67, amounting to	80 8 0
25 0 0	3 per cent. reduced, at 66	16 10 0
0 5 6	long annuities, which, at 18½ years purchase, amounted to	5 1 9

101 19 9

making a *bonus* of only 11. 19s. 9d. the least, he believed, that had been ever given for any loan in this country. To this was to be added, half the usual discount, in consequence of the more rapid payment of instalments, which were all to be completed in half a year from the present time, the amount of the discount, which might be stated at the rate of three *per cent. per annum*, or at the rate of about 11. 7s. being added to the surplus, above the state of the funds, made, in the whole, a *bonus* of 31. 6s. 9d. on the loan of seven and a half millions, the stocks having been taken at the full market price of the day. These terms, so advantageous in themselves, were also made subject to the discretion of the House, if it should think proper to avail itself of a further loan to the Emperor of three millions; and the terms made too at a time when the people were disappointed in the hopes of peace, and the cup dashed from their lips by the proud, unjustifiable, domineering pretensions of the Executive Directory of the French Republic. The terms being so low and favourable, were, he contended, a collateral and indeed a strong practical circumstance, which proved demonstratively the flourishing state of our resources, and the confidence of the monied men. This, he said, went beyond the theoretical speculations of gentlemen on the other side of the House, and spoke the true state of the country to Europe and to the whole world. There were however, still stronger proofs of the solidity of public credit and national security: the aggregate amount of the taxes had produced in

the first year of the war an increase above the produce in peace (with the operation of taxes then laid on of 252,000l.) the sum of 208,000l. and in the year 1795 with the operation of taxes to the amount of 1,952,000l. laid on in that year, to an increase of 1,648,000l. above the taxes of the year before. Another collateral circumstance attendant on the revenue in this war, which did not happen in former wars, was that the taxes came up to the full amount of the estimates. These were circumstances which he felt a sincere joy in being able to give the House as strong positive proofs of the true credit and resources of the country; it was true the taxes last year had a temporary increase, which would not be a permanent one, he meant the duty on the stock of wine in hand; when peace should be established, there would be no doubt but that they would be permanently productive up to the full amount of the estimates, and sufficient to defray all the charges upon them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer next examined the present state of the permanent revenue of this country; he would not, he said, consider the average of the four last years of peace, as was the custom, he would take it permanently on the averages of the three years of the war; from such a view of the subject it would appear that the revenue of this country, exceeded by above 300,000l. a year, the calculation of sixteen millions a year, which was supposed to be necessary to meet the peace establishment of this country; not was that all the lottery would produce 300,000l. annually, applicable also to any contingent increase on a peace establishment, which resource the country would not part with, unless they could find a proper substitute.

Another resource of 500,000l. a year from the East India company, was to be reckoned upon which, though not paid during the war, would be applicable to the public service in peace, the great interests created to the company, together with the glory and advantage arising to this country, and which he was happy to consider as the effect of the exertions of his honourable friend (Mr. Dundas), who had managed them with wisdom and success. This revenue of 500,000l. might also be stated as part of the solid and permanent revenue of this country. It was next necessary for him to state the imports and exports in the most flourishing year of peace that ever occurred in the history of this country, he meant in the year 1792, they amounted to 29,509,000l. and in the year 1795, the third year of the war, they amounted to 27,270,000l. in a commercial country what need he desire further than if they

Handwritten notes:
 1792 29,509,000
 1795 27,270,000
 23

they were under the necessity of making great exertions, to find that the credit of the country was high, and its pecuniary resources were great?

The growing commerce of the country had been fully established, and flourished without even the possibility of a rivalship. In every other war, a perpetuity of taxes had been the consequence; in the event of the present contest, however, posterity would be happily relieved from the burdens which our ancestors, with all their wisdom, have laid upon us. So far had we been from adding any thing to the permanent debt of the nation, that we have, on the contrary, added to the sinking fund a sum of between 7 and 800,000l. What he proposed to lay on, did not make the taxes perpetual, but converted them into an annuity, and that capable of being liquidated at no very remote period. The ratio of interest had also been cheaper by one and a half per cent. than during the last war. How have these prosperities happened? Because we have adhered to the old sinking fund, and added to the new sinking fund an increasing sum of gradual liquidation, which will save to the country a perpetual tax of 4,000,000l. for the expence of this war, and convert it into an annuity that must be redeemed in 40 or 50 years. If the same exertions had been made on the part of our ancestors, he would leave it to the House, what great and essential benefits would they not have conferred upon their descendants. Was it not a subject of exultation to us, that we were enabled to go out of the war with a sinking fund, bearing a proportion to that in four years of peace, double of what that sum bore then to the debt at that time? gentlemen had talked of the present pressure by its comparative greatness with that of other wars. But was that a fair, was it a candid comparison? They should compare the present pressure with the prosperity and the vast improvement of the country in its extensive commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures. What then would be the result? That though the pressure was certainly great, yet it was fully provided against by the vast resources of the nation, which never had a parallel in this or any other country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer apologized for taking up so much of the attention of the House, but he could not he said, resist the impulse he felt to shew, that nothing should discourage us from persevering in a war whose end was so laudable, and which involved our dearest and most complicated interests. He did not mean to allude to a late transaction (Mr. Pitt meant the proposal of Mr. Wickham to the Directory, and their rejection of all terms of treating) but he

he was convinced from the abject manner in which the resources of this country had been stated by gentlemen, that the enemy considered themselves warranted in keeping up their haughty tone, in dictating terms to this country. Their views were evidently taken from the opinions industriously circulated of our distresses, and they built their presumptuous hopes on the want of provisions in this country, and its pecuniary distress. The scarcity of provisions, however, vanished while that proud message was on its way, and the pecuniary want would instantly disappear, in consequence of the just and effectual measures which the House was about adopting. With respect to the want of money under which the enemy sunk, he thought it unnecessary to notice it much. He would not discuss the downfall of their *assignats*, nor follow them through their various and eccentric transformations. He would only trouble the House with a simple statement: On the 18th of March, before the negotiation took place, the Directory proclaimed to all Europe, that their sole resource was in their *mandats*. They publicly admitted, that if their currency was at less than par, or if they suffered any depreciation, the republic was completely ruined. They declared, they could be saved by the *mandats*, and by them alone. What was the result? The system of terror was once more revived by a message from the Directory, that message was followed by the successive depreciation of the *mandats*, till they fell at length to 82, per cent. in value. "The ultimate issue of the contest (exclaimed the Chancellor of the Exchequer) must be glorious, if we are not wanting to ourselves. We shall, by the blessing of Providence, deliver ourselves from the worst of dangers, and at the same time transmit to posterity a most useful lesson, that a bankrupt, turbulent, and lawless nation, cannot measure itself with the spontaneous and well-regulated conduct of a free and loyal country."

Mr. Grey said, "If instead of coming forward with a budget for the third time in the course of fourteen months, if instead of coming forward to impose new burdens, and to levy fresh taxes upon the people, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come down, stating the situation of the country to be such as to enable him to alleviate its present distress, and to relieve it from some of the existing imposts; if, instead of making if not an avowed, at least a real admission, that, in the beginning of the session, he had deceived the House of Commons, and the country, by mis-stating the demands of the public service, he had been enabled to say, that by a diminution of the necessities of the state, an alleviation of the public

public burdens was become practicable; if, instead of having blotted the annals of the country, and tarnished the glory of the present reign, he had brightened the regal diadem, and furnished an epoch of British history exempt from misfortune and distress, then the honourable gentleman might, with some degree of justice, have assumed the air of triumph with which this evening he has so vainly attempted to cover his inability and misconduct. On this day of humiliation to the country, and to the House of Commons, I did expect a confession of contrition becoming his situation. Whatever may have been the style in which his statements have been made, he has been compelled, by the vigilance of individuals, to come forwards with an explanation, which the House of Commons never thought it worth while to demand, to confess if not in words, at least virtually and in effect, that formerly he had not fairly and candidly unfolded the true state of affairs, to avow to that House of Commons that had dismissed, without inquiry, every proposition that had been stated, every fact that had been maintained upon the subject of finance, that it was now necessary to adopt some measure to remedy the mischiefs which the folly of his conduct had occasioned, and to acquiesce in the existence of evils, which, but for the prudent conduct of others, might have produced the most fatal consequences. The Bank, by withdrawing their discounts, had forced him to the declarations which he has made this day, and if no other advantage should be derived from them, he hoped that they would convince the House of their error, in having reposed such implicit confidence in his former statements. I shall not follow him through all the declamation with which his speech was interspersed; and I cannot help regretting, that in a business where a plain account ought to have been submitted to the House, he had so often recourse to exertions of eloquence.

"For the sake of argument I shall admit the flourishing state of our commerce, and the increase of our exports and imports, for abundant means will not justify an extravagant prodigality in the use of these means. In some instances his argument has been fallacious. It is no uncommon practice, to prevent mistake, for merchants to enter the goods which they export oftener than once; and when it is taken into consideration, also, that the amount of the exports is considerably increased by the expenditure of the war of itself, his reasoning upon this head will not prove so conclusive as at first sight one might be apt to conclude. I shall not follow him, however, upon this general question, as an increased commerce affords

no excuse for an increased extravagance; nor will it ever supersede the necessity imposed by their duty upon the House of Commons, of inquiring into the amount, and the fairness of the burthens to which their constituents are subjected. I own that on the present occasion I offer myself to the attention of the House under circumstances of some disadvantage, after the stream of language which has now flowed from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of which he must be acknowledged to have such command; I shall, however, attempt to give a representation of the state of the country, which will certainly differ materially from his, but which, if not so favourable, will perhaps be more correct.

“The honourable gentleman complained that exaggerated statements had been given of our financial embarrassments, and that these statements had suggested to the enemy that haughty answer which they had lately made to certain pacific overtures on the part of this country. Upon this subject I shall not enter at present. I shall only say that the result was just what I expected. In the first place there was much reason to doubt the sincerity of the British Cabinet, and certainly the manner in which the business was conducted, was not such as tended to remove any unfavourable impression which the French might have taken from the former conduct of the king's ministers. Upon the reply of the directory I shall say nothing. If the honourable gentleman, or any of his friends shall think proper to submit the subject to the consideration of the House, I shall be prepared to deliver my sentiments, and to point out that line of conduct, which, in my humble apprehension, it would be proper to pursue. To return to the subject of finance. If the honourable gentleman means, in talking of these false statements which have made much to the disadvantage of the country, to allude to any thing that I have advanced upon a former evening, I will appeal to the House, if he has not demonstrated the necessity of what I proposed, and if his conduct this evening has not been a fulfilment of my prediction. I proposed to institute an inquiry into the state of our finances; he has shewn that inquiry to be more necessary than ever. I affirmed the provision made for the expences of the year, extravagant and enormous as it was, to be inadequate to the demands of the service. He has acknowledged the assertion to be true. Are we however really in this state, that independent members of parliament, who do not chance to be connected with his Majesty's councils, who have not the fortune to live in the sunshine of royal bounty, cannot come forward in the House of Commons to

to attack the crimes, or to expose the faults of administration, without subjecting himself to the imputation of being actuated by sinister motives, and having a view to unwarrantable ends? Such a reflection was not so much an aspersion upon the individual as an imputation upon the House. Leaving these general topics, I proceed to notice the expences incurred since the opening of the Budget, and the means that have been proposed for defraying them.

“With regard to the tax upon dogs, which has been substituted instead of one on cottons, I have little to remark. If the tax can produce 100,000l. a year, I have no objection to its taking effect. When I consider the nature of the Bill, however, which has been brought in, I am not very sanguine about the amount of the produce of the tax. One clause, in particular, is ludicrous in the extreme; I mean that which exempts any person from punishment who may be found killing, or converting to his own use dogs who have not paid the tax. If, however, the tax, in spite of such ridiculous provisions in the Bill, shall be found productive, I shall be glad, thinking, as I do, that it is a fair and proper source of revenue. I must confess that I was not a little struck with the estimates for unprovided services, which have occurred since the last budget. The additional extraordinaries of the army were estimated at 535,000l. The demands for the Ordnance at 200,000l. The expence of barracks at 267,000l. The deficiency of the Civil List, arising from sums applied to secret services, at 100,000l. And the estimated deficiency of taxes at 177,000l. Amounting in all to 1,279,000l. When I consider the extent of these new demands, I cannot help reflecting upon the time of opening the budget last year, and the circumstances which have since taken place. In February 1795 the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a loan of unparalleled extent. In September he was obliged to have recourse to new and unusual modes of raising money. In December he came forward with a Budget, in which he assured the House and the country that he had made abundant provision for all the expences of the ensuing year. Since that time no unforeseen necessities have arisen, no new demands have occurred to justify the imposition of fresh burdens upon the people. He then calculated upon the hostile disposition of the enemy, and the continuance of the war, neither of which are the discoveries of yesterday, and therefore cannot furnish any apology for the exorbitant demands which he has this day made. He has this day boasted in the committee that he not shrink from a clear explanation of the demands of the public service, to their full extent, and claimed

a considerable share of credit for his ingenuofness, in coming forward and stating all the provisions which the different exigencies of affairs in the course of the ensuing year may require. The principle he approved, and the line of conduct he allowed to be proper. The principle however which was just at this day, was equally just in December last, and the mode of acting which was right in introducing the present budget, was equally right in opening the last, whereas, on that occasion, he neither made any provision for the extraordinaries of the army, nor for funding the navy debt.

“ This brings me to the subject of unfunded debt, and here the right honourable gentleman went into a large discussion upon the evils arising from a great quantity of unfunded debt, as if he himself had not been the cause of the evil of which he complained. His statement, however, upon this subject, differs widely from one with which I shall trouble the committee. After proposing to fund a certain proportion of navy debt, he would leave unfunded only 1,640,000l. This statement he gets at by calculating every year the extent of the debt, and providing for a part which he deducts from the gross amount; but the question is, whether or not the provisions have answered his expectation? I have a very different statement to make. In 1794 there was funded about 1,500,000l. and 1795, 1,600,000l. and on the 31st of December last, there remained due for navy service 12,335,000l. including 10,350,000l. incurred in the course of the last year. So that, though the taxes turned out as productive as was expected, there would be left unprovided for, instead of 1,640,000l. near 7,000,000l. This event, however, rests upon the supposition of the taxes answering the minister's expectation, which I must confess is, in my view, a supposition rather too sanguine. Last year the tax upon the stock of wine in hand amounted to 320,000l. which reduced the net produce of the tax, exclusive of the stock in hand, to 312,000l. In opposition to this statement he sets up, that the taxes have not yet existed a complete year, and that the returns from which the estimate was made must be short of their real value. I must however remind him, that if some of the taxes did not take place till midsummer, others had commenced in February, so that, if he had only eight months of some he had fourteen months of others.

“ I must confess, that in my opinion, his expectations of the produce of the wine tax, are unwarrantably high. He thinks that as much wine will be consumed as before. Upon the quantity of wine which may be consumed, every man is at liberty

liberty to speculate as he pleases; but I think it would be unreasonable to reckon upon a greater revenue from the tax than was derived from it last year, including the stock on hand; the consequence of which would be, that a very small part of the debt would be provided for. The honourable gentleman also entered into a statement of the probable addition to the navy debt, in the course of the ensuing year. I know not on what grounds he proceeded in this statement, as they must be essentially different from those on which he was accustomed to act in former years. Formerly he used to estimate the probable debt of the ensuing year, from the known amount of the debt of the preceding year, and in these cases the fact always exceeded the estimate. How then comes he to estimate the navy debt of the next year at only 4,000,000l. when the debt of last amounted to 10,000,000. I admit that the peculiar circumstances of last year, might tend to swell the navy debt to an uncommon amount, but certainly these circumstances never can authorise such a disproportion of the estimate. If the honourable gentleman had fulfilled his boast to the public, and acted with that manliness and fairness, the credit of which he claimed, he should have provided interest for at least 14,000,000l. So that even now, after all we had heard of a superabundant provision for expences, some of which we were taught to believe had no existence, there was outstanding debts to a great amount, which still remained unprovided for, and for the existing arrears in the civil list, there are no means of providing but by applying those grants which have been made by parliament for other purposes to their discharge. Instead, therefore, of the high and lofty tone that he has assumed, the minister had come down praying for a bill of indemnity for his errors, extravagance and misconduct, he would have acted in a manner becoming his situation. The army I know to be in arrear. The civil list is no less than five quarters in arrear; every department of the state has suffered from the mismanagement of its conductors, and now, when the chancellor of the exchequer has found himself compelled to make new demands, boasting as he has done, of having freely disclosed the utmost extent of the state necessities; even now I say, in this third budget, in the course of fourteen months, he has neglected to make provision for acknowledged deficiencies. I therefore call upon this committee to go into an inquiry into the state of the finances; and if the honourable gentleman, instead of fine speeches, will only furnish me with a few papers, I will pledge myself to shew that, notwithstanding the enormous loan of twenty-five millions which has been voted, he has not provided interest for the out-standing debt. Be-

fore I sit down, I must advert to what he urged in allusion, I suppose, to something that I advanced on a former evening, respecting the probable amount of a peace establishment, and which I am now prepared both to re-state and to defend. I then estimated the peace establishment at 16,800,000*l.* to which, if you add the interest of the capital of the debt contracted since the war, amounting to 2,600,000*l.* one million for the interest of unfunded debt, some allowance for an increased half-pay list, and the expence of barracks, together with 200,000*l.* which I suppose will always be continued as a sum for liquidating the debt, the peace establishment cannot be estimated at less than twenty-two millions. Now, let us consider, for a moment, the means that we have to support this establishment. The net produce of the taxes, last year, amounted to 15,735,876*l.* which, together with the land and malt, estimated at about three millions, will make out a standing annual revenue of nineteen millions, still leaving 2,500,000*l.* a year to be provided for by annual permanent taxes. Perhaps the honourable gentleman may object to my taking the estimate of the produce of the taxes from a year of war. But the objection is entirely without foundation, because, instead of diminishing, the war has rather tended to increase the public revenue. At the close of the American war, the revenue did not rise by the operation of peace, but by the accumulation of taxes, so that there is nothing either in history or our own experience, that can warrant our supposing that the taxes will be more productive on the return of peace, than they are at present. I have stated these observations to the committee, not, as has been insinuated, to depreciate the state of our finances, or to give the enemy cause of exultation and triumph, but to induce the house, upon finding this admitted error *prima facie* in the statements and calculations of the chancellor of the exchequer, to institute an enquiry into the subject, that they may see the real dangers attendant upon that situation to which the country is reduced. I must here also deprecate all comparison between the situation of this country and that of France, as such comparison must infallibly lead to error. Such comparisons have been the means of deluding the people of this country into a contest which has been conducted without ability, and which the present ministers can never terminate with honour. I leave it entirely to the judgment of the house; but if they will go into a committee of enquiry, I pledge myself to prove, that even now the demands of the public exigences have been only partially stated, and that the interest of public debt, to a great amount, still remains unprovided for."

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to reply. He said he would trouble the house, if it would grant him indulgence, for the purpose of making a few observations on those points urged by the honourable member, which he conceived to be of the most importance. Their calculations had differed materially; in the first instance the honourable gentleman asserted that the navy debt incurred in 1795 amounted to near ten millions. Instead of such increase, he maintained that the sum incurred for that period amounted only to six millions; by this account the honourable gentleman was in error at least three millions, for the interest of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer insisted that provision had been made. On the 31st December 1791, the total navy debt was 2,300,000*l.* at the end of 1795 the debt amounted to twelve millions, this certainly made a difference of near ten millions, but as it is impossible, and absurd, to suppose that the latter sum was incurred during the year 1795, so far the blame imputed to him by the honourable gentleman must vanish before the fact. The navy debt for 1796, he calculated at four millions; but the honourable member, drawing his inferences from his own statements, assumed to himself the fact that it ought to be double that sum; that was a proposition to which he could not agree, though it were not possible but there might be some variation in the navy debt, more or less, but not however to an amount as great as four millions. It had been asserted that he kept back the expences, because he could not foresee the increase of 150,000*l.* which he maintained was the whole amount of the sum in dispute; in the year 1795, however, he must remind the house that many circumstances had occurred, not likely to occur in the present year; leaving out of the question the expences incurred by the misfortunes encountered by the West India fleet, there was to be added to the expenditures of the last year, the extraordinary and great expence occasioned by the purchasing and fitting out the East India ships, which made a powerful addition to our naval strength, but was an expence that would occur again in 1796. In addition to this, from the prospect of the harvest, he had reason to hope that the article of victualling for the present, would be much less than it had been the preceding year. The honourable gentleman had said, that the new loan was for new services in the excess of expences; it was plain however that only two millions and a half of the new loan was to be expended on additional services. Five millions were to be laid out in funding, three and a half in exchequer bills, and the remainder in the consolidated fund. Consequently only two and a half was given to new services.

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He had not counted on the lottery as an article of revenue, but he substituted taxes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proved by calculation that Mr. Grey was mistaken in his argument upon the produce of the taxes. The mode of arguing, *viz.* that of comparing one quarter of the year with another, was erroneous; the hair powder tax, for instance, was collected for the most part in the first quarter, while other taxes remained outstanding til near the close of the year.

He next called the attention of the House to the prohibition of the distilleries, which occasioned a falling off, on an average, of one-third of the duties, but this accidental defalcation would be retrieved, and the duties on the fair average of four years, previous to the last year were in a progressive state of improvement. The honourable gentleman was under an error, if he conceived he had stated that the 500,000*l.* arising from the East India Company, besides the 300,000*l.* arising from the Lottery, was ample for the increase of the peace establishments. We could not actually discuss the future peace establishments, which must necessarily depend on circumstances: there evidently, however, was one million to spare to meet future expences, when that happy period took place. The honourable gentleman had taken the year 1788 as the probable establishment, which, he took it, was a bad one to ascertain our future establishment. The House, if they considered the several circumstances which he had submitted, though from the complexion of them, perhaps not sufficiently in detail, would plainly see that he had stated resources sufficient to meet all future probable, or he might say possible exigencies. When it thus appeared that there was one million to spare which might go to the peace establishment, supposing that happy period to take place in December 1796, and as he before stated that there was beside 500,000*l.* unfunded navy debt, and 300,000*l.* Lottery (which he did not mean to state as part of the resources,) it shewed that the honourable gentleman was inaccurate in his statements. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then entered into detail, to shew that the hon. gentleman had much miscalculated the probable peace establishment, even upon his own principles; and concluded by shewing, that there were resources sufficient to answer all future demands which could be foreseen.

Mr. Fox said, he should not on the present occasion trouble the committee much at length. He had no wish to enter upon many of the points which had been touched upon by the right honourable gentleman opposite to him, because they had been so ably and fully discussed by his honourable friend: he could not,

not, however, help congratulating the House on one circumstance, which was, that, if they could believe the minister, they would always be in a prosperous state. They had been stated to be in a happy condition when there was plenty of money in the kingdom; they had been stated also to be in a prosperous state when there was a scarcity. Therefore we had this consolation, that whether there be a plenty or a scarcity, we had a minister who assured us that either the one or the other was a proof of our happiness, a stamp of public prosperity. We had full proof of this from the speech of the minister that night, compared with what he had said on former occasions. That right honourable gentleman had observed, that if we looked at the balance of trade now, it was much in our favour. He said also, that in considering the expence of the present war, we should conclude it to be more expensive than other wars, merely because more money was expended; we should consider also, that all the articles of life, the consumption of which must take up so great a part of the expence of war, as well as the price of every thing for which money was taken in exchange, was considerably higher than at any former period. If this reasoning were correct, as certainly it was, it must infallibly apply to our imports, and our exports; and some just reflections might thence arise with regard to our exports, to happen from what he expected he always entertained doubts of the accuracy or justness of the conclusions of the hon. gent. when he stated them to the House. He would ask, whether or not our subsidy to the King of Prussia, our loan to the Emperor, made any part of our exports? Did they, or did they not, make part of those very exports on account of which we plume ourselves so highly? He did not know much on the subject. He knew nothing to the contrary of these making part of our exports. He suspected they did.

With regard to the general topics which the minister had brought forward that night, he must observe that this was not the proper time to discuss them. Nor was it the most fit to discuss the merit of what had passed between the executive government of this country and that of the French republic. He with his honourable friend, and with him should he be ready to deliver his opinion upon that subject, at the only time when that could be regularly asked of him, and when his opinion could be alone serviceable to this country, if at all, *viz.* the time when the whole of that subject should come fully and fairly before the House. He believed the period was not far distant when that opportunity would occur; he was sorry to observe, however, that what the minister had advanced upon that

that subject was not consoling, for while our burdens were rapidly increasing, our hopes of a speedy conclusion to the cause of that increase were very much diminished; this, however, was also a topic for general discussion.

With regard to taxes, he was ready to say he agreed with the minister as to the principle of the wine tax, that an addition of a round sum would not be more burdensome to the public at large than a fraction would be; he agreed also with his honourable friend upon this subject, that it was not likely to be so productive as the minister had estimated it. As it was, however, a matter of conjecture rather than any thing else, he did not wish to say much upon that subject at present. He thought the minister had stated the difference between him and his honourable friend (Mr. Grey) pretty plainly. The difference between them was not five millions but three millions. He nevertheless thought that the difference between them upon the computation of interest, was more than the minister stated it to be. Conscious that his authority and the authority of others on the same side of the House, were likely to be less attended to in that House, than the authority of the minister, he wished his honourable friends to be cautious as to what they advanced upon such subjects as related to finance, and he would be so himself. In fact they generally were so, they founded their observations chiefly on the experience of facts, while the minister for the most part took computations on expectation. He told the House what was actually to happen. Whereas, he and his honourable friends only presumed to conjecture what was likely to happen from what they knew had happened. Thus his honourable friend had conjectured what the produce of the taxes would be by knowing what they had been; and then he had considered how much would be applicable to the payment of the present loan after providing in the usual way for the sinking fund. The minister was pleased to go into a calculation of the committees who had considered and made their report on the finances and expenditure of this country. His honourable friend had done otherwise, he had taken experience for his guide upon this subject. He certainly was not wrong in the course he took, since before the calculation of the first committee came to be realised, another committee was formed, who differed from the first. A third might have differed from the second, had a third been appointed, and therefore his hon. friend was right in the course he took. Why did his honourable friend take the year 1788 for his standard? Because it was the medium year. But the minister said this was an extraordinary peace establishment. Was it not likely that such an extraordinary

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peace establishment would happen again? He would say that his honourable friend took a fair peace establishment, when he took the year 1788. It was taken as the average of four years, after six years peace. He should be glad to know what reason we had to expect such a long interval of peace. God knew he wished it; but he could not cherish any hopes of enjoying it for any very long period of time, especially under the system which our government at present pursued. Therefore his honourable friend was right in taking the year 1788 for his calculations and observations. Had he taken 1789 or 1790, the case would have appeared still more unfavourable on our part. Consequently his honourable friend had taken the subject as a man of his good sense must be expected to take it, upon facts as he found them, not upon the opinions of any committee, for the one of them had differed from the other, and for aught he knew, a third might differ from the second committee, as much as the second did from the first. His honourable friend had followed the moderation which he observed on a former night, when he moved for a committee to inquire into this subject. What he had stated to-night was founded on what he stated then. It was founded upon experience. Was there then a man in the House who would say, that the peace establishment would be as low as the minister had stated it that day? What did his honourable friend state the peace establishment of this country to be on a former night, supposing no further expence to be incurred—Twenty-two millions. He would not state it to be so at this time; for by the vote about to be proposed, they were called upon to add to the public revenue by adding to the public burden; and therefore his honourable friend would make an allowance for what was that night to be voted, when he again talked of the deficiency of the public income as compared with the public expenditure. He might possibly be asked, whether the measure about to be proposed by the minister was applauded? He would say he agreed to this measure of the minister, and was only in doubt whether he ought not to go further. What had his honourable friend (Mr. Grey) done, when he moved for a committee to inquire into these points? He had stated the effect which the minister's then system had and must have on the credit of the nation. He called on the House to perform its duty by instituting an inquiry into the subject, as he then foretold what the minister himself had proved that night.—(Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer said *No!*)—“*No!*” said Mr. Fox, “I say it certainly was so.” Indeed it was not then answered.

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There

there were many parts of his hon. friend's speech that were not answered. It was true his honourable friend did not call for a new loan, because the House were not ready for that, but he told them there was a large debt to be provided for, and that had been verified this night. It was true he was told then something like what had been hinted at this day, viz. that he was endeavouring to depreciate the finances of the country, when in fact he was not doing so, for it was not depreciating the finances of a country to call on a branch of the legislature to attend to them. He was therefore only calling on that House to do its duty. The minister said the statement then made by his honourable friend (Mr. Grey) was not now the expenditure of this country. This was, what he always despised, a mere quarrelling with words. This would not now be the expenditure of the country it was true. Why? Because by the vote of this night some part of that expenditure was to be defrayed, for which purpose taxes are to be imposed upon the public. This was a new burden on the public. This the Chancellor of the Exchequer said was not a new necessity. True it was not a new necessity. But it was a new discovery of the minister, or rather it was an avowal of what the minister knew and felt long ago, must come on the public, which he did not wish to inform the public of sooner. If the public were called upon, as certainly they were that day, to defray six *per cent.*, instead of three and an half, was not that calling on them to bear two and an half *per cent.* new burden? The minister might indeed say, it was not new to him, it was only a new discovery, a new avowal, or new conviction of his. A part that he did not chuse to state before the public or to the House of Commons. He was now disposed to state the fact a little more fully than before. He would say, therefore, that if the House of Commons had done its duty before, this business would have been manifested to the public long ago. If it be true they must go into the subject now, why did they not go into it before? Why did they wait until the king's minister was convinced of the necessity of that which he says he now sees, and who seems to see a little later than others upon this subject, for he had only seemed to see this necessity now, whereas he had, as well as the House, been told of it long ago? He had heard, Mr. Fox said, some things upon French finance that night, which he did not think very rational. He had heard a good deal said of the mandates of that country, in depreciation of them. He had heard of the depreciation of assignats, that they were at a discount of eighty-

two *per cent.* and now mandates were said to be some where about the same condition, or perhaps at eighty-four *per cent.* discount. That French finances have long been, and now are so deplorable, that no other can be compared to them, he was ready to admit. But he could not forget, that year after year this country had been persuaded to go from peace, wealth, prosperity, and security, into war, adversity, and danger, upon account of the state of the French assignats, as they were stated to be from time to time. These assignats, whatever might have been their state at some former period, were now annihilated. So may their Mandats, and something else may succeed them of which we can know nothing. He should therefore hold to the House a lesson of caution upon this subject; they were no nearer the conquest of the French than when they were issuing these assignats which were at this time annihilated. Being deluded once, the House should take care that they were not deluded again—at least by the same artifice. Let them ask what would have been the situation of this country, if they had not listened to the depreciation of these assignats? When Flanders and Holland were not in possession of the French, what would have been the difficulty of making peace with the French, compared with the difficulty which we feel at present? Let us not, therefore, be deluded in the same way as we had been deluded already upon assignats. Let us not be dupes to the same imposture, and that from the same impostors, and from whom we had suffered so severely already, and that the more especially when we find that the minister has involved us in a situation so intricate, that he cannot guess at the opening of a budget, within seven millions and a half how much he shall have occasion to call upon us for in the course of one session of parliament. These were the facts, and such was the melancholy experience which we had before us, and they were verified by the proceedings of this day, not by argument, but by what was much more forcible; a chain of events; facts and melancholy experience; and for which we are now suffering. He hoped, therefore, this would have some effect upon the House. They were now however told that, with respect to the condition of the French mandates, we had the opinion of the French directory itself. This had not the advantage of being new, or if new, it was only so in name; the term Directory was new, but the substance of the argument had sufficiently deluded the House and the public already, under the head of assignats. Much vehemence of language had been employed upon former occasions, to shew to that House the desperate situation of the French finances. They had

had been told then something like what they had heard to-night:—"Hear what the French say themselves, and see whether they are not in their last agony." They had been told, with a distinctness which was not very common in metaphorical language, "That the French were not on the verge, but in the gulph of bankruptcy." God forbid we should fight a country under the hope, and no other, that such a country was in the gulph of bankruptcy. Nothing could be got from such a contest. By such folly we had added to the capital of our enormous debt, from thirty to forty millions in the course of a little more than a year. It was a dreadful burden on the people in any case; what must it be in such a case as this?

The case was a remarkable one, and ought to create in the House some distrust and diffidence in the assertions of ministers. These very people of France who were in the gulph of bankruptcy a long time ago, had made it necessary for the minister to borrow seven millions more in the course of one session, than he said he had occasion for when he brought forward the public expenditure of the country. He considered the observations on the mandats of the French that night, as exactly of the same delusive nature with those that were made some time ago upon French assignats, as evidence of the speedy destruction of the system of the French Republic. An argument which had cost this country so much, and by which it had been so fatally deluded, that no man who wished it well could look at it without shuddering.

He was led in his view of the minister's speech to an important event, and which gave him great pleasure. It was a matter of congratulation to every good man in this country. He meant the late reduction of the price of corn; it was a matter of general joy. Let them not, however, think, that the reduction of the price restored the people to all their comforts, such as they enjoyed before this war. The price of corn was still most dreadfully high. English wheat, he understood to be that day from four pounds to four guineas a quarter. Though that was a price comparatively low with reference to what it had lately been, it was a tremendous price still, and such as afforded us no reason to think that the poor were not likely to feel great distress. We should also consider the price of other articles of food, particularly of meat. When we did so, we should find that the situation of the mass of the working part of the community was deplorable. It was such in truth, as to put an end to that noble independence which once constituted the boast of the English labourer,

labourer, who was now obliged in a great measure to rely on the bounty of those of a higher rank of life, for the support of himself and his family. Thus it was that the real vigour of the English nation would be destroyed. This was a point which called for the serious attention of the House.

With respect to the terms of the loan which the minister had opened to the House, he did not chuse to say much. The right honourable gentleman was under a difficulty in that particular. They had heard him say much in praise of a loan by open competition. That right honourable gentleman either was ignorant of the real situation of this country, when he made the last loan but one, or else he did it with his eyes open, and only endeavoured to impose upon the public, by imposing upon the House of Commons—because in defiance of his own principle he made that loan without competition. So he did the last. So, indeed, with all his affected attachment to open competition, he had done most of his loans of late, as not one-fourth of the money he had borrowed this war had been borrowed upon his plan of open competition. Mr. Fox entered into some calculations on the terms, and maintained, that the minister did not state to the House the money which the public lost on the discount on exchequer bills when this loan was agreed upon; in reality, the whole of that discount was a loss to the public, let the holders of such Bills be who they might. This he proved, by placing the objects in various points of view.

Another point, which he must take notice of, Mr. Fox said, was the arrears which government were under to various branches of the public service. He understood that even in the smallest pensions government were in arrear. Even the miserable pittance which was allowed to the miserable French emigrants, who existed from day to day upon that pittance, and whom we had so scandalously deluded, was not punctually paid. He understood that this paltry allowance had been lately withheld. He was so informed, he did not insist that his information was authentic. It was easy to refute it if his information was erroneous. Had there not been delay in the payment of the army? Delay in the payment of the staff, as he had stated in that House on a former occasion, and on which he had made some remarks which had never been fairly, or at all answered? Delay in all the other branches of the public accounts, and in which payment ought to have taken place long ago? Did not parliament pass a Bill for the pay and cloathing of the militia; and was there not a day appointed in the Bill for that pay and cloathing, on purpose that no delay should

should take place? And did not ministers set the provision of the act at defiance, and pay at their leisure and convenience? These things he hoped would be inquired into hereafter. He would ask whether that House would not have better discharged their duty if they had agreed to the motion of his honourable friend for an inquiry into these things, instead of refusing that inquiry. He should indeed not only have agreed to that motion, but should also have returned thanks to his right honourable friend for moving it. But now we found that nothing was to be done until the clamour of individuals became so great, the minister found it inconvenient to pass it by in silence. The conduct of the Bank, he understood, had been very laudable upon the subject of our present pecuniary embarrassment. He would not say much on the insinuation of money being more plenty some time since than it was at present. That was a subject which was likely soon to occur again, and upon which it was not necessary to urge many arguments. On the opening of the budget before Christmas, he forgot one omission of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of which he was reminded by the speech of the right honourable gentlemen that night. It reminded him also of what an honourable friend of his had said to him upon that budget: That they had not heard the usual flourish on the course of exchange. The right honourable gentleman came forward with an account of the course of exchange being in our favour, that having returned to its natural channel. If the scarcity of money had been owing to the quantity of money going out of this country, that would reduce the course of exchange, of which the right honourable gentleman had boasted. He wished the right honourable gentleman to make out all he promised to the public, and therefore he wished him not to promise too much, because, if he was often faithless to his promise, the public would think that the more splendid his promises were, the more likely it was that he only made them to deceive. The right honourable gentleman in the course of his calculations that night, had considered himself entitled to great credit for taking the three years of war as a standard of our income in time of peace. He admitted indeed that it was probable; our commerce would increase in time of peace, and he hoped it would do so speedily and abundantly; he was perfectly sure, however, that it would not do so in the course of the first two or three years. Had it done so in the war which commenced in the year 1756 and ended in 1763? precisely the reverse. The years 1763 and 1764 did not increase in commerce on 1761 and 1762. Nor did the years

1783 and 1784 increase in commerce on 1781 and 1782. Indeed it was perfectly clear, that war itself, from various reasons, tended to increase of exportation, and to increase for a while our manufactories, although it tended ultimately to destroy both, together with every thing else that was valuable in a country. This was evidently the case in former wars; and therefore the right honourable gentleman's calculation upon that subject was fallacious in the use which he attempted to make of it. Another observation suggests itself, which was, that this mode of calculation was erroneous in another view: all the causes which made war increase our exports, applied to this war more than any other, as the expence of it was more simple. Was that all? No. We had not only added thirty millions to our debt in the course of the year, but the taxes bore a greater proportion to the value of all the articles taxed, than they had ever done before; he did not see, therefore, ardently as he wished for peace, for the sake of the wealth of the Country, and even for the stability of its Constitution and the happiness of the People, that that peace would instantly increase the revenue, although ultimately he knew it would. This was therefore a serious business, since cruelly as the people of this Country were taxed, they must be taxed still more cruelly if the Government was to be supported. Having pointed out what he considered as delusions, which were held out year after year, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Fox, concluded with observing that the public had a right to know what it was they were contending for, and what the real expence of that contention was, instead of both being, as hitherto they had been, enveloped in darkness.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was sorry to be obliged to trouble the committee so often, and still to repeat what he had said before. Gentlemen seemed to dwell much upon the idea that they were voting seven millions and a half for new services, which really was not the case, as he explained in his former speech, and must contradict as often as it was stated. With regard to the Bank being so much in advance upon the Navy debt and the Exchequer Bills, gentlemen ought to recollect that there was nothing so new in it; and he would refer to the year 1783, when the right honourable gentleman was in office, the amount then was upwards of eleven millions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer again frankly confessed that the expences of the war had not a little contributed to the present scarcity of money, but he said, it did not solely arise from the expences, but from many other collateral circumstances, and he thought it unfair, that without taking into

consideration the other causes to which it might be ascribed, our whole attention was singly directed to the gloomy side of the question. Neither was it remembered that the Austrian loan was not paid in money, but in Bills of Exchange, a circumstance which, with respect to the influx and efflux of specie, should be justly taken into account; it was also proper to observe, that in estimating the condition of the revenue, the Custom-House, in general, gave rather an inferior and imperfect account, than a swelled and exaggerated statement. Nor was the present state of trade more fairly stated; if articles of consumption were now dearer, it should not be forgotten that articles of export were dearer also. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman that the revenue could not be expected to increase very materially immediately on the restoration of peace, although there could be no doubt of a very great increase being the eventual consequence of an honourable and permanent peace, when such could be obtained. However, in following the right hon. gentleman in that part of his argument he could not help thinking that his opinions were altered very considerably. When the war commenced, the right honourable gentleman told the house that inevitable destruction, and total ruin must fall upon our trade, commerce and manufactures, if war was carried on; and now it appeared that if we had peace to-morrow our revenue would not be increased. As the right honourable gentleman seemed to think that war was the parent of commerce and industry, so the honourable gentleman held different opinions at different times, just as it best suited their arguments for the day. For his part if a safe, honourable, and permanent peace was restored to the country, he should look with sanguine hopes to a great increase of the revenue. An honourable gentleman opposite had stated the peace establishment at twenty-two millions; he stated that it could not, from any probable conjecture that he could calculate, exceed twenty-one. He could hardly admit the argument respecting the annihilation of assignats and the issuing of mandats in France being carried so far as the honourable gentleman had urged it. This last measure appeared their only one resource left, and these mandats must be taken at par. This issue took place in March, and in April they had fallen to one-twelfth of the value; he would then ask gentlemen if a greater contrast than this between the resources of this country and that could be exhibited? He had never accused any member of that house of wishing by his arguments to depreciate the resources of this country in the eyes of the enemy, though there were some points at issue, on subjects of

finance,

finance, between them. He ascribed to no honourable gentleman improper motives, and he was happy to think that the solidity and extent of the resources of this country were so established in the opinions and knowledge of all Europe, as to leave it undisputed. He could say so much for the opinions circulated without doors. There certainly were those who anxiously and industriously circulated misrepresentations of our resources, and pointedly and precisely meant to depreciate the credit of the country and the conduct of government. This could not be denied, when they knew that in more than one of the public newspapers, for a length of time, misstatements and misrepresentations of our finances and resources, as well as exaggerations of the difficulties we had to contend with, were daily held forth in the broadest point of view, and certainly for no other purpose than mischief. He never could suppose that any member of parliament had the least correspondence or connexion with such conduct, but such it had been, and it became therefore his duty, by a fair and full detail of facts, to counteract the baneful effects of those licentious misrepresentations. With regard to the papers which gentlemen wished to move for, he would wait to hear what they had to say when those papers were produced; but by so saying he thought himself no ways bound to go into an enquiry. They might call, for he would promise discussion. As to the arrears, they could not be stated as a charge against the public, the votes already passed would sufficiently cover all demands under that head.

Mr. Fox said, he rose to correct the right honourable gentleman in one remark, which he had given as his, although he never had used the words, or could possibly entertain the sentiment. He had never said that war was the parent of commerce. What he did say was, that when the expenditure of fifty millions took place, in consequence of the existence of war, a great part of the money issued must revert, by different modes, back to the exchequer, and thereby in one shape increase the revenue; though it was an increase of no real advantage to the nation. In this point of view, therefore, a peace must reduce the revenue; and this was not merely theory, but founded on facts and experience, supported by what was known to be the state of the revenue at the conclusion of the two last wars. He said, with regard to exports, it was natural to suppose that in war time the merchants over-rated them, and the custom-house knowing that, stated them at less value.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had forgotten one thing, VOL. IV. 1796. U which

which he wished to state—it had been observed that to the *bonus* on the loan ought to be added the discount on the exchequer bills, which were to be taken in part of payment. He must say that this was a very small part indeed, and was not in the hands of the contractors; 500,000*l.* of them were now in the hands of the bank, and it was not to be supposed, after the terms of the loan were known, that they would dispose of them under par.

Mr. Alderman Newnham said, he did not rise to oppose any part of the right honourable gentleman's speech, which he thought did great credit to himself and to the nation: what he meant was, to make some observations upon the loan, though not upon the terms of it. It was to all intents and purposes, and contrary to the approved system, a shut-up and close loan; and competition, to his knowledge, had been offered by fifteen or sixteen respectable houses in the city, and they had received no answer nor any reason why their offers were not attended to. Messrs. Boyd and Benfield seemed to have a sort of claim from the terms of the former loan; but, while they insisted on this claim for themselves, they denied it to others who had been subscribers to the former loan; thus refusing, to persons equally entitled, what they claimed to themselves. He again said, that it was not the terms he found fault with, but the monopoly that was established contrary to the system of fair and open competition, and producing inconveniences to many. He wished to know how long this was to last, and why this exclusive right to all government loans was invested in the present contractors?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer regretted that the manner in which the loan was made had given any offence, and stated the nature of the agreement which had been entered into with Messrs. Boyd, Benfield and Co. in December last, by which he was tied up from making any additional loan till all the payments were completed on that loan, and that more money being found necessary before that time expired than it was then expected would be wanted, he had no alternative but to close with the present contractors, whilst at the same time he hoped that the monied men in the city would become indirectly sharers in it. The present loan; as to the terms of it, was one of the few with regard to which he was the less sorry at having departed from the system of competition, inasmuch as there was no other set of men who had less inducement, from the scrip which they held, to raise the terms of this loan than the present contractors; and, whilst he, avowed the purity of his

his motives, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his persuasion, that the terms of the loan would be found favourable, under the existing circumstances of the country.

Mr. Grey approved of what had fallen from the worthy alderman; and, to use a fashionable phrase, he should like to know when the *Loan Leviathan* was to be satisfied, or how long he was to have loans on his own terms? Ministers seemed anxious to accumulate all their pecuniary favours. He had also reason to suspect, that before the expiration of the term now mentioned, another loan would become necessary, and that the minister would be again compelled to apply to his friends Messrs. Boyd and Co. He repeated the difference between the right honourable gentleman and him, on the amount of the peace establishment, the navy debt, and the misapplication of money, contending, that his statements were established by facts, and the right honourable gentleman's only rested on speculation. He insisted, that, when money was voted by parliament for any specified purpose, it was a gross violation of law to appropriate it to any other, and a charge against any person, be he whom he may, that ought to be made the subject of an impeachment. There were one or two points on which he expected to have received, and the committee had a right to have some satisfactory answers. No notice had that night been taken of what had passed on a former occasion respecting the difference in the accounts respecting barracks? He wished likewise to know positively whether there was to be a loan of three millions to the emperor, because in the event, he would move for a call of the house; and lastly, if three millions of navy debt was to be funded, was the the last vote of credit for three millions of exchequer bills to be recalled or not?

Mr. Steele said, that in consequence of what had passed on a former night, he applied to the Barack Master General, who had given this explanation; that about 243,000*l.* had been expended for barracks in Great Britain, 64,000*l.* for the islands of Jersey and Guernsey; and the few thousand pounds remaining for various articles that could not properly be classed under any of the descriptions, in the account.

Mr. Grey complained of inaccuracy in the account, and *Mr. Steele* explained.

Mr. Sheridan begged the attention of the committee but for only a few minutes, declaring that he would not enter at large upon the various topics that had been brought under consideration. He would first observe, that the complaint of monied men, at not being permitted to contribute their share to relieve the necessities

necessities of the state, was a sufficient proof of the flourishing condition of our resources, and left no necessity for eloquence to declaim on the contrast between our situation, and that of the enemy. They were obliged to have recourse to violence to extort a forced loan, while monied gentlemen among us, with the generous impulse of patriotic magnanimity, were rivalling the Roman Curtius, and vying with each other who should first plunge into the unfathomable gulph of the Sinking Fund. Mr. Sheridan reminded the committee of the reasonings he had on former occasions urged on the subject of finance; the honourable gentleman however had always the victory of numbers with him, though he might refer him and the committee to these recorded opinions to which he is now at length obliged to come over. All declaration should be laid aside on the subject; because on a peace, not merely a surplus million, not only two millions and a half, but for more than three millions of new taxes will be necessary; and instead of the usual peace establishment of seventeen millions, he could prove, did not the lateness of the hour prevent him, that our future peace establishment would amount to no less a sum than twenty-three millions.

General Smith contended, that the East India Company would not be able to pay its part of 500,000l. He then adverted to the present state of our possessions in that country, and hinted, that a spirit of discontent and disobedience had been generated in the army there by our late regulations, and the report that had gone abroad of our intending to send out an army to enforce their acquiescence.

Mr. Secretary Dundas said, that when East India finances came under discussion, the honourable general would have a fair opportunity of stating the inability under which he supposed the East India Company to labour. As to the other insinuations thrown out by him respecting the disposition of the army in that country, they were wholly ungrounded, and he could not but consider them as a libel on those officers whose services the honourable general had so often spoken of in terms of the highest approbation.

General Smith explained, and vindicated himself from the imputation of libelling the East India officers and army, whose honour and interests, on the contrary, he said he should ever be proud to protect.

The resolutions were then put and agreed to without a division, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow. Adjourned.

Supplies for the service of the Year 1797.

Navy	13,039,673	1	7
Army	15,488,089	2	10
Victualling	1,643,056	11	
Miscellaneous Services	14,618,443	8	2
	<u>44,789,262</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>

Ways and Means

By Land tax	2,000,000
By Duty on Malt	750,000
By surplus of Grants	420,000
Remainder in the Exchequer	
By 1 st Loan	18,000,000
By 2 ^d Loan	14,500,000
By a Lottery	646,250
By Exchequer Bills	3,500,000
By Surplus of Cons. fund	2,000,000

41,816,250

Deficiency of Ways & Means 2,972,012

44,789,262 3 5

Abstract of the Budget 1797.
 Supply.
 Navy.

120,000 Seamen & Marines	6,240,000
Towards buildings Repairs of Ships of War and Extra Work.	768,100
Ordinary of the Navy including half Pay to Sec ^d Marine Officers	652,573
Towards defraying further Naval Exp. during the War	2,500,000
Total Navy	10,161,673

Army.

Per Estimate	6,613,000
The Acc ^{ts} of Extra ^s not being yet made up, as far as it can be estimated according to the Acc ^{ts} now before the House will exceed the sum allowed last year 4,300,000.	
Total Army	10,913,000

Ordnance.

Amount voted is	1,623,000
Miscellaneous Services	378,000
Deficiency of Land and Malt	350,000
Sum for the diminution of the National Debt	200,000
Deficiency of Taxes	1,023,000
Vote of Credit	3,000,000
	£ 27,648,673

Ways and Means 1797.

Lime & Malt	2,750,000
Flowing produce of the consolidated fund.	1,075,000
Surplus of Grants 1796	420,000
Profit on the Lottery after repaying the Sum which remains due to the Loyalists amounting to £100,000.	200,000
Borrowed by Loan	18,000,000
D. by Exchequer Bills	5,500,000
	<u>£ 27,945,000.</u>

Sum for which Taxes was provided
Interest on the Loan of £18,000,000
including sinking fund. 1,215,000.
Interest on £5,500,000 Exchequer Bills 275,000.
D. on £4,250,000. Surplus of Navy
Debt above the Estimate of last year 315,000.
Interest on £3,000,000. the estimated amt.
of future Navy Debt 1797 beyond 2,500,000.
provided in cash 202,000.
To replace the Amount of the Land Tax
Pay which was not carried into effect last Session. 140,000.
Difference between the Sum necessary to
Pay the Interest of the Vote of credit funded &
the Sum supposed to be provided for the
Circulation of Exch. Bills out of the old Taxes. 75,000.
over. £ 2,222,000

Got over £2,222,000.

From this Sum must be deducted
the Interest of £2,000,000 which the
East India Company engaged to pay. 112,000.
Total to be provided for. £ 2,110,000.

Taxes laid on. The Taxes underlined were either
omitted or the estimated Amount
subsequently allowed.
Excise.

1. Tea	240,000
2. Coffee and Cocoa	30,000
3. Auctions	40,000
4. Bricks	36,000
5. Spirits	220,000
6. Scots Distilleries	300,000
	<u>866,000.</u>

Customs

1. Sugar	280,000
2. Bar Iron	40,000
3. Brimstone, Hemp &c.	111,000
4. Drawback on plantation Sugar	22,000
	<u>1,156,000.</u>

Alphabetical Taxes & new mode of collecting House Tax	290,000
Regulations on Stamps	30,000
Postage & Regulation of the Post Office	250,000
Stage Coaches	60,000
Stamps on Parcels	60,000
Canal inland Navigation	120,000
	<u>1,150,000.</u>

In the Budget 26 April 1797 it is
admitted that the Taxes & duties provided for the
above mentioned purposes in the Budget 1797 are
£ 2,132,000

Abstract of the 2^d Budget for the
Service of the Year 1797 April 26.
Supply.
Navy.

120,000 Seamen & Marines — £1,140,000
Towards Building, Repairs of Ships &c. 768,100
Ordinary of the Navy, including Half pay 653,573
Towards defraying further Naval
Expenditure. ————— £4,999,327

Total Navy. ————— £12,661,000

Army.

Army Estimate ————— £6,600,000
Extra^s 1796 ————— 3,387,000
Due for Treasury Bills and Army
Warrants outstanding) ————— 2,088,000
Future Extra^s ————— 4,000,000

Total Army. ————— £16,075,000

Ordnance ————— 1,623,000
Barrack Department ————— 737,000
Miscellaneous Services ————— 929,000
Grenada Merchants. ————— 600,000
Imperial Loan. ————— 500,000
National Debt ————— 200,000

Carried over — £33,325,000.

Carried over to 33,325,000.

Deficiency Land & Mall 1795. ————— 350,000
Repayment of the Advances on Consolidated
fund 1795. ————— } 1,054,000.
Do 1796 ————— } 1,370,000.
To the Bank in part Advance on Land
and Mall 1796. ————— } 900,000
Exchq. Bills on vote of credit 1796. — 1,110,000.
To make good the deficiency of the
Consolidated fund 1796. ————— } 2,177,000
Vote of Credit ————— 2,500,000.
Total Supply. ————— £42,786,000.

* Besides this Sum of £4,999,327.
the Budget contains a provision for the Interest of
National Debt.

Ways and Means.

Land and Mall: ————— £2,750,000.
Surplus of Grants ————— 420,000.
Loan ————— 18,000,000.
Lottery ^{the sum of which was £116,250.} ————— 200,000
Exchequer Bills ————— 31,000,000
Surplus of Consolidated fund — * 2,000,000
Further Loan ————— 16,500,000.
Total ways & Means. ————— £42,870,000

* The Total produce of the Consolidated fund was calculated at £21,353,500
Charge upon it amounts to ————— 19,350,000

Remains — 2,003,500
Debit — 600,000
As this £1,812,000 was the surplus produced
result of a rough calculation, and might
be 500,000 would take it at the sum of £1,312,000.

Sum for which Taxes was provided.

Of the Loan of £18,000,000. £1,500,000 being intended for Ireland and £3,500,000 for the Emperor there was only £13,000,000 for which we were to provide, as it was not meant however to propose to Parliament offering more than £3,000,000 of the £5,500,000 Exchequer Bills provided for on the 7. Decemb. 1796 at the rate of 5 percent. A provision was already made to that extent for £2,500,000. of the £13,000,000. he had therefore to provide on Acco. of the Loan as follows
 For £10,500,000 including Sinking fund at the rate of 8.7.4 percent
 For £2,500,000 for which 5 percent had already been provided at the rate of 8.7.4.

5 percent Total on Account of Loan. = £959,000.

£2,000,000 Navy Debt due 31 Dec. 1796 } 100,000 at 5 percent.

£1,500,000 future Navy Debt at 5 percent — 75,000.

Taxes Dec. 7. 1796 given up in default — 100,000.

£ 1,234,000

of Interest — £ 6. 7. 6

Sinking fund — 1. 19. 10

£ 8. 7. 4

Taxes 26th April 1797.

The Taxes underlined were either omitted or the estimated amount subsequently allowed.

Increased Consolidated Stamp Duties	L. 320,000
Tax on Property transferred by Private Contract	170,000
Copies of Deeds,	50,000
Probates of Wills	40,000
Bills of Exchange	40,000
Addition of 1 ³ / ₄ d. on Newspapers	114,000
Increased Duty on Advertisements	20,000
On Attorney's Certificates	15,000
On Gold and Silver Wrought Plate	30,000
On Insurances from Fire	35,000
And Duty equal to the Tolls on all Carriages passing through Turnpikes	450,000
	<u>L. 1,284,000</u>

Alterations proposed on the Taxes 1797. June 30th 1797.

Taxes Omitted

Stamp on Passes — £ 60,000.

Stamp on Licenses — 450,000

Diminution created in the above

Estimate by alterations in the mode of collection

and Navigation — 20,000

On Newspapers & Advertisements — 40,000

On Transfer of private Property — 80,000.

£ 600,000.

£ 600,000 was provided for as follows

Stamp on Scotch Distilleries — £ 212,000

Stamp on Employed in Agriculture — 150,000

Stamp on Watches, Clocks &c. — 200,000

Stamp on Importation on Hops & 5 percent on

Certain Articles of Customs. — 100,000.

£ 662,000.

For the estimated Amount of the Taxes of this Year subsequent to all alterations see the end of this volume.

Alterations proposed on the taxes 1797, July 7. 1797.

Tax omitted.

Canal inland navigation 90,000

The above £90,000 was provided for as follows

Additional duty on male servants 34,000

Additional duty on horses kept for pleasure 24,000

20 per cent on the above additional duty
~~on horses kept for pleasure, & also on the £150,000~~ } 30,000

laid on horses kept for agriculture

£ 88,000