CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
TRADE and FINANCES
OF THIS
KINGDOM,
AND ON THE
MEASURES of ADMINISTRATION,
WITH
Respect to those great National Objects since the
CONCLUSION of the PEACE.

LONDON:
Printed for J. WILKIE, in St. *Paul's-Church-Yard.*
MDCCLXVI. [Price Three Shillings.]

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

Trade and *Commerce* of this Kingdom.

THAT the Wealth and the Power of *Great Britain* depends upon its Trade, is a Propoſition, which it would be equally abſurd in theſe times to diſpute or to prove: it was not indeed apprehended that they were ſo great as they have been found to be, we did not ourſelves know our own Strength, till the Vigour of the laſt War applied the Reſources of that Wealth, and exerted the Efforts of that Power; in the progreſs of it many Acquiſitions highly beneficial to Commerce were made; and the moſt important of them were ſecured by the Peace; but on the other hand, the Abilities of this Country were ſtretched to their utmoſt extent, and beyond their natural Tone: Trade muſt ſuffer in proportion; for the Price both of Labour and Materials was enhanced by the Number and the Weight of the new Taxes; and by the ſudden and extraordinary demand which the Ruin of the *French* Navigation brought upon *Great Britain:* in conſequence of which, rival Nations who were not before, may now be able in many articles to underſell us at Foreign Markets, and even become Competitors at our own. Both public and private Credit were at the ſame time oppreſſed by the vaſt and rapid encreaſe of the National Debt: the Value of the Stocks being ſunk by the quantity of them, Scarcity of Money and high Rates of Intereſt enſued; and the large unfunded Debt which remained behind, aggravated the

Evil, and affected every Money-transaction. These are Circumstances of very serious concern, and important to the decision of any enquiry into our national Situation: to state them therefore distinctly; to set against them the Advantages we have gain'd; and to examine into the Measures which have been pursued since the Peace, as well those which will contribute to restore order to the Finances, to preserve or to recover Trade, and to improve our new Acquisitions; as those which have a contrary Tendency; in order from the whole view to form some judgment of the real State of this Kingdom, with respect to its Finances and its Commerce, will be attempted in the following Considerations; but Measures having varied, and the national Situation and Prospects being thereby different at different times, it will be necessary to distinguish them into two Periods, the one ending in the last Year, the other comprehending all subsequent Operations: and I shall therefore endeavour to keep the Consideration of each entirely separate, as the only means of determining upon either.

The Debt contracted by the War which had been funded before the Negociations for Peace began, consisted of 50,730,000*l.* redeemable Annuities; of 472,500*l.* being the value at fourteen years purchase of the Annuities upon Lives which were granted in 1757, and of 6,826,875*l.* being the Value of the Long Annuities granted in 1761 and 1762, at 27½ Years purchase, which was the price they bore about the time of signing the Preliminaries, and is nearly a medium Price. The encreased funded Debt was therefore at that time 58,029,375*l.* but the Expences of the War did not cease with its Operations: they continued for some time to be very considerable; distant Fleets and Armies could not be suddenly recalled; large Establishments could not be immediately reduced; and on these and other accounts it was necessary between the signing of the Preliminaries and the Conclusion of the Peace, to make a Loan of 3,500,000*l.* The Fund provided for the payment of the Annuities thereon were the additional Duties of 8*l.* per Ton on *French* Wine and Vinegar, of 4*l.* per Ton on other Wines and Vinegars, and of 2*l.* per Ton on Cyder and Perry imported; and a new duty of 4*s.* per Hogshead on all Cyder and Perry made in *Great Britain* to be paid by the Maker thereof. The Sum

Sum to be raised on this Fund was wanted for immediate Services, and pressing Demands, and a vast Debt still remained unfunded: that part of it only which consisted of Navy Bills and Ordnance Debentures amounted to 3,670,739*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* and for these a temporary Provision was immediately made, in the same manner as had been done at the end of the former War, with respect to the then out-standing Bills and Debentures, by charging upon the Sinking Fund so many of them as should be subscribed, to be converted into Stock at four *per cent.* redeemable. The Interest was the same as before, but when it was upon Bills, the time of Payment was uncertain; upon the Stock it is regular: they were indeed always assignable, but not divisible; if therefore the Money which the Bill-holder wanted was less than his Bill was worth, he was obliged to sell more than he wished, the entire Bill only, and not a part of it being saleable: and as many of them were for large, and most of them for fractional Sums, it was often difficult to dispose of them: Stock on the contrary, in any proportion and at any time will find a Purchaser. On these Considerations the Majority of the Proprietors to the amount of 3,483,553*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* were induced to subscribe, and the Market was thereby cleared of a great quantity of Paper-circulation upon Government-security, which had excluded a like Circulation upon private Security, and engrossed all the ready Cash: this operation therefore made an opening for the admission of Notes and personal Security, facilitated Discount, and occasioned an easier Circulation of Money.

But notwithstanding this Relief a large Debt was still unprovided for; it accumulated the next year; and Trade and Credit and the Stocks all laboured under the Oppression. It was so sensibly felt, that many persons impatient of the burthen, thought a further Loan necessary for paying off a considerable part of it; but they did not sufficiently reflect on the permanent Mischief which the creating of a Fund equal to such a Loan would have occasioned: the considerable Surplusses which were in the disposal of Parliament, the Surplusses of the Duties on Coals and Culm, of those on Soap, Paper, Starch, Linens, Silks, Callicoes, and Stuffs; of the Stamp-duties, and of the Duties upon

 Licences

Licences for retailing Spirituous Liquors were all appropriated: The high duties which the Legiſlature had laid upon ſpirituous Liquors to prevent the too frequent uſe of them, were alſo applied: the Funds which Luxury could ſupply, were exhauſted by the Taxes impoſed upon Plate, Cards, Dice, Brandy, and Wine: Commerce had furniſhed its quota by a further ſubſidy on *Eaſt-Indian* commodities, on the produce of our own Plantations, on Grocery, Linens, and other miſcellaneous articles: Property had again and again been called upon to raiſe freſh Contributions by additional Stamp Duties, additional Duties on Houſes, additional Duties on Windows: and the demands of the War ſtill crouding on, recourſe had at laſt been had to thoſe Supplies which an univerſal Home-conſumption could raiſe: The common Beverage of the people was choſen, and Duties were laid on Malt, on Beer, and on Cyder: Theſe preſſed immediately on the middling and lower Ranks, on Husbandmen and Manufacturers, who were not indifferent to many of the other duties; the Wages of Labour were raiſed; the value of foreign Commodities and even of our native produce was enhanced; and theſe are circumſtances always prejudicial, frequently dangerous, and ſometimes fatal to Trade and Manufacturers. Was this a time to impoſe a new tax which muſt have been heavy to have been effectual; and which, ſo far as our commercial Intereſts might have been affected by it, would not in the end have been a benefit, though it ſhould be a preſent Relief, to public Credit?

But even if a Fund free from any objection had been ready, an accidental diſtreſs from another quarter would have prevented the application of it: the Failures at *Berlin*, at *Hamburgh*, and in *Holland*, which happened about the month of *September*, 1763, had ſpread Terror to every commercial City on the Continent: the effects of ſuch Bankruptcies could not but be great and extenſive; they were unknown, and therefore appeared greater: no man was ſure that he himſelf was ſafe; every one concluded that others were ruined; they were afraid they ſhould be drawn upon; they were afraid to draw; and diſmay and diſtruſt appearing in every countenance, encreaſed their mutual apprehenſions: Wealth could not procure Credit, nor connection Confidence; but uni-

verſal doubt prevailed; and all expecting what they feared, and diſbelieving what they heard, impatiently waited in conſternation and deſpair for a certainty which they dreaded to receive. The *Britiſh* Merchants alone behaved with a Spirit equal to the Criſis: though they were particularly unprepared for ſuch an event at that conjuncture, when all Europe was deeply, and they were more deeply than any, engaged in the Stocks, which in conſequence of this Calamity were falling; though moſt of their tranſactions therein were Time-bargains, by which their Credit was already ſtretched, and they had made themſelves anſwerable for a new ſpecies of Demands, great in amount, near in proſpect, and which could not be poſtponed, even for a day; yet amidſt theſe accumulated Difficulties, regardleſs of the partial Security of their own particular Houſes, they applied themſelves wholly to provide for the general Safety: though the Situations of their Correſpondents were acknowledged to be precarious, they truſted them more than ever: they turned all they could into Money, they ſold at a loſs, they borrowed, in order to lend; and then made vaſt and immediate Remittances to the places where the Diſtreſs and the Danger were the greateſt. The encouragement and concurrence of a firm Adminiſtration ſupported their Reſolution, and ſeconded their efforts: the Bank on this preſſing occaſion, inſtead of paying in Silver, doubting on Securities, or recurring to any of the little expedients of Caution and Delay, boldly, and without heſitation, and without reſerve, gave the moſt liberal and effectual aſſiſtance, by diſcounting Bills with the readieſt Diſpatch, and to an incredible amount: and the Merchants being from thence ſupplied with larger Sums than they themſelves thought it poſſible for them to command, and ſending away all they could procure, by ſuch a ſeaſonable and vigorous exertion of their Powers, prevented the Bankruptcy of Europe. But all their generous Endeavours might have failed, if the Money wanted for this great purpoſe had been diverted to any other; or if any Check had been given to an operation, to which the leaſt delay muſt have been fatal, and which the ſhorteſt intermiſſion might have rendered abortive. A Loan made under ſuch circumſtances would

have been attended with the Ruin of many Individuals; the Price of the Stocks already fallen by the quantities which had been ſold in order to raiſe money, muſt have ſunk ſtill lower; and the further depreſſion of both publick and private Credit would have been the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a deſperate meaſure.

On the other hand it ſeemed at firſt ſight impoſſible, effectually to relieve the publick of the burthen of ſo large an unfunded Debt by any other means: It was however attempted, and the attempt has ſucceeded beyond expectation. A ſtrict Scrutiny was during the years 1764 and 1765, made into the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, into the Collection, and into the Expenditure: thoſe Revenues were encreaſed by a ſteady Execution of the Laws relating to them, and improved by additional Regulations: new Reſources of Finance were opened; and the whole was conducted with a Frugality, which was important becauſe it was univerſal, and generous as its object was Juſtice. From the concurrence of all theſe Meaſures, Supplies were found in the years 1764 and 1765, ſufficient to reduce the unfunded Debt within ſuch a compaſs, as to be no longer oppreſſive upon public Credit; that part of it which conſiſted in Navy-bills only excepted: they had accumulated ſo faſt, that tho' 650,000*l.* had been granted in the Supplies for 1764, towards diſcharging the Debt of the Navy, yet the Bills in courſe of payment on 31ſt *December*, 1764, with the Intereſt due thereon, amounted to 1,971,389*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* to eaſe the Market of this Incumbrance, it was propoſed to provide for the major part of them by creating a Fund for 1,500,000*l.* The Diſtreſs of the laſt year was now entirely at an end; the alarm it had occaſioned was ſubſided; Money was in plenty; the Stocks were riſing; Trade flouriſhed; and the Courſe of Exchange was in our favour: there could therefore be no difficulty in making a Loan; the terms offered and accepted were two-fifths in redeemable Annuities; two-fifths in Lottery-Tickets; and the remaining one-fifth either in a redeemable Annuity, or Life-annuity with benefit of Survivorſhip, at the option of the Subſcribers; the whole at three *per Cent.* Of this propoſition the two-fifths in three *per cent.* Annuities were the only part, whoſe value could be exactly aſcertained; the Survivorſhips could not properly be worſe than theſe, for theſe might be taken

inſtead

inſtead of them; there was a chance that they might be better; they had ſeldom been tried in *England*, and never in parallel Circumſtances; in *France* they had often ſucceeded; and if they ſhould ſucceed here, they might be applied to greater purpoſes: if they failed, the ſum engaged being ſo ſmall, and an option being given between them and the three *per cent.* Annuities, no bad conſequence could enſue. On theſe conſiderations the Experiment was made, it has not ſucceeded, and no bad conſequence has enſued. As to the Lottery-tickets, it was known by experience that they would bear ſome premium; and whatever advantage might be made, was offered in the firſt inſtance to the Holders of Navy-bills, who having ſuffered by the delay, were entitled to favour, in the manner of payment; and who had therefore an option given them either to be paid at par, or to ſubſcribe: For this purpoſe the Subſcription was opened for Navy-bills only to a certain day; by that time ſo many as amounted to 1,347,500*l.* were ſubſcribed; the Bill-holders therefore to that great amount thought the Subſcription more eligible than payment at par: The remaining Sum of 152,500*l.* was afterwards made up by the contributions of other perſons: but the whole ſum being applied to the diſcharge of Navy-bills, the load of ſuch a quantity of that kind of Circulation was taken off; and a ſaving of 15,000*l. per annum* was made to the Public, by ſubſtituting a Stock at three *per cent*, inſtead of Navy-bills at four; which was done at a time when the three *per cents.* were below 87, and I believe there is no inſtance of Money borrowed at that rate, while the Stocks bearing the ſame Intereſt were ſo greatly under par.

Yet how ſerviceable ſoever this operation might be to public Credit, it would not in the end have proved a national benefit, if an additional burthen upon Trade had been the means employed to effect it; but the Duties which compoſe the Fund then created, are in no degree hurtful, and may in ſome reſpects be beneficial to Trade: they are Duties upon Coals, *Eaſt-India* Silks, and Callicoes exported, and upon Policies of Inſurance: That upon Coals exported is of four Shillings upon the *Newcaſtle* Chaldron, which is two Shillings the *London* Chaldron; and being paid by Foreigners

only

only is in that respect a matter of Indifference to this Country; but in another it is of importance: for Coals are necessary to the Dyers, the Glass-houses, the Iron-works, the Distilleries, and other Manufactories abroad, and a Tax upon them is an advantage given to the rival *British* Manufactures, who now want every Assistance: nor is there any danger of losing the Trade by so moderate a Burthen upon it; on the contrary it will encrease, as the Peet begins to fail in *Holland*; and though Coals are found in the Country of *Liege*, and in several parts of *Flanders*, yet being subject to a variety of Tolls in the different States through which they must be brought, they cannot, when they arrive in *Holland*, be sold so cheap as the *Sunderland* Coals. As to the *East Indian* Commodities which are charged to this Fund, some Imposition upon them was necessary for the preservation of our *American* Commerce in that article: a Duty had been laid in the preceding year upon the same Commodities exported to the Colonies: the only material objection to it was that the *Dutch*, who buy those goods here, would be able to undersell us in *America*; but this was remedied by extending the charge to all that are exported; a Duty of five *per cent. ad valorem* on the prohibited Silks and Callicoes, and of two *per cent.* on the white Callicoes which have not been printed or dyed in *England*, seemed sufficient to answer the purpose, as the foreign Merchants who purchase here must necessarily incur some Expences of Freight and Commission, from which the *British* Traders are free. The remainder of the Fund is made up by the new Duties upon Policies of Insurance: Those Instruments had been so variously charged, and the Acts relating to them were interpreted so absurdly, that some Regulation was proper on the principle of equality: no more than one Shilling was paid on Policies executed in the Country, while those executed within the Bills of Mortality were charged with three Shillings and ten Pence, if made out at a private office; and with one Shilling more if made out by the Insurance Companies; there is no reason for any distinction, and they are therefore now all brought up to five Shillings; the difference I believe will not be very sensibly felt any where: if it should, the occasion for putting them all upon a level will be the more apparent

parent. The whole Fund thus compleated will, when brought into a regular Channel, undoubtedly produce 45,000*l.* which is the Interest of the 1,500,000*l.* raised upon the Credit of it.

If to this Sum of 1,500,000*l.* be added 58,029,375*l.* the Debt contracted before the Negotiations began, and that which was funded between the signing of the Preliminaries and the Conclusion of the Treaty, *viz.* 3,500,000*l.* on the Wine and Cyder-tax, and 3,483,553*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* Navy Annuities, the whole funded Debt contracted by the War and funded before the end of the Session, 1765, appears to be 66,512,928*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The Taxes necessary for paying the Interest of so large a Capital, must sooner or later be detrimental to many Branches of the Manufactures, Produce, and Trade of this Kingdom. The Evil was unavoidable when the Expence was so great; but from the time that the pressing Demands for immediate Services ceased, care was taken not to augment it; and several of the Regulations relative to Trade, which will occur in the following Sheets, are calculated to check and diminish its pernicious Effects: but the most solid consolation under the Loss we may sustain, arises from the Acquisitions made in *America*; by a due Improvement of which many of the most important Articles of our Commerce will be encreased, and others which we had not before may be obtained: what Attention has been given to these I shall have occasion hereafter to shew; it suffices for the present to observe, that we must from thence chiefly expect Compensation for the Disadvantages under which our Trade will labour in the *European* and other Markets, where we have Competitors to encounter. We are entitled to this the only return which the Colonies can make for all the Benefits so lately and so liberally bestowed upon them; and if the supreme Authority of this Country be properly supported, we shall receive it.

Another Mischief attending so vast an Accumulation of Debt, is the opportunity it gives of making a great Interest of Money: That which may be made in the Stocks depends upon the Price they bear; and they have continued to be below their usual Level in times of Peace for several Reasons. The vast Amount now of the National Debt is one; as the greater the quantity is of any Commodity

dity at Market, the cheaper it muſt be: that quantity however would not have had the ſame influence on the Price, if the encreaſe had been more gradual; the firſt Subſcribers and the firſt Purchaſers from them, engaged with a view to profit only, and not with any Intention to continue in the new-created Funds; but theſe Funds are ſo large, that a ſufficient number of Stock-holders could not eaſily be found to buy into them: and the Adventurers being all of them inclined, and ſome of them forced to ſell, have been the means rather of depreſſing than of ſupplying the Market. Others again bought into the *Engliſh* Funds, not indeed for gaming purpoſes, but ſtill for a temporary convenience; the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries which were ravaged or threatened by the War, remitted all they could hither, as to a place of Security; but their Diſtreſſes being at an end, they have wanted it again at Home: and ſeveral Perſons and Houſes on the Continent, though they were in places where themſelves and their Properties were ſafe, yet their *German* Correſpondence and Traffick being interrupted, they veſted the Sums which by that means were unemployed, in Funds where they were ſure of a conſiderable Intereſt, and had a fair proſpect of greater Gain, before the Revival of their Trade after a Peace could make it neceſſary for them to recall their Money. When Proprietors of ſo many Denominations are all Sellers, they muſt greatly out-number the Buyers, and that Diſproportion, ſo long as it continues, will neceſſarily keep down the Price: The Shock given to all Credit by the Failures abroad encreaſed the Diſproportion, and maintained it longer than it would otherwiſe have ſubſiſted; but the Difference now dimiſhes every Day; many have by Degrees diſpoſed of all they wiſhed to get rid of; Purchaſers multiply as the Plenty of Money encreaſes; the arbitrary Reduction of the *French* Funds has ſhewn the Preference due to thoſe of *England* for their Certainty; a large Supply conſtantly ariſes out of the Stocks themſelves, as a conſiderable Part of the Dividends upon the Eſtates of Infants, of Foreigners, and of Perſons who live within their Incomes, is continually laying out in the Purchaſe of more Capital; and from theſe and many other concurring Cauſes, the Stocks have been for ſome time generally

generally riſing: The Circumſtances which kept them low, and which no Art or Force could remove, becauſe they ſprung out of the Nature of a vaſt Stock, ſuddenly accumulated, in ſuch a State of Affairs as that of *Europe* then was, have gradually given way to the Effects of time and Peace, and made room for the Operation of thoſe Meaſures which were conducive to the ſame ſalutary end of enhancing the Value of the public Funds. To this the Diſcharge of a large unfunded Debt principally contributed; for not only the Money therein abſorbed was ſet free, but the Credit of the Nation was raiſed by ſuch a Proof of its Ability; and the Advantages which were ſeaſonably taken of theſe favourable Circumſtances, advanced its Reputation ſtill more. All the Annuities which were granted at a higher Rate than three *per cent.* during the War, are irredeemable for a certain Term: The near Proſpect of Peace in 1763, enabled the Government to get rid of ſo irkſome and prejudicial a Reſtriction, and with the Aſſiſtance of a Lottery to raiſe Money at four *per cent.* redeemable: In the laſt Year all that was wanted was by the ſame Means raiſed at three *per cent.* redeemable; and the like Reduction was alſo applied to other Tranſactions: The Exchequer Bills were iſſued at four *per cent.* till the Cloſe of the Year 1764, when an Experiment was made upon Part of them at three and a half; in 1765, the whole 800,000*l.* was iſſued at three, and even at that rate they were generally about and ſometimes above par: The Bank Contract alſo for the Land and Malt which had till then been at four *per cent.* was in 1765 made at $3\frac{1}{2}$ for the Malt, and for the firſt Million of the Land-tax, and at three for the ſecond, which was in effect a Reduction of the whole to three for the next Year; and from all theſe ſymptoms it was evident even during the Year 1765, within two Years of the Concluſion of the Peace, that the Government could procure Money at three *per cent.* for the future: the Conſequence of which muſt be the Riſe of the Stocks; and the Benefits from thence reſulting both to the landed and the monied Intereſts of this Kingdom, are too obvious to be mentioned.

A great, if not the principal, Share in producing theſe favourable Appearances, muſt be attributed to the Proviſion made in ſo

 ſhort

ſhort a time for ſo large a Part of the Unfunded Debt; it is therefore now proper to ſee in what manner and to what amount that was effected: The whole Debt cannot be ſtated at any particular Period; for ſome Parts of it were diſcharged, before others were accounted for; I will therefore take the Articles ſeparately, and having ſhewn what was done upon each, I will afterwards endeavour to form a general View of the Whole, which may then be intelligible. The moſt formidable in Appearance were the *German* Demands; they amounted to near nine Millions Sterling, and though infinitely various in the Grounds upon which they were founded, and the Manner in which they were made up, yet for the preſent Purpoſe they may be conſidered under three Heads, ranging them according to the different Modes of proceeding which have been followed in diſcharging them.

The Firſt is the Claim of the Duke of *Brunſwick* to a Subſidy of 43,901*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{5}{11}$ for two Years after the Determination of the War. The Right was unqueſtionable, being founded upon Treaties, in which the Sum was ſpecified, and therefore the Debt has been regularly paid as it has accrued: 33,557*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{9}{11}$ became due in 1763, and proviſion was made for it in the Supplies for that Year: This therefore cannot properly be called a Debt unprovided for at the End of the War: But the remaining 54,245*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{11}$ was ſtrictly ſo, and has been diſcharged as ſuch, *viz.* 43,901*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{5}{11}$ out of the Supplies for the Year 1764, and 10,343*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{7}{11}$ out of the Supplies for 1765, which laſt Sum cloſes this Account. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* had a Claim to a Subſidy for one Year after the Peace; but Part of it having been paid out of the Supplies of 1762, and all the Remainder provided for in thoſe of 1763, it cannot be carried to that unfunded Debt which alone I mean to conſider.

The next Head is the Demand of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, for the reaſonable Succour which was agreed to be given to him by the Convention made on 1ſt of *April*, 1760, in caſe his Dominions ſhould be invaded and laid under Contribution: They were invaded, and his Claim therefore to ſome Succour was founded

founded upon Treaty; but what ſhould be deemed reaſonable was a Subject of great Diſcuſſion. No preciſe Sum was ſtipulated, and 220,000*l.* had in performance of this Agreement been given in 1761, of which 120,000*l.* were paid immediately, and 50,000*l.* in 1762, and 50,000*l.* in 1763. On the Concluſion of the Peace the Landgrave delivered an Account of further Damages ſuſtained to the Amount of 10,382,668 *German* Crowns, which are above 1,730,000*l.* Sterling. This was objected to as an unreaſonable Demand, and the Affair being put into Negotiation, it was at laſt agreed to pay the Landgrave 150,000*l.* which Sum payable in three Years was accepted by a Protocol, ſigned 21ſt *March*, 1764, in total Extinction of all Demands and Pretenſions whatſoever, which his Serene Highneſs might from under the Title of reaſonable Succour, or otherwiſe, ſuch Sums only excepted as ſhould appear to be juſtly due upon Contracts made by Perſons duly authorized for that Purpoſe: in conſequence of this Agreement 50,000*l.* were paid in 1764, 50,000*l.* in 1765, and the remaining 50,000*l.* are provided for in the Supplies of the preſent Year.

The third Head comprehends all thoſe *German* Demands, which no Treaty had fixed, and which no Negotiation could ſettle; but which being meer Matters of Account, could be adjuſted only by Liquidation. A ſpecial Commiſſion was therefore appointed for that Purpoſe, and nothing leſs would have been equal to a Buſineſs ſo various, perplexed, and extenſive. An Office at home, immediately under the Inſpection of the Treaſury, and reporting to them all their Proceedings, to be by them ſubmitted to the Judgment of Parliament; an Office acting under Inſtructions adapted to that end only, collecting within its own View all the Information which the ſeveral Departments of the Commiſſariate could give, and furniſhed with every other Means of Enquiry; ſeeing the whole of the Demand together, checking one Part of it by another, and equally informed of the Rights of the Crown and of the Claimants; ſuch an Office only was able to detect the Frauds and Abuſes which had been practiſed, to ſtate long and intricate Accounts, and to determine the juſt Ballance between the Publick and its Creditors. Upon theſe

these Motives all further Proceedings in *Germany* were stopped, the Commissariate there was recalled, and three Commissioners appointed here to examine the *German* Demands. To prevent Delay a certain Day was fixed, beyond which no Claims were to be received; such a Declaration invited none, though it admitted all; and it brought the whole together by the Time appointed: but a great Part was excluded from immediate Examination, because most of the States on the Continent had pretended to do themselves Justice, by seizing the *British* Magazines in their Territories: It did not become the Dignity of the Crown of *Great-Britain* to submit to an Arrest of its Property, or to suffer others to usurp the Dispensation of its Justice: Notice was therefore given that no Claims made by the Subjects of those Countries in which such Seisures had been permitted, should be so much as taken into Consideration, till not only full Restitution was made, but Satisfaction also given for the Damages sustained; in consequence of which spirited Measure, the Magazines were after a few fruitless Remonstrances restored, and the Accounts of the Parties who had been excluded, were then examined with the rest. The whole amounted to more than seven Millions Sterling; the Articles which composed this enormous Sum were some of them just and reasonable, for Services done, Supplies furnished, or Expences incurred, under Contract, by Agreement, or in consequence of a proper Requisition; but many were fraudulent; many were suspicious; others though fairly stated, appeared upon Examination to be either not founded upon Right or not supported by Vouchers; and many were upon the Face of them totally inadmissable, in which no Imposition was attempted, no Services were pretended to have been performed, but Valuations only of Losses sustained were offered, and Indemnifications demanded as Debts: Even our Enemies have desired to be reimbursed, the Contributions levied upon them. Such and all other equally groundless Claims being rejected, and the proper Deductions being made from others, the Sum of 7,132,652*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* to which the whole of these Demands amounted, has been reduced to 1,106,643*l.* 13*s.* 8$\frac{3}{4}$ with Justice to the Claimants, and equally to the Honour of those who

who instituted, and of those who executed the Office for liquidating them. Provision has been made for the Payment as the Reports from the Commissioners have come in: and for this Purpose 500,000*l.* were granted in 1764, as much more in 1765, and 106,043*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ has been granted this Year in full Satisfaction of the Remainder.

* The Account therefore of all the *German* Demands appears from what has been said to stand thus:

	Demanded. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*	Payable. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Subsidy to the Duke of *Brunswick*,	54,245	0	5 $\frac{1}{12}$	54,245	0	5 $\frac{1}{12}$
Reasonable Succour to the Landgrave of *Hesse*,	1,730,444	0	9	150,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Demands. —	7,132,652	5	5	1,106,043	13	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Total.	8,917,341	5	10 $\frac{1}{12}$	1,310,288	14	1 $\frac{13}{44}$

But though the whole amounts to very near 9,000,000*l.* yet as all which on the fairest Examination was found to be justly due has been discharged for 1,310,288*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{13}{44}$ no more than that Sum can be strictly called a Debt, and in this Light it is not so considerable as others which will not admit of a like Reduction.

The Unfunded Debt of the Navy was far greater, though that too was less than it appeared to be, and though I shall exclude from this Account the Debt provided for in the Supplies for 1763, as that Provision was made before the final Conclusion of the Peace, and the Sums funded in that Year have been already carried to the Funded Debt contracted by the War: But besides the great Quantity of Navy Bills then converted into Annuities, and notwithstanding the Provision made to prevent if possible an Encrease, by voting 30,000 Seamen for the whole Year, when the Peace Establishment was intended to be

* Though 50,000*l.* of the reasonable Succour to the Landgrave of *Hesse* and 106,043*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of the miscellaneous Demands be provided for in the Supplies for this Year, and therefore do not properly fall within the Period now immediately before me, yet I thought it would be more satisfactory to insert them here, as the Settlement of all the *German Demands* was entirely the Measures of the late Administration; and the Account being compleatly closed, it should be stated all together.

no

no more than 16,000, yet ſuch was at firſt the Extent of the Services, it required ſo much Time to bring home the Ships, other Demands continued to be ſo great, and ſuch large Arrears came in, that the Navy Debt not included in the Subſcription of 1763, added to what was afterwards brought to account in 1764 and 1765, (the whole of which was in the ſtricteſt Senſe unprovided for during the War,) amounted to no leſs than 4,576,915*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* of this 650,000*l.* were paid off in 1764, and 1,500,000*l.* were diſpoſed of in 1765 by the Subſcription; theſe two Sums therefore being deducted it was reduced to 2,426,915*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* but then the whole of the Navy Debt is not payable when the Account is made up, and ſome will never be demanded: The Navy Bills are not due till ſix Months after they have been iſſued; ſix Months alſo of the Seamen's Wages by act of Parliament always muſt be, and in conſequence of the Rules preſcribed by that Act, twelve Months Wages generally and often much more are retained: And there has been beſides at all Times a large Arrear of Pay, which though kept in the Account could never be claimed, the Perſons to whom it was due having left neither Aſſignees nor Repreſentatives. The preciſe Amount of ſuch Sums cannot be aſcertained; but they can hardly be reckoned leſs than thirteen or fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds. On 31ſt *December*, 1754, when the Navy Debt was reduced nearly as low as it could be, it ſtill amounted to 1,296,567*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ conſiſting chiefly of Articles which could not then be diſcharged; ſuch Articles will be larger now in proportion to the Encreaſe of the Eſtabliſhment, and an Allowance muſt always be made for them in judging of the State of the Navy Debt, though they are not diſtinguiſhable in the Account. In providing for that which is payable, the principal Object of the Legiſlature is always to diſcharge the Bills, for they are the greateſt Article, they bear an Intereſt of four *per cent.* and when the Quantity of them is large, they are a heavy Incumbrance upon all Money Tranſactions. Both the Subſcriptions which I have mentioned were opened avowedly for that Purpoſe only; and the Money granted in 1764, towards the Diſcharge of the Navy

Navy Debt, was applied to no other; the ſaving of Intereſt thereby made was 26,000*l.* and the ſaving in the ſubſequent Year of one *per cent.* on 1,500,000*l.* has been mentioned already. A ſmall Deduction muſt however be made from theſe Sums, for the non-intereſt Bills, and for the Intereſt upon the others which has been converted into Principal. All ſuch Allowances and Deductions amount however to a very Trifle, and as I cannot aſcertain them exactly, and they are ſo inconſiderable, it will be ſufficient to have taken this Notice of them.

The Proceeding with reſpect to the Army at the Concluſion of the War was ſimilar to that which had been followed with Reſpect to the Navy: The Extraordinaries brought to account were provided for, and more Forces were voted than the Peace Eſtabliſhment was intended to be, in order to allow for the gradual Reduction of thoſe then on Foot: It could not however be made ſo faſt as was propoſed; many Regiments were at very diſtant Parts of the Globe, maintaining or purſuing the Conqueſts they had made: The next Year was found not ſufficient to reduce them; great Expences were ſtill neceſſary; and large Arrears came in; by all which the Extraordinaries of the Army incurred and not provided for in 1763, were ſwelled up to the Sum of 987,434*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ which were paid out of the Supplies for 1764: Thoſe incurred in that Year and provided for in the Supplies for 1765, amounted to 404,496*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* which added to the former amount to 1,391,931*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Extraordinaries of the Ordnance diſcharged within the ſame Period as not having been provided for in the Supplies for the Year in which they were incurred, amount to 107,878*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* *viz.* 52,359*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* in 1764, and 55,519*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* in 1765.

It may be ſaid that the whole of theſe Extraordinaries, whether of the Navy, of the Army, or of the Ordnance, are not to be imputed to the War; but the whole was Debt: The Exceedings of the Navy bear the Name of Debt; thoſe of the Army and Ordnance are of the ſame Nature; and whoever will look into the Accounts will find that moſt of the Articles

can

can relate only or relate principally to the War *. There will indeed always be Extraordinaries; but it would be a melancholy Prospect if we had any Reason to apprehend, that upon a settled Peace-Establishment, they would be nearly equal to these: When I come to state that Establishment, I will endeavour to form some Calculations concerning them.

The Deficiences of Grants and of Funds are also generally but not necessarily Articles in the Supplies for Times of Peace; for Estimates must always be vague, and the Produce of Taxes uncertain; but there may be an Overplus as well as a Deficiency, and the one is applied, the other is provided for, each as it arises; when the Deficiency happens it is a Debt, paid in this, but incurred in a former Year; That of the Land and Malt is indeed constant: Those Taxes are always given for more than they ever produce; and the Consequence is that a Debt is thereby contracted, which is regularly discharged in the subsequent Year; it varies, but it is commonly estimated at 300,000*l.* and as in Conformity to the established Method of making up the public Accounts, I shall in stating the Ways and Means reckon these Taxes at the whole Sum for which they are given, I must in order to ballance the Account reckon this Deficiency in the Supply at 300,000*l. per annum*; but as so much may upon an Average be expected every Year, till a Reduction of the Land-Tax shall take place, and as it cannot be attributed to the War, I will distinguish it from the Debts paid off within the last two Years, when I enumerate them together: The other Deficiences of Grants must however be included in that Account; they are accidental, and are incurred in the same Manner as other Parts of the unfunded Debt, by Services being performed before they are provided for; for so far as a Service exceeds, or a Grant falls short of an Estimate, no Provision can be said to have been made; and such Deficiences are not less a Debt because they are of no longer standing than a Year. The principal Articles, however, of the Deficiencies now under Consideration, do not fall even within that Description: They might

* It must however be always remembered that a Navy Debt of 1,296,567*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, subsisted before the War, which as not belonging to the War, must be deducted from the Debt remaining at the End of it.

with

with more Propriety be carried back to the War: The Interest upon Exchequer Bills is one, which Exchequer Bills are a Part of the unfunded Debt contracted by the War: The Difference between the estimated and real Deficiency of the Land and Malt is another; a Difference which is chiefly owing to the Land-Tax being doubled, to the Effect which additional Duties and the Absence of large Fleets and Armies may have had on the Consumption of Malt, and to the Interest paid to the Bank on large Sums and at an high Rate for the Loans on both. As therefore Deficiencies of Grants always come properly under the Denomination of Debt, and as far the greater Part of these peculiarly belong to it, I shall reckon all that have been provided for since the Peace on this Head as Debt discharged; for which Purpose 129,489*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* was granted in 1764, and 249,660*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* in 1765, amounting together to 379,149*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* The Deficiencies of Funds within the same Period were 384,854*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *viz.* 147,593*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ provided for in 1764, and 237,260*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* in 1765. These Deficiencies are of Funds created for the Purposes of the War; they are therefore directly a Debt of the War: To dispute their being so, because they arise every Year, is only proving that the War has left such an annual Charge upon the Publick: It is strictly speaking the Interest of a Sum unfunded so far as the Fund upon which it was charged is deficient; and it is a Charge which though it may vary, will to a Degree long continue.

The Exchequer Bills are the only large unfunded Debt which has not been taken Notice of, amounting to 1,800,000*l.* No Part of them has been paid off; they have only been continued; but the Interest upon them has been reduced from four to three *per cent.* The Bank on the Renewal of their Charter in 1764, engaged to circulate for two Years 1,000,000*l.* at three *per cent. per annum.* The remaining 800,000*l.* have been already mentioned to be issued at the same Rate in 1765; and they have generally been above par.

There were besides three little Debts paid off within the two Years I am considering, which do not belong to any of the foregoing Articles. 7,000*l.* was granted in the Supplies for 1764

to

to reimburſe Mr. *Touchit* his Expences in the Outfit and Loſs of Veſſels furniſhed by him for the Expedition againſt *Senegal*. Another 7000*l.* was granted in the Supplies for 1765 upon account of ſundry Expences incurred in *Nova Scotia*, ſome of them previous to the War, and others during its Continuance. The Sum of 10,000*l.* was alſo granted to the Government of the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, in compenſation for the Aſſiſtance given by them in the Expedition againſt *Martinico*.

The ſeveral Articles of the unfunded Debt having been now ſtated, the Account of that Debt outſtanding, paid off, or provided for in the Years 1764 and 1765 appears to be as follows:

	Unfunded Debt.			Paid off in 1764 and 1765.			Provided for in 1765.	Remaining in 1765.		
	l.	*s*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Subſidy to the Duke of *Brunſwick*.	54245	0	$5\frac{1}{11}$	54245	0	$5\frac{1}{11}$	——	——	——	——
Reaſonable Succour to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*.	150000	0	0	100000	0	0	——	50000	0	0
Miſcellaneous *German* Demands.	1106043	13	$8\frac{1}{4}$	1000000	0	0	——	106043	13	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Navy Debt.	4576915	7	9	650000	0	0	1500000	2426915	7	9
Army Extraordinaries.	1391931	3	$0\frac{1}{2}$	1391931	3	$0\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	——	——
Ordnance Extraordinaries.	107878	18	8	107878	18	8	——	——	——	——
Deficiencies of Grants.	379149	5	1	379149	5	1	——	——	——	——
Deficiencies of Funds.	384854	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$	384854	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	——	——
Exchequer Bills.	1800000	0	0	——	——	——	——	1800000	0	0
Mr. *Touchit*.	7000	0	0	7000	0	0	——	——	——	——
Nova Scotia Debt	7000			7000	0	0	——	——	——	——
Barbadoes Debt	10000			10000	0	0	——	——	——	——
	9975017	12	$2\frac{33}{44}$	4092058	10	$9\frac{1}{11}$	1500000	4382959	1	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Deficiencies of Land and Malt for two Years	600000	0	0	600000	0	0				

The Unfunded Debt remaining at the end of the Seſſions 1765, though the Sum was ſtill large, was yet ſo circumſtanced that the Burden of it was not very heavy; as a great Part of it did not bear Intereſt, and above half of it was not immediately payable: A large Proportion of the Navy Debt muſt always be in theſe Circumſtances: The 50,000*l.* to the Landgrave of *Heſſe* was not yet due: The miſcellaneous *German* Demands unprovided for were not liquidated: The Million Exchequer Bills taken

taken by the Bank could not be claimed till the Expiration of the Term for which they had agreed to circulate them: The remaining 800,000*l.* were iſſued at three *per cent.* and certainly were not an Incumbrance, for they generally bore a Premium: Of the Navy Debt which was payable and not provided for, no more than 471,589*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* Bills were in courſe of Payment when the Account was made up; they too were about par, and therefore not a Load upon the Market; nor was poſtponing the Diſcharge of them a Hardſhip on the Proprietors who might ſell them at par: and at the ſame Time that the Debt was brought into ſuch a favourable Situation, the Ways and Means of the Year were found to exceed the Supplies about 870,000*l.* To have applied Part of that Sum to any Purpoſe which would have made the Remainder uſeleſs for Purpoſes of equal Importance, would have been waſting it; and there was not ſo much of the Unfunded Debt actually bearing four *per cent.* Intereſt: That the Public therefore might avail itſelf of the whole Sum, it was neceſſary to diſcharge therewith a Part of the Funded Debt: The Navy Annuities laid in 1763 upon the Sinking Fund were undoubtedly the firſt Object; 25 *per cent.* upon them was very nearly the Sum: The Navy Bills not included in the Subſcription amounted to much leſs, and yet to ſo much, that had they been provided for out of this Surplus, no Part of the Navy Annuities could have been diſcharged, as leſs than 500,000*l.* may not be paid off at any time, and 500,000*l.* would not have been left; but excluſive of this Conſideration, even ſuppoſing that the Whole of the one had been exactly the ſame Sum as 25 *per cent.* upon the other, it would ſtill have been right to have preferred the Annuitants: The Proviſion made for them on the Sinking Fund was always intended to be but temporary; they accepted it in the Expectation of being paid off as ſoon as the Opportunity ſhould offer; they had Merit with the Public in ſubſcribing, and were therefore entitled to favour: With reſpect to the Public, it was more important to make a Beginning in the Reduction of the Funded Debt, which is exceſſive, than to take a Quantity of Paper Circulation out of the Market, which could hardly be ſaid to be overloaded with it; and the Stocks muſt

must be more ſenſible of a Reduction of Debt made in a Mode which proved that Order was reſtored to the Finances, than to any further Diminition of the Unfunded Debt which would not have carried with it ſuch a Demonſtration. For theſe Reaſons 870,888*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ were voted in the Supplies for 1765, for paying off a fourth of the Navy Annuities, and this Sum being added to the former, the whole Account of Debt funded and unfunded which was diſcharged or provided for in the Years 1764 and 1765, excluſive of the Land and Malt Deficiencies ſtands thus:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Unfunded Debt paid off - - -	4,092,058	10	9$\frac{1}{14}$
Funded Debt paid off - - -	870,888	5	5$\frac{1}{4}$
Total Debt paid off	4,962,946	16	2$\frac{13}{28}$
Unfunded Debt provided for - -	1,500,000		
Total Debt paid off and provided for	6,462,946	16	2$\frac{13}{28}$

But this great Diſcharge of Debt was not accompliſhed at the Expence of the Peace Eſtabliſhment: On the contrary, That was kept up higher than it ever had been before; the Extent of our Dominions, the Encreaſe of our Power, the Reſentment of our Enemies, and the Jealouſies of our Neighbours require it: The Peace would indeed be ſhort and hollow if it were followed by ſuch an Avowal of Weakneſs, as reducing the Army below the Numbers neceſſary for preſerving our Conqueſts, and riſking upon any ſudden Emergency our Superiority at Sea, for want of a conſtant Proviſion to maintain it. The Evils of the War are not to remedied by giving up the Advantages obtained by it; and whatever the Diſtreſs of our Finances might be, it was not to be recovered by Means unworthy of the Dignity, and dangerous to the Safety of theſe Kingdoms: The Peace Eſtabliſhment was therefore formed on a much larger Plan than after the former War: It has been enlarged (I think unneceſſarily) this Year; but on the other Hand, many of the preſent Expences are meerly occaſional, and others are only the temporary

porary Remains of the War which will gradually diminiſh: I will not, however, incumber the Account I mean now to give of the Sums granted in 1764 and 1765, with Calculations of the Reductions which may be expected, nor confound the Eſtabliſhment of that Time with the preſent: But I will firſt compleat a State of the Supply for thoſe two Years; I will next go through the Ways and Means by which it was raiſed; and then deducting from each the Articles which only accidentally occurred, and allowing for thoſe which muſt either encreaſe or decline, I will endeavour upon a Review of the Whole, to form ſome Eſtimate of the annual Expence to be born upon the Plan then formed, and of the Abilities of this Country to bear it: The ſubſequent Alterations may by this Means be more clearly ſeen and conſidered.

The Money voted for Naval Services excluſive of the Navy Debt was as follows:

	In the Supplies for 1764. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*	In the Supplies for 1765. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
16000 Men including 4287 Marines	832,000			832000		
Ordinary of the Navy	398568	11	9	407734	11	3
Greenwich Hoſpital	10000			5000		
Buildings and Repairs of the Navy	200000			200000		
Sea Chaplains	1231	17	6	1231	17	6
Officers Houſes at *Plymouth*	3000					
For building a Lazaret				5000		
Total	1444800	9	3	1450966	8	9

This Expence is about 500000*l. per ann.* more than the Naval Services (excluſive of Debt incurred) on an Average of ſeven Years during the laſt Peace amounted to, and higher by almoſt 300,000*l.* than the higheſt of thoſe Years. We have learned by fatal Experience that 10000 Seamen were not a ſufficient Preparative for War in Times of perfect Tranquillity; for the Loſſes ſuſtained at the breaking out of the laſt were chiefly owing to the Want of Hands, which could not be procured ſo ſoon as the Occaſion required, by the moſt vigorous Preſs, and the moſt liberal Bounties; not that in order to provide againſt the

the like Diſtreſs, a cumbrous Body of idle Seamen ſhould be conſtantly kept in pay: Sailors unemployed ſoon loſe their Hardineſs and Activity; but Buſineſs may be eaſily found for ſuch a Number as 16,000 in the Duty of their reſpective Stations, and in the Prevention of that clandeſtine Trade, which is equally baneful both to the Commerce and the Revenue of theſe Kingdoms: The making them ſerve on board the Smuggling Cutters, at the ſame Time preſerves the Vigour of our Naval Force, and improves the Means of ſupporting it: if theſe Cruiſers were laid aſide, ſome other Service muſt be deviſed to take the Men out of Guard-Ships and Harbours, to exerciſe, and to ſeaſon them: If no Men could be ſpared for this, ſome other Proviſions muſt be made to check the Prevalence of Practices ſo prejudicial to the Manufacturers and the Fair Traders, the moſt valuable Subjects in the Kingdom: And if the Expence of both Services were divided into ſeparate Branches, I believe it would in the Whole greatly exceed that which is now incurred for them united. I ſhall have Occaſion to mention theſe Cutters again with reſpect to the Benefit reſulting from them to the Revenue; I here conſider them only as providing a proper Employment, and giving Activity to that greater Number of Seamen which our Situation requires. The other Naval Services were encreaſed in proportion to that Augmentation; the Ordinary of the Navy was above 100,000*l.* higher than it uſed to be; and there never was ſo much given in any one Year, during the laſt Peace, for Rebuildings and Repairs, as was granted in each of thoſe two Years ſucceſſively.

The

The Sums voted for the Army come next under Conſideration, which excluſive of the Extraordinaries and Subſidies already mentioned as Debts, were as follows:

	In the Supplies for 1764. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*	In the Supplies for 1765. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Guards and Garriſons - -	617704	17	10¾	608130	10	7
Plantations, *Minorca*, &c. -	372774	6	4 3/4	387502	3	11 5/8
General and Staff Officers -	11322	7	3	11291	8	6½
Reduced Officers of the Land-forces 30188 18 Do. diſbanded and to be diſbanded 125455 13	155644	11		135606	12	6
Horſe Guards reduced - -	2605	15		2361	14	2
Chelſea Hoſpital - -	103794	2		109107	18	4
To make good the Deficiency for the ſaid Hoſpital in the Grants, 1763.	18331	17	11			
Penſions to Widows - -	1696			1664		
Difference between *Iriſh* and *Britiſh* Pay, five Regiments.				6346	3	5
Three Independant Companies of Foot on the Coaſt of *Africa*.				6491	17	4¾
Total	1283873	17	5¾	1268502	8	10¾

This Eſtabliſhment exceeds that maintained during the laſt Peace almoſt 300000*l. per ann.* but the Exceſs is not in the Army at Home, which is rather lower both in Numbers and Expence than it uſed to be: The Garriſons of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* have been reduced from 3260 to 2116 Men on the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, the Difference being made up by *Iriſh* Regiments; in conſequence of which Arrangement between 30000 and 40000*l.* is annually ſaved to *Great Britain:* But the Encreaſe in the Plantations is in Numbers from 3755 Men to 10009, and in Expence upon this Account only from between 80,000 and 90,000*l.* to above 275,000*l. per ann.* The Half-pay and *Chelſea* Hoſpital are each of them more than double what they were at the Concluſion of the preceding War; and in theſe three Articles principally the Difference between the two Periods conſiſts.

A great Part of the *American* Army is ſtationed in the new Acquiſitions: Some of theſe Provinces are Frontiers: the Allegiance of the Inhabitants cannot be relied on; and the Security

of

of the old Colonies and the Advantages obtained by the Peace depend upon preſerving theſe in Safety and Subjection: An Encreaſe alſo in the Expence of the Ordnance is on the ſame Foundation equally neceſſary: For many new Fortifications muſt be erected, and additional Garriſons muſt be maintained in the ſeveral ceded Countries. The Charge of the Ordnance in 1764 and 1765 was, principally on account of *America*, greater than during the laſt Peace by about 60,000*l. per ann.* and excluſive of Extraordinaries incurred and not provided for, was,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Charge of the Ordnance for 1764,	173,080	8	6
Ditto for 1765,	173,673	15	10

Beſides the Supplies for the Navy, the Army and the Ordnance, which though they differ in amount at different Periods, are ſtill ordinary Charges at all Times; there have been ſeveral Sums granted for various Purpoſes, ſome of which were only occaſional, ſome are temporary, and ſome will probably be permanent: I ſhall poſtpone the diſtinguiſhing of them in theſe Reſpects till I make an Eſtimate of the Peace Eſtabliſhment; and at preſent will only divide them according to the Years in which they were reſpectively voted.

Miſcel-

Miſcellaneous Articles.	In 1764 *l.*			In 1765. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Pay and Cloathing of the Militia	80000			80000		
Marriage Portion of the Princeſs of *Brunſwick*	80000			——	——	
Paving the Streets	10000			——	——	
Land Carriage Fiſh	2500			——	——	
Britiſh Muſeum	2000			——	——	
To replace Payments out of the Civil Liſt	7350			2400		
For *Nova Scotia*	5703	14	11	4911	14	11
Georgia	4031	8	8	3966		
Eaſt Florida	5700			5200		
Weſt Florida	5700			5200		
General Surveys of *America*	1818	9		1601	14	
Purchaſe Money, *&c.* of Lands in *Kent*, *Suſſex*, &c.	545	15		——	——	
Intereſt of ditto	103	13	9¾	——	——	
For the *African* Committee	20000			13000		
For the Civil Eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of *Africa*	——	——		5500		
For building a Blockhouſe near Cape *Appolonia*	——	——		7000		
For the Foundling Hoſpital	38347	10		38000		
London Bridge	——	——		7000		
Total	263800	11	4¾	173779	8	11

Theſe Sums compleat the Account of the Supplies voted in the Years 1764 and 1765, excepting the Exchequer Bills, which were 1,800,000*l.* in 1764, and 800,000*l.* in 1765, there being no Occaſion in the latter Year to provide for the Bank Million. They muſt be added both to the Supply and the Ways and Means, in order to conform to the Method of voting publick Money, and to explain the Tranſaction concerning them, though the Effect is in Reality no more than continuing a Debt incurred before. Including therefore theſe, and recapitulating the ſeveral Totals which have been ſtated, the whole Supply for the Period now under Conſideration ſtands thus:

Debt

	l.	s.	d.
Debt paid off and provided for - -	6462946	16	$2\frac{13}{24}$
Navy in 1764 - -	1444800	9	3
Ditto in 1765 - - -	1450966	8	9
Army in 1764 - - -	1283873	17	$5\frac{5}{8}$
Ditto in 1765 - - -	1268502	8	$10\frac{5}{8}$
Ordance in 1764 - - -	173080	8	6
Ditto in 1765 - - -	174673	15	10
Miſcellaneous Articles in 1764 - -	263800	11	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto in 1765 - - -	173779	8	11
Exchequer Bills in 1764 - - -	1800000		
Ditto in 1765 - - -	800000		
Deficiencies of Land and Malt for two Years	600000		
Total	15896424	5	$1\frac{13}{24}$

It is impoſſible to look upon this Account and not to acknowledge, that if on the one Hand, the Debt which ſtill remained, the other Conſequences of the War which will be felt for ſome Years, and the great Peace Eſtabliſhment which muſt be conſtantly ſupported, were melancholy Conſiderations; yet on the other, ſuch a Supply, approaching to ſixteen Millions, raiſed within two Years, with the Aſſiſtance of but one Loan, and that for no more than 1500000*l.* was Matter of Conſolation: Not that this could have been effected by Means of the ordinary Revenue only; ſeveral groſs Sums were brought in addition to it; but even that Reſource is not exhauſted, and the annual Income of this Country is in an improving Situation; as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew after having ſtated the Ways and Means by which ſuch a Supply was raiſed.

The largeſt of the groſs Sums was his Majeſty's Bounty to his People, in applying to the public Service the Produce of the *French* Prizes taken before the War; it was computed at 700000*l.* in 1764, at which Time 661,058*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* appeared to have been actually received; and Accounts of 62,700*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* more raiſed by the Sale had been delivered into the Office: But ſome Diſputes concerning this latter Sum having occaſioned a Delay

Delay in the Payment of it, ſo much as was wanting to compleat the 700,000*l.* is included in the Deficiency of Grants, and the Money not paid in 1764, but expected in 1765, and reckoned at 62,500*l.* was applied to the Services of the latter Year. The Deficiency which thus aroſe being comprehended in the Supplies above ſtated, I muſt ſet down the whole Sum of 762,500*l.* in the Ways and Means in order to ballance the Account.

The Renewal of the Charter of the Bank afforded an Opportunity for raiſing another Sum of 110,000*l.* though ſuch Opportunities had not been improved in the ſame Manner before, the Bank having never paid any Conſideration for the Prolongation of their Term, and the Continuance of their Privileges. Their original Charter in 1694 was granted on their lending to the Government the Money ſubſcribed into their Capital, amounting to 1,200,000*l.* at eight *per cent.* the common Rate of Intereſt at that Time, which Intereſt with an Allowance of 4000*l.* for Management, amounted to 100,000*l. per ann.* Their Term was enlarged in 1696, in order to advance their Credit, which was then very low; at the ſame Time, and for the ſame Reaſon their moſt valuable Privilege, that of excluſive Banking as a Corporation, firſt took its riſe; and it was carried to the Extent at which it has ſince remained, in 1707, when the Renewal of the Charter was not immediately in Contemplation: No Propoſition for that Purpoſe was made till a Year afterwards, and then the common Rate of Intereſt on Government Security being ſix *per cent.* that Rate was fixed upon all the Money which the Bank was at the Time in Advance. The Exchequer Bills which they had undertaken to circulate at 4*l.* 10*s. per cent.* two Years before, were raiſed to it; and their Capital was reduced to it: But being willing to keep the Whole of their Annuity, they added 400,000*l.* to their original Capital, the Intereſt of which at ſix *per cent.* amounted to the Saving of two *per cent.* upon the 1,200,000*l.* and on exactly the ſame Principle, when the Charter was again renewed in 1742, at which Time the common Rate of Intereſt on Government Security was but three *per cent.* they agreed to take no more on their Capital, but then

then they added 1,600,000*l.* to that Capital, in order to preſerve their Annuity. As to Exchequer Bills, their Undertakings to circulate them are not peculiar to the Times of renewing the Charter: They are common to all Times; and the higheſt Price they ever required for this Service was on extending their Term in 1713, without any other Condition annexed to the Prolongation: Particular Circumſtances made it expedient then to comply with the Demand; and in ſhort the Circumſtances of the Times will always influence every Money Tranſaction: Government will never give a high Intereſt, when it can borrow at a lower: Redeemable Sums will therefore be always paid off or reduced, whenever the Rate of Intereſt falls; thoſe which the Bank has advanced from Time to Time have been thus reduced as Occaſions have offered; and the greateſt Reduction ever made on their Funds was in 1717, when no Renewal of their Charter was in Contemplation; but their original Capital and the Additions which have been made to it, are irredeemable during the Continuance of their Term; and this is the real and the only Reaſon that no Reduction thereon has ever taken place, except when the Expiration of their Term was in view; and then the Bank have conſtantly choſen to advance a Sum of Money, not as a Conſideration for the Renewal of their Charter, but in order only to have the ſame Annuity continued to them. In 1764 there was no room for ſuch an Operation; the Intereſt of Money was riſen ſince 1742. The Stocks were at a much greater Diſcount; and the public Credit and Finances were in every reſpect in a far worſe Situation; yet the Publick availed itſelf more of this than it ever had of any former Tranſaction of the ſame Kind: Indeed there is not an Inſtance of any State at any Time receiving ſuch Aſſiſtance from a Corporation, as this Country received from the Bank within little more than a twelve-month: Credit both publick and private owes its Exiſtence in a great Meaſure to their Efforts upon the Event of the Bankruptcies abroad; were the Whole of that Affair examined in all its Circumſtances, the Greatneſs of the Occaſion, the Imminence of the Danger, the Extent of the Demand, the Readineſs of the Supply, and the Rapidity

Rapidity of the Proceeding; the Powers which were called forth, and the Spirit, the Steadineſs, and the Wiſdom with which they were directed; the Completion of the Succeſs, and the Importance of the Conſequences, all conſidered together, this muſt appear the moſt momentous and moſt illuſtrious Money Operation that Europe ever was Witneſs to. The Bank hardly recovered from the Agitation, the Convulſion of ſo violent a Struggle, entered into a Treaty for the Renewal of their Charter: At that Time the Unfunded Debt was large, the Intereſt paid upon it was heavy, and the Rate of it high; and the Quantity of Paper Circulation had depreciated the Value of the beſt: Each of theſe Circumſtances of Oppreſſion upon Credit, the Conditions of the Renewal tended to alleviate; for on the Prolongation of their Term for twenty-one Years, the Bank agreed, not meerly to lend a Sum of Money at the uſual Rate of Intereſt irredeemable, which was all that had been done before; but abſolutely to pay 110,000*l.* to be diſpoſed of by Parliament, without Allowance for Intereſt, or Repayment of Principal: They alſo undertook to advance 1,000,000*l.* upon Exchequer Bills at only three *per cent.* and not demandable in two Years, though Exchequer Bills bearing four *per cent.* Intereſt were at a Diſcount: They afterwards took the Lead in the further Reduction of Intereſt upon Loans to the Government, by bringing down to three *per cent.* the ſecond Million upon the Land-Tax; and in the Midſt of all theſe Diſburſements and Defalcations, they proved their Ability, and raiſed their own and the public Credit, by declaring an Advance of Half *per cent.* upon their Dividends. A bare Enumeration of theſe Facts, ſhews at the ſame Time their Zeal for the public Service, and the Extent of their Powers, the Weight of their Influence, and the Prudence of their Management.

The Sum paid by the Bank, conſiderable as it is, is ſtill the leaſt of the groſs Sums of which the Public availed itſelf, during the ſame Adminiſtration. The Army Savings greatly exceed it; for of theſe 163,558*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{2}{11}$ were applied in the Ways and Means for 1764, and 251,740*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ in thoſe of 1765, amounting together to 415,298*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* $\frac{5}{44}$, and conſiſting

ing of a Variety of Articles, ſuch as Money voted but not all expended, the Produce ariſing from the Sale of Stores, Ballances due from thoſe to whom too much had been iſſued, and other Sums produced from the Settlement of Accounts; but there was another Saving which was laid before Parliament ſeparately from the reſt, and which could not be recovered but by a long and minute retroſpective Examination of the State of all the Regiments in the Service, as to the Deficiencies of Effectives in each; it was however undertaken, and by the Diligence and Accuracy with which it was made, a further Sum of 170,906*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* was produced on the non-effective Accounts in the Ways and Means for 1764.

In 1765, the Compoſition with *France* for the Subſiſtance of Priſoners was laid before Parliament; the Expences incurred on the Account of thoſe taken at Sea amounted to 1,174,905*l.* but by the expreſs Stipulation of the Treaty, Payment could be claimed only of the Advances for Subſiſtance and Maintenance: Other Diſburſements for providing Accommodations, for repairing Priſons, for the Pay of Guards, Allowances to Agents, Charges of Office, and a Number of different Contingencies, which were all included in the above-mentioned Sum, and amounted to more than 120,000*l.* could on no Pretence be charged; and then the Crown of *France* had a Counter-demand on account of *Engliſh* Priſoners, not far ſhort of 110,000*l.* even after a like Defalcation for Extraordinaries. Theſe Deductions being made, the Remainder was indeed for the Subſiſtance and Maintenance of Priſoners; but amongſt them were many Women, Merchants, Paſſengers, and others, ſome of whom certainly were not, and of ſome it was doubtful whether they were to be deemed, Priſoners of War: Of thoſe who indiſputably were ſo, ſeveral had been carried into diſtant Ports, and diſperſed through every Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions; and yet Evidence muſt have been given of the Day when the Subſiſtance of every Individual commenced, and when it determined, by Death, Eſcape, Exchange, or Releaſe: The Materials required by the Treaty to ſupport which Charge are Receipts, atteſted Accounts, and other authentic Titles, and theſe muſt have

have been tranſmitted from all Quarters of the Globe, and would often have been irregular, indiſtinct, and defective. To attempt only to liquidate ſuch an Account ſeemed to be loſing time: To accompliſh it appeared impoſſible: and in the Progreſs of it ſome Errors and Frauds would have been detected, ſeveral Queſtions would have ariſen, many Vouchers would have been wanting; and great Abatements muſt have been allowed: To prevent therefore an endleſs Expence, Diſpute, and Delay, it was propoſed to pay a groſs Sum in full of all theſe Demands; and after a long Negotiation, 670,000*l.* was at laſt allowed to be, as nearly as could be calculated, the juſt amount of them. The Accounts however of the Priſoners in the *Eaſt-Indies* not having been delivered in, and thoſe in *Germany* being upon a different Footing, were neither of them included, but left to be adjuſted hereafter; and in the mean while the Sum above-mentioned was accepted for the reſt, payable by Inſtalments, *viz.* 308,000*l.* in 1765, and the Remainder by quarterly Payments in the two ſubſequent Years. This 308,000*l.* was taken as part of the Ways and Means for 1765, and being added to thoſe which have been mentioned, the State of the groſs Sums applied to the public Service in the Ways and Means for the Period now before us, is as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
* Produce of French Prizes taken before the War	762,500		
On the Renewal of the Bank-Charter	110,000		
Army Savings - - -	415,298	5	$11\frac{25}{44}$
Savings on the non-effective Accounts	170,906	2	8
Part of the Compoſition for the *French* Priſoners.	308,000		
	1,766,704	8	$7\frac{25}{44}$

 Theſe

* As I am now making up an Account of the Ways and Means, the Reaſon has been already given for putting the *French* Prizes at the Sum at which they were com-

Theſe are all which can ſtrictly be called groſs Sums, though there have been others applied which are not Parts of the ordinary Revenue, ſuch as the Exchequer Bills iſſued to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* in 1764, and of 800,000*l.* in 1765, concerning which there is no occaſion here to make any Addition to what has been ſaid already. The Militia Money which in the Ways and Means for 1764 was 150,000*l.* and in thoſe of 1765 was 80,000*l.* and which is in reality no more than a Matter of Account: Money being appropriated for that Service every Year, and the Receivers of the Land-Tax being alſo every Year directed to pay the Expence in their reſpective Counties; by which Means the Deficiency of the Land-Tax is encreaſed, and the appropriated Money remains unapplied: There was alſo another ſmall Sum brought to account in 1764, as the Surplus of the additional Beer Duty of 1761, before it was carried to the Sinking Fund, amounting only to 3497*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

The ordinary Revenues are firſt the annual Land and Malt, which I muſt ſet down each Year at 2,750,000*l.* for which they were given, as the Deficiency is carried to account in the Supply. Then the *American* Revenues, and the Duty upon Gum Senega, both of which I ſhall conſider more at large hereafter, and here only mention them as given in the Ways and Means for 1765, the former for 60,000*l.* and the latter for 12,000*l.* and laſtly the Sinking Fund, which was given in 1764 for 2,000,000*l.* and which after all the Alarm which had been raiſed of its falling ſhort by above 400,000*l.* did actually produce 135,213*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ more than it was given for: and inſtead of 220,000*l.* which it was ſaid was all that would be applicable out of the publick Revenue of that Year towards the Diſcharge of the Debt, 1,254,682*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*$\frac{3}{4}$ was in fact applied out of the Sinking Fund for that Purpoſe, in addition to what was paid off by means of the groſs Sums then brought to account. The Surplus was more excluſive of 67,821*l.* 9s. 1*d.*$\frac{1}{2}$ applied to

computed, rather than at that which they actually produced: The Deficiency muſt not be added to the Supply of one Year, and deducted from the Ways and Means of the preceding: But in fact the real Produce appears upon the Account to be no more than 723,758*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* and that is not all received.

make

make good ſo much as the Sinking Fund of 1763 had fallen ſhort of the 2,000,000*l.* for which it was given; but though this Sum be thus taken out of the diſpoſable Money, yet having been ſupplied by the Sinking Fund of 1764, it is equally a Part of its Produce with the 2,000,000*l.* and the 135,213*l.* 5*s.* 0*d*$\frac{1}{4}$; and theſe three Sums being added together, the real amount of the Revenue ariſen by the Sinking Fund between 10th *October* 1763, and 10th *October* 1764, after having paid all the Charges upon it, whether permanent, temporary, or occaſioned by its being a collateral Security, which were incurred during the ſame Period, was 2,203,034*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*$\frac{3}{4}$. The Overplus of 135,213*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ which remained for the Diſpoſition of Parliament was applied in the Ways and Means for 1765, and on the Encouragement given by ſo large a Produce, upon which there was a Proſpect of a further Encreaſe in conſequence of the Regulations made for improving the Revenue, the Sinking Fund was alſo taken for 2,100,000*l* *. But though there was little room to doubt of

its

* The Sinking Fund being made up in *October* had an accidental Advantage in 1765, by the Beer Duty having been carried to it at *Chriſtmas*, 1764, as thereby three Quarters Produce of that Duty were received, while but Half a Year's Charge upon it was born, the Annuities being payable at *Midſummer* and *Chriſtmas*: The Quarterly Payment of thoſe Annuities being 124,000*l.* ſo much muſt be allowed out of the actual Produce of the Sinking Fund in 1765, when conſidered as the Meaſure of the Produce to be expected in ſubſequent Years: But even after deducting 124,000*l.* from 2,203,000*l.* the Remainder falls ſo little ſhort of 2,100,000*l.* that it is hardly worth mentioning, and the improving State of the Sinking Fund was more than a Ballance againſt 21,000*l.* which was all that even on this Calculation would be wanting. Nor was the Surplus upon the Confidence of which ſo much was taken colluſive, on account of a Deficiency to be expected in the *Chriſtmas* Quarter: Such a Deficiency was not peculiar to that Year, and if the Account were fallacious then, every other which has been made up for ſome Years has been ſo too; but the Fact is no more than this: The laſt Ballance of the Sinking Fund being always ſtruck on 10th *October*, the *Chriſtmas* Quarter thereby becomes the firſt Quarter of the Yearly Account; and uſed to be always deficient: That therefore the Annuitants charged upon it might not be diſappointed, a Sum was conſtantly reſerved ſufficient to anſwer their Demands; but that Sum was only borrowed for a ſhort Time, and was regularly repaid to the Sinking Fund of the preceding Year. Agreeably to this Practice, when the Account for

1763

its actually producing more, yet it was not ſuppoſed that the diſpoſeable Money on the enſuing 10th *October* would be ſo much, becauſe the Purchaſe Money of the *Iſle of Man* which was 70,000*l.* being Payable out of the Cuſtoms, fell upon the Sinking Fund; and another occaſional Burthen of 205,246*l.* 5*s.* was alſo laid immediately upon it, by Means of the Act paſſed in 1765 for remedying the Inconveniencies which were occaſioned by the *Chriſtmas* Quarter of the Sinking Fund being always deficient: As the Deficiency aroſe from the Charge upon the Quarter exceeding the Produce, that Charge was reduced by altering the Pay-days of the four *per cent.* conſolidated Annuities from 5th *January* and 5th *July*, to the 5th *April* and 10th *October*, by which Regulation the *Chriſtmas* Quarter is relieved from a Burthen of 410,492*l.* 10*s.* which it was not equal to, and that Burthen is transferred to a Quarter which it will not oppreſs: The former Perplexity is avoided; the Danger of not reſerving ſufficient to make good a Deficiency, which depending on a caſual Produce could never be previouſly aſcertained exactly, is prevented; the Iſſue of the public Money is more equally diſtributed to the ſeveral Parts of the Year; and the Inconveniencies ariſing from the Books of the Bank being kept ſo much longer ſhut at the *Chriſtmas* and Midſummer Quarters

1763 was made up on 10th *October* that Year, the uſual Deficiency was foreſeen, and Proviſion was made accordingly; not by a Deduction from that Account, but by retaining uniſſued ſome Part of the Money therein ſet down as diſpoſeable Surplus, and which was applicable finally to the Services of that Year. The Sum wanting on 5th *January* 1764 was 128,684*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*¾ which was then furniſhed out of this reſerved Money: But it was replaced out of the Produce of the following *April* Quarter in 1764, and paid in to the Account of the Sinking Fund for 1763, in diſcharge of the temporary Loan out of its Produce, and not like the 67,821*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*½ which was an actual Deficiency of that Produce; ſo that the Sinking Fund of 1764 in the End ſupplied the Deficiency of its own *Chriſtmas* Quarter, and the Surplus of it aroſe after all the Charges of four Quarters from 10th *October*, 1763 to 10th *October*, 1764 had been born: It would be a ſingular Objection to a Yearly Account, that it did not include five Quarters; and yet the Fallacy imputed to this Surplus was, that Part of the Charge of a fifth Quarter was not laid upon it; but all the Difficulties which attended this neceſſary Management are now removed by the Act referred to in the Text above.

than

than at the others, are taken away: In order to accompliſh the Alteration without Prejudice to the Parties concerned, the Act directed that one Quarterly Payment ſhould be advanced in *October* 1765, and that afterwards the Half-yearly Payment ſhould be made in *October* and *April*; by which Means the Sinking Fund of 1765 was charged with five Quarters of theſe Annuities, *viz.* two on 5th *January* and two on 5th *July*, according to the former Method of paying them, and one on 10th *October* in order to introduce the new Regulation: Each Quarter of theſe Annuities amounts to 205,246*l.* 5*s.* and both that Sum and the 70,000*l.* given for the Purchaſe of the *Iſle of Man* are accidental Charges on the Sinking Fund of 1765, which no former Year has born, nor ſubſequent Year will bear; and which muſt always be attended to in judging of the Surplus of that Year: They were foreſeen, and it was therefore declared that the 2,100,000*l.* would hardly be raiſed before *Chriſtmas*, 1765; but as the Navy Annuities were not to be paid off till then, the waiting for the Produce of that Quarter to make up the Sum, could be attended with no Inconvenience.

To the ſeveral Sums and Revenues which have been mentioned, the Loan of 1,500,000*l.* which was made in 1765, and of which ſufficient has been ſaid already, muſt be added, in order to compleat the Ways and Means for the two laſt Years, and then the Account of them ſtands thus:

Groſs

			l.	s.	d.
Gross Sums applied	-	-	1766704	8	$7\frac{25}{44}$
Exchequer Bills 1764	-	-	1800000		
Ditto 1765	-		800000		
Militia Money 1764	-	-	150000		
Ditto 1765	-	-	80000		
Surplus of Annuity Fund 1761		-	3497	9	9
Land and Malt for two Years		-	5500000		
American Revenues		-	60000		
Duty on Gum Senega		-	12000		
Sinking Fund 1764 given for		-	2000000		
Surplus of Sinking Fund 1764 above the 2000000*l.*		-	135213	5	$0\frac{1}{4}$
Sinking Fund 1765 given for		-	2100000		
Annuities and Lottery in lieu of Navy Bills			1500000		
		Total	15907415	3	$4\frac{9}{11}$

The Whole both of the Supplies and of the Ways and Means for the Years 1764 and 1765 being now stated, some Estimate may from thence be formed of what each on the same Plan would in subsequent Years have amounted to; in doing this I will take the latter of those Years as the best Measure to go by, because the least affected by the Consequences of the War; and I must first deduct from the Supplies all the Charges which do not belong to a Peace Establishment, such as Debt paid off or provided for, Exchequer Bills which are Debt continued, and of the miscellaneous Articles, *London Bridge*, the *Blockhouse* near Cape *Appolonia*, and the Money given to replace Payments out of the Civil List, all which were occasional Expences now at an End; on the other Hand, an Addition must be made to the Expence of the Militia, which though charged at no more than 80,000*l.* for either of the two Years, yet being estimated at 150,000*l.* in a Cloathing Year, must be stated on an Average at about 100,000*l. per ann.* and there are also to be added the Deficiencies of Funds, and the Extraordinaries of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, which though Debts when brought to account, yet as

as they will annually occur, must be included in an Estimate of the annual Expence.

In the Deficiencies of Funds I include all Sums paid out of the Sinking Fund as a collateral or temporary Security, which are to be made good by Parliament, and are a Debt incurred every Year to be paid out of the Supplies of the next; these were in 1765;

	l.	s.	d.
Deficiency of Annuity Fund 1758	48176	1	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Deficiency of Annuity Fund 1763	49742	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Navy Annuities	139342	2	4
	237260	5	6

but 34,835*l.* 10*s.* $7\frac{1}{4}$ Navy Annuities having been saved by paying off 870,888*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*$\frac{1}{2}$ of the Principal in 1765 the Deficiency of Funds was thereby reduced to about 202,400*l.*

As to the Extraordinaries which may be annually incurred before they are provided for, those which have been brought to account, consisting principally of Debts contracted by the War, afford no Assistance in estimating such as may be expected in a Time of Peace; some there always will be for Services which could not be foreseen; but others have been frequently laid before Parliament in accounts of Debt rather than in Estimates, only as the less questionable Shape: It is a more open, a more manly Proceeding to State Things as they are; and previously to provide for Services which will certainly occur: This was the Conduct of the former Administration; and the Estimates are thereby raised; but the Exceedings will be so much lower.

The Navy during the late Peace annually contracted a Debt of about 100,000*l.* but it appears from the Papers laid before Parliament in 1752 and 1754, assigning Reasons for the Encrease, that a great Part of it arose from too precipitate a Reduction of Seamen, from too scanty a Provision for Rebuildings, and from Arrears of the War: I allow in another Place for such Arrears, and therefore cannot include them here; The Rebuildings

ings, and Repairs are a heavy Article immediately after a War; but when the Navy has been once put into thorough Repair, the regular Expence might certainly be brought within 200,000*l.* which was the Sum allowed for it in 1765; the Ordinary on the Eſtabliſhment of that Year, was near a third higher than it uſed to be; the Number of Seamen almoſt double; (for during the laſt Peace they never exceeded 10,000, and were one Year reduced to 8000 Men,) and the four Pounds *per* Man *per* Month, which is voted for them, furniſhes a larger Sum for Extraordinaries than the additional Expence will require; ſo that though the Services be more extenſive, yet as the Proviſions made for them have been encreaſed in a greater Proportion, it may reaſonably be expected that a Navy Debt ſhould not be annually incurred, when the Conſequences of the War are ſatisfied.

The Extraordinaries of the Army in the late Peace when quite clear both of the Conſequences and the Preparations of War, were hardly 25,000*l. per ann.* Thoſe incurred in *England* muſt be nearly the ſame as they were: Thoſe in *Scotland* ſhould be much leſs, the Expence of making Surveys and Roads in the Highlands being ended, or drawing to an End: The Charge of Proviſions for *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, Part of which always came into the Account of Extraordinaries, is diminiſhed, by the Reductions made by the Treaſury in 1764 in the Prices of all Contracts: And the Difference between *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Pay, which uſed to be inſerted in that account, is now included in the Eſtimates. Theſe ſeveral Articles amounted to above two thirds of the Whole; and ſo much therefore the Exceedings on the Services above-mentioned ought to be diminiſhed; but in *America* they muſt be encreaſed: That Service is not only more extenſive than formerly, but ſome Parts of it cannot yet be thoroughly underſtood; and therefore the Extraordinaries cannot be calculated: Two principal Articles, however, by which they are generally incurred, the Garriſons and the Proviſions were amply provided for on the Eſtimates laid before Parliament in 1765: Were I to reckon the others which if that Country had continued as it was, might have ariſen, at 16,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* more than

than they have commonly been in Times of Tranquility, it would ſeem a great Allowance; and yet even allowing ſo much, the Extraordinaries of the Army would not upon the Whole exceed the Sum they amounted to during the laſt Peace.

The Buſineſs of the Ordnance is of ſuch a Nature that the Extraordinaries can be foreſeen and computed with greater Certainty than any other: They are comprehended in the Eſtimates, and thoſe incurred and not provided for in Time of Peace ſeldom exceed 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* The *American* Expence, however, not being yet known, the Exceedings may for ſome Time be rather more; but as all the new Eſtaliſhments there were included in the Eſtimate for 1765, and the ceded Countries were at the ſame time very largely ſupplied with Stores, I believe 10,000*l.* may be an ample Allowance.

Upon theſe Premiſes the Peace Eſtabliſhment upon the Plan adopted in 1764 and 1765 may be calculated in the following Manner:

	l.
Navy - -	1450900
Army - -	1268500
Ordnance - -	174600
The four *American* Governments -	19200
General Surveys in *America* -	1600
Foundling Hoſpital - -	38000
To the *African* Committee -	13000
For the Civil Eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of *Africa*	5500
Militia - -	100000
Deficiency of Land and Malt -	300000
Deficiencies of Funds -	202400
Extraordinaries of the Army and Ordnance	35000
Total	3609700

The

The Ways and Means for ſupporting this Expence may be computed in the ſame Manner, by omitting the occaſional Articles, ſuch as the groſs Sums, the Exchequer Bills, the Surplus of the Annuity Fund 1761, the Surplus of the Sinking Fund 1764, and the Loan; and on the other Hand reckoning the Militia Money at the ſame Average as in the above Eſtimate, and the *American* Revenues including both the Stamp and the Impoſt Duties not at the Sum for which they were given, which was the ſuppoſed Produce for only Part of a Year, but at 160,000*l* for a whole Year, and then the Calculation will be as follows:

			l.
Land and Malt	-	-	2750000
Militia Money	-	-	100000
American Revenues	-	-	160000
Duty on Gum Senega	-	-	12000
Sinking Fund	-	-	2100000
		Total	5122000

Theſe two Eſtimates comprehend every Article of permanen Expence and annual Revenue as each at that Time ſtood; there was indeed another Charge, that of Intereſt upon Part of the remaining Unfunded Debt, till it ſhould be paid off; none bore Intereſt except the Navy and Exchequer Bills: The Navy Bills left unprovided for in the Supplies for 1765, amounted to 471,589*l.* 5*s.* 8*d*½, the Intereſt upon which at four *per cent.* is 17,863*l.* 12*s.* 5*d**. The Exchequer Bills being iſſued at different Periods as Occaſions require, ſome early and ſome late in the Year, the Intereſt thereon cannot be preciſely aſcertain-
nine ed, but ~~ſix~~ Months upon the Whole is, I imagine, a fair Allowance; which at three *per cent.* on 1,800,000*l.* amounts to
40,500*l.* ~~27,000*l.*~~ and being added to the above-mentioned Sum on Na-

* From this a ſmall Deduction muſt be allowed for non-intereſt Bills, and for the Intereſt upon the others which in the Account is added to the Principal.

vy

vy Bills, the whole Intereſt on the Unfunded Debt brought to account, and left unprovided for at the End of the Period which is my preſent Subject, was under 58,000*l. per ann.* this was indeed a Charge, but it was temporary, and it might be paid by other Means than the ordinary Revenue: There were ſeveral large groſs Sums ſtill to come in; above 360,000*l.* remained of the Compoſition Money for *French* Priſoners: The firſt Sale of Lands in the Neutral Iſlands has produced near 130,000*l.* theſe together amount to almoſt Half a Million; and a Payment of 58,000*l. per ann.* till all the Unfunded Debt bearing Intereſt ſhall be diſcharged, will conſume but a ſmall Proportion of ſuch a Sum: The greater Part of it may be applied in Diminution of the Principal; nor was this all that was ſo applicable; there were Demands for the Subſiſtance of *French* Priſoners not comprehended in the Compoſition: There has been but one Sale in the Neutral Iſlands, and though ſome of the moſt valuable Lands are ſold, yet the Quantity is inconſiderable, and ſome hundred thouſand Acres ſtill remain undiſpoſed of. Other Parts of the new Acquiſitions (if the Example were followed) would find Purchaſers; and various Branches admit of Savings like thoſe which have been mentioned in the Army Accounts: Half a Million more might thus I am perſuaded be eaſily raiſed, by only acting on a Plan already formed, purſuing Enquiries which have been begun, and directing them towards Objects diſtinctly pointed out; and when all theſe Means are conſidered, the Unfunded Debt left unprovided for in 1765, appears no longer formidable; though it ſtood upon the Account at near 4,400,000*l.* yet as there will always be a Navy Debt which cannot be paid off to the amount probably of 1,400,000*l.* about 3,000,000*l.* was ſufficient to provide for all that had then been brought before Parliament; and a Sinking Fund of 1,500,000*l.* applicable to that Purpoſe, (for ſo much the ordinary Revenues appear by the above Eſtimates to have exceeded the annual Expences,) aided by ſuch groſs Sums as might be produced, would in a ſhort Time furniſh the Means of diſcharging it, ſuppoſing the Peace Eſtabliſhment and the National Income to continue

as

as they then were; but both are conſtantly ſubject to great Alterations: Every Year will produce ſome; and as many which muſt be very conſiderable were near in Proſpect, and certain, unleſs a Change of Meaſures interfered to prevent them, it is neceſſary to take theſe alſo into Conſideration.

The Navy is liable to the leaſt, for exeepting the ſmall Sum of 5000*l.* for a Lazaret which will fall in of courſe, I do not ſee any Reduction which can be depended on: The Proviſion for Rebuildings and Repairs was indeed very liberal, though it has been ſince thought too ſcanty; but in the former Peace (after the firſt Charge had been defrayed) no more than 100,000*l.* was ever granted, and even that Sum not conſtantly: The Whole that was given in 1752, 1753, and 1754 amounted only to 200,000*l.* ſo that on the Eſtabliſhment of 1764 and 1765, there was as much allowed in one Year as had been before given in three; the Navy is larger than it was, and it ought to be kept on the moſt reſpectable Footing; but ſurely ſuch an Encreaſe muſt be ſufficient, without incurring any Debt, to anſwer all reaſonable Purpoſes whatſoever.

The Eſtimates of the Army were open to greater Reductions; for the Victualling of the Regiments in the Plantations, amounting for thoſe in *North America* to 22,242*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* and for thoſe in the ceded Iſlands to 9,752*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*½ could not have continued to ſuch an Extent conſtant Charges on the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, even if that Country had remained in the Situation it then was. When the Stations of the ſeveral Corps on the Continent ſhould have been fixed, the Number of Out-poſts perhaps contracted, the back Settlements extended, the new Acquiſitions improved, and Security eſtabliſhed againſt further Interruptions and Diſturbances, many of the Troops might have furniſhed themſelves out of their Pay with greater Plenty than all the Expence of Victualling could give them; and as ſoon as the ceded Iſlands ſhall be tolerably well planted, they will not deſire to be exempted from a Burthen which is chearfully born by others, of allowing an additional Pay to the Troops employed in their Defence, and then a Supply from hence will be as unneceſſary there as it is now in *Antigua* or *Jamaica*.

But

But beſides this, a further Experience of the Service muſt point out other Savings: Some were made in 1764, ſuch as a real inſtead of only an apparent Deduction from the Pay of the Men victualled in *North America*, and putting a Stop to the Practice of ſupplying the Provincials with Proviſions at the Expence of *Great Britain*; an equal Attention to publick Oeconomy would certainly diſcover more in a Service ſo new, ſo extenſive and ſo open to Abuſes; and it might therefore be fairly preſumed that within a Year or two this Expence would have been conſiderably abated, and full Half of it perhaps taken off in four or five Years; but theſe are Conſiderations which I mention now only to ſhew the State of the Service at at that Time: I ſhall hereafter obſerve upon the Difference between that Time and the preſent, in this as in every other Circumſtance relating to the Colonies.

As to the Ordnance, every War leaves ſome particular Buſineſs for that Office to perform; either a weak Part has been diſcovered, which the Enterprizes of our Enemies warn us to ſtrengthen, or ſome Conqueſt which has been made requires Fortifications to preſerve it: At the End of Queen *Anne*'s War it was *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*: In 1748 it was *Scotland* and *Nova Scotia*: It is now the ceded Countries in *America*. Such a Service therefore is not peculiar to this Period; every other Peace has been charged with ſome which were ſimilar, and which being now determined or diminiſhed, make room for the preſent Expence: This too like them will gradually leſſen, it is probably of a ſhorter Duration than they were; for the new Colonies will certainly be as willing as the old Colonies are, when they ſhall be as able, to maintain their own Fortifications: Other extraordinary Services are in the mean while drawing towards a Concluſion, and the Savings upon the Whole may perhaps amount in a ſhort Time to 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* *per ann.*

There are beſides in each of the Services very conſiderable Expences, which are always high after a War, but which depending upon Lives and Contingencies, muſt diminiſh every Year; ſuch as the Half-pay to Officers of the Navy, Army, and Ordnance,

Ordnance, *Chelſea Hoſpital*, and other Penſions and Allowances. In the Eſtimates for the Year 1750, theſe ſeveral Articles amounted together to about 219,000*l.* In the Eſtimates for 1754 they were reduced to about 184,000*l.* they amounted in 1765 to about 377,000*l.* and if, ſuppoſing them now at the Height, they decreaſe only in the ſame Proportion as they did before, they will not four or five Years hence exceed 317,000*l.* or in other Words the Peace Eſtabliſhment at the End of that Period will be reduced 60,000*l.* by the Savings on theſe Articles. Within the ſame Period the Service of ſurveying *America* will be at an End; and the Expence of the *Foundling Hoſpital*, which in conſequence of the late Regulations decreaſes annually, will have in a great Manner ceaſed: The Deficiencies of Funds too muſt be diminiſhed; for both the Annuity Fund 1763, and the Navy Annuities being four *per cents.* redeemable, the leaſt that can be thought of is that they will be reduced to three: The Saving thereby will be above 60,000*l. per ann.* it may reaſonably be expected beſides that a great Part of the Navy Annuities may be paid off; and at the Time I am now conſidering there were no Thoughts of repealing the Cyder Tax, which was ſo conſiderable a Part of the Annuity Fund 1763; on the contrary the Proſpect then was that it would produce on an Average 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* more than it did in the remarkably deficient Year, which alone had then been brought to account; with an Addition therefore to the Produce and a Diminution of the Charge upon that Fund, it would rather have yielded an Overplus than have incurred a Deficiency, and the whole Article of Deficiencies of Funds would probably have been leſs by one Half in the Space of five Years.

Theſe

Theſe ſeveral Savings being collected together the State of them is as follows:

			l.
In the Navy	-	-	5000
In the Army	-	-	16000
In the Ordnance	-	-	10000
In the Half-pay *Chelſea Hoſpital*, &c. &c.			60000
In the Surveys of *America*		-	1600
In the *Foundling Hoſpital*		-	38000
In the Deficiencies of Funds			100000
		Total	230000

Moſt of theſe Articles I am ſenſible I have under-rated: There were alſo other Reductions likely to take place, but which not being equally ſure, I have not mentioned; and of theſe ſome of the moſt conſiderable muſt be conſtantly encreaſing: But by theſe alone thus eſtimated, there was almoſt a Certainty, that the Peace Expences on the Plan then eſtabliſhed, would in five Years have been brought to about 3,380,000 *per ann.* and that more than Half of this Reduction would have been made in two Years.

By means of ſuch and other Savings in the Expenditure, and of the Improvements which I ſhall preſently mention in the Revenues, an Opening was made for a Reduction of the Land-tax: The landed Intereſt could not deſire ſuch a Relief, while a vaſt Unfunded Debt preſſed down public Credit, clog'd all the Meaſures of Government, and abſorbed every Reſource of Revenue: But that Debt being brought within Compaſs, the annual Charges diminiſhed, and further Reductions immediately in view: When theſe ſhould have taken Place on the one Hand; and when on the other Hand, the Laws paſſed for encreaſing the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, and for engaging all *Britiſh* Subjects to contribute to the Support of their Country, ſhould have had their Effect; a Shilling in the Pound at firſt, and afterwards, perhaps, more might have been taken off, and

as

as ſo much had been done to facilitate ſuch a Reduction, it was become no diſtant Object.

It would be Raſhneſs to ſpeak very deciſively of the other principal Branch of annual Revenue, the Sinking Fund, compoſed as it is of ſo vaſt a Variety of Parts, all of them in their Nature fluctuating; but yet by computing what it has amounted to on an Average for ſome Years back, and conſidering the Circumſtances which may affect it hereafter, ſome though no abſolutely certain Judgment may be formed, and I think the Concluſion will be that on theſe Conſiderations only there is the greateſt Probability of its producing generally for the future more than it was given for in 1765. But I will not for the preſent include that Year in my Calculation, becauſe I wiſh to keep the two Periods in which the Revenue has been under different Adminiſtrations, as diſtinct as poſſible, and the Produce of that Year was brought to account, during the latter of the two. In ſpeaking of the Sinking Fund I ſhall conſider it, according to the true ſimple Idea of it, as conſiſting of certain Duties which have been carried to it, and of the Intereſt of Debts charged upon thoſe Duties: The Exceſs of the Duties above the Intereſt conſtitute the Surplus, or as it is ſometimes called the Produce of the Sinking Fund; other Diſburſements which may be paid out of it, in conſequence of its being a collateral or a temporary Security, are not properly Charges upon it; they are always conditioned to be made good out of the firſt Aids granted by Parliament, and are therefore no more than occaſional Sums, advanced one Year, and replaced out of the Supplies of the next: But the Sinking Fund being ſtill ſo much in Advance, Care muſt always be taken in caſting up its Produce for any given Term, to deduct from the firſt Year of that Term the Money then brought from the Supplies, and to add to the laſt the amount of the Deficiencies paid out of it that Year, in order to come at the true Total of the genuine Sinking Fund. This being premiſed, the annual Surplus Papers furniſh ſufficient Materials for making up ſuch an Account, and in them the Produce for the ſeven Years, previous to 1765, is ſtated as follows:

For

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
For the Year 1758	- -	1924900	9	10
1759	- -	1689097	2	2¾
1760	- -	2411072	0	0¾
1761	- -	2296801	5	1¾
1762	- -	1922312	3	8¼
1763	- -	1984244	4	6¼
1764	- -	2203034	14	1¾
	Total	14431461	19	6½

To which is to be added the Deficiencies paid out of the Sinking Fund in the laſt of theſe Years, to be replaced out of ſubſequent Aids amounting to 237,260*l.* nothing was brought from the Supplies in the firſt Year of the above Period, and therefore no Deduction is to be made on that Account; but on others there are many; for adventitious Acceſſions muſt be taken out of a general Average: and theſe have been, the Overplus unapplied of the Sinking Fund 1757, the Sum accidentally ariſing from the Land-tax 1758, the Duties on Spirits before they were appropriated, and one Quarter's Charge on the Beer Duty in 1764, the Sinking Fund having received ſo much more of the Produce of that Duty than it bore of the Charge upon it: Theſe ſeveral Sums together amount to 839,219*l.* and theſe Additions and Deductions being made the whole State of the Sinking Fund ſtands thus:

		l.
Surplus in ſeven Years	-	14431461
Add Deficiencies 1763	-	237260
		14668721
Deduct adventitious Acceſſions	-	839219
	7)	13829502
Average Surplus each Year Year	- -	1975643

But

But though this Term be the beſt that can be taken for ſuch a Calculation, as comprehending in the latter Years of it at leaſt more of the conſtituent Parts of the preſent Sinking Fund than any other, the Average upon it is ſtill a very imperfect Meaſure; and that upon as many ſubſequent Years will without doubt be greater: The above Period was for the moſt Part Time of War; and there are few Funds which do not generally yield more in Time of Peace; thoſe of Excite, the moſt important Branch of any, particularly do, unleſs accidentally affected by Seaſons; An annual Improvement at all Times ariſes from the Falling in of Life Annuities; thoſe ſubſiſting at the Cloſe of the Year 1764, amounted to near 100,000*l. per ann.* and a Third of them were created during the War; So that the yearly Saving on that Head will be greater than it uſed to be in the former Peace; Some beſides of the moſt lucrative Acceſſions to the Sinking Fund have been carried to it ſo lately, that the former Years of the above Period had no Advantage from them: The Beer Duty upon which the Surplus is near 30,000*l. per ann.* was not incorporated till 1764, and of the Regulations made during the Adminiſtration in 1764 and 1765, in almoſt every Branch of the Revenue, ſome indeed had taken Place in the laſt Year of the above-mentioned Term, and whatever the Operation of them was, it will continue: Others, however, had not then commenced; that known one for inſtance in the Poſt-Office, by the Reſtrictions put upon Franking, and by the Falling in of the Croſs Poſt on the Death of Mr. *Allen*, which together were eſtimated at 62,000*l. per ann.* was not brought to account till the laſt Quarter of 1764, and many can hardly yet have had their full Effect: No preciſe Judgment can be formed of the Civil-Liſt Revenues, which have been incorporated about Half of the abovementioned Term; but though their future Produce cannot be calculated with Exactneſs, yet the Fact of their having produced, even on ſo diſadvantageous an Average as of the whole Reign, much more than the 800,000*l.* which were given in lieu of them, fully confutes all the Endeavours which have been uſed to depreciate his Majeſty's Munificence; The Advantage accruing from thence to the Public is ſtill

ſtill more apparent on the fairer Average of the three Years of Peace we have enjoyed; and in the laſt Year the Surplus was about 200,000*l.* The Acceſſions to the Poſt Office indeed come into that Account, and whether the Regulation of Franking would have taken Place unleſs for the Benefit of the Publick, may be a Queſtion; but even deducting theſe, the Incorporation is ſtill a noble Addition to the Sinking Fund, and it will hardly be leſs than it is now: On the contrary, theſe Revenues will in common with others continue to encreaſe, unleſs new Meaſures interpoſe to thwart thoſe which were taken for the Improvement of almoſt every Branch of Revenue: What the amount of all thoſe Improvements may be, does not admit of a Calculation; it is not even within the Reach of Conjecture; but that it muſt be very conſiderable is evident from their Number and from their Importance: To ſtate them only is to prove it; and that Proof I ſhall endeavour to give, without pretending to ſeparate thoſe which in 1764 had begun, from thoſe which were ſtill to begin; or ſuch as immediately from ſuch as ultimately affect the Sinking Fund; but conſider them all as Improvements of the Revenue in general.

In the Cuſtoms, not only Regulations were introduced into particular Branches, but general Precautions were taken for the Prevention of thoſe illicit Practices, which are equally deſtructive both to Trade and Revenue: Not that they can ever be totally ſuppreſſed; but they may be and they have been very much checked, by exerting the Powers given by the Law for that Purpoſe, by viſiting and examining into the State of every Port in the Kingdom, by exciting an extraordinary Vigilance and Alertneſs in the Officers, and by adding to the Sea Guard which before ſubſiſted, all the Aid which an enlarged Marine Eſtabliſhment could ſupply; The Occaſion was indeed more urgent than ever; for our Power and our Taxes have encreaſed together; a greater and more active Force is therefore requiſite to maintain the one; a more ſteady, a more vigorous Execution of the Laws is neceſſary for collecting the other. Accumulation of Duties is always a new Inducement to Smuggling; Cruiſers are undoubtedly of Uſe in reſtraining it; and to multiply

tiply their Numbers, muſt encreaſe the Hazards, the Loſſes, and the Expences of Smuggling: But all their Effects can never be exactly aſcertained; for the employing of Smuggling Cutters is a preventive Meaſure: They are intended to deter, to diſappoint, to delay, as well as to ſeize; and therefore to judge of them only by the Captures they make, is to conſider but a Part of their Utility: Thoſe in the Pay of the Cuſtom-houſe, if tried by this Teſt, would hardly be found to anſwer; and yet to leave the whole Sea open to Smugglers, that they may there hover unobſerved, watch their Opportunities without Moleſtation, and carry on their Traffick without Danger, is a preposterous Idea; if it was right at all Times to have ſome, it muſt be right to have more Cruiſers on this Service now that the Profits of a Clandeſtine Trade, are, by means of the additional Duties, greater than they were; and ſhould it only appear that though the Temptation be ſo much ſtronger, yet the Practice is not encreaſed in Proportion, that Circumſtance alone would prove the Efficacy of this and the other Meaſures which were taken to obſtruct it: The additional Number I have already obſerved, are furniſhed more eaſily by the Navy than they could be by any other Means; and it is no Derogation from their Service, that more Captures have been made *afloat* by the Officers of the Cuſtoms than by thoſe of the Crown: Whatever is taken whether by Boats or by Cutters, and whether in Harbours in Rivers or on the Sea is ſeized *afloat*: But the Operation of the Navy Cutters is chiefly on the Sea, and the fair Parallel therefore would be between the Cuſtom-houſe Cutters only and thoſe of the Navy, in Proportion to their Numbers.

Several ſimilar and ſome new Regulations were made for the ſame Purpoſe with reſpect to *America*: The Object was more important there; for the Evil was greater, and the Conſequences of it more pernicious, as tending to break the Connexion between the Mother Country and the Colonies; but leſs Care had been taken of that Department than of any other: The firſt Step was to eſtabliſh an effectual Sea Guard, which was more wanted than it is here, becauſe the Difficulty is greater to ſecure ſuch a vaſt Coaſt, full of little Creeks and Landing-places, im-

imperfectly explored, little frequented, and not at all attended to: But by enlarging the Operation of the Cruiſers, extending the hovering Acts of the Colonies, and preventing the eaſy Communication of ſmuggled Goods from one Province to another, ſome Remedy was applied to the Evil. All Intercourſe with St. *Pierre* and *Miquelon*, was at the ſame Time prohibited, and the Practice of clearing out for the Plantations a ſmall Proportion of a Cargo in the Ports of this Kingdom, with a view to run in the reſt there, was totally put an End to. By theſe and many other Regulations, which it would be tedious to enumerate, ſome Check will (if they are duly carried into Execution) be certainly given to the illegal and dangerous Commerce which has ſo long and ſo ſhamefully prevailed in the Colonies: The great Motives for ſuppreſſing it are Conſiderations of Trade, which I ſhall inter into more fully hereafter: At preſent I mention theſe Reſtrictions only as the Means of improving the Revenue at Home, by adding to it the Duties retained on ſuch Commodities, as are thereby driven back into their natural Channel through this Country, inſtead of being imported into the Colonies either directly from *Europe*, or from foreign Plantations.

As an Object of Revenue alone, the Smuggling from the *Iſle of Man* was a more inveterate Evil: The extent of it was groſſly apparent; for the Produce of a little barren Country, bleak in its Climate, and blighted by the Sprey of the *Atlantic* Ocean; or the Conſumption of the Natives, few and needy as they were, ignorant of the Luxuries, and content with few of the Conveniencies of Life, could hardly amount to Articles of Commerce: But the Trade by which the Place has been peopled, and the People have been enriched, was calculated for far other Purpoſes: The Situation of the Iſland was convenient for Smuggling: The peculiar Grant of it from the Crown, and its Exemption from the ordinary Proceſs of the Courts of *Great Britain*, defeated in many Reſpects the Execution of the Laws; and favoured by theſe Circumſtances, the Traders there provided inconceivable Quantities of contraband Goods, with which they ſupplied the Weſtern Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, from *Caithneſs*

Caithness to *Cornwall*, and the whole Circuit of *Ireland*: With this View they imported into the Island Wines, Brandies, Velvets, and other Species of Goods from *France* and *Spain*: Tea, China, Tobacco, Sugars, Lawns and Cambricks from *Hamburgh*; from *Holland*, and from *Flanders*: They roved into the *Baltic* in quest of a further Supply, and bought from *Denmark* and *Sweden* all Sorts of *East-India* Commodities: They procured Rum, Coffee, and other Produce both of our own and of foreign Plantations: They brought even in *London* and entered for Exportation the Silks forbidden to be worn, and afterwards re-imported them: They received Draw-backs, at the *British* Custom-houses on Goods which they carried out only to run in again; and constantly keeping in Store large Assortments of prohibited and high-rated Commodities, seized every favourable Occasion to convey them away, which they never waited for long, as all tempestuous Weather was their Season; a dark Night was an Opportunity; and from whatever Quarter the Wind blew, it drove them to some ready Market; filled with their Associates and Customers: To such a Height were these Practices arrived, that the Loss thereby occasioned to the Revenues of *Great Britain* was computed at 200,000*l.* and to that of *Ireland* at 100,000*l.* Some Check might have been given by Acts of Parliament: Their Intercourse with foreign Countries, and with this might have been restrained; the Importation of certain Species of Goods might have been forbidden; Breaches of the Law might have been prosecuted in *Britain*; and Offenders against it might have been pursued into their very Harbours: But still the Grants of Jurisdiction and of Customs which had been annexed to the Lordship, would have always obstructed the Effect of such Laws; under their Shelter open Warehouses of contraband Goods might have been freely kept, and Criminals would have found an Asylum; that Mischief could be effectually cured only by purchasing such of the Rights of the Lord as interfered with the Authority of the Crown over the Inhabitants of the Island: A Contract was therefore made in 1764 for that Purpose, and the Isle, the Regalities, Franchises, and Sea Ports, were annexed to the Crown, on Payment of

of 70,000*l.* a Price certainly not extravagant, if the Produce only of the Customs there, which amount to between five and six thousand Pounds *per ann.* and are included in the Conveyance, be considered: So much of them as arose from an Importation which was strictly legal were alone worth so large a Proportion of the Sum given, that the Remainder is not too liberal a Compensation for the distinguishing Privileges, which a noble Family were by this Sale deprived of: All the Lustre however of the Possession which could be, has been preserved to them; Besides their landed Interest and manerial Rights, the splendid Patronage of a Bishoprick, and the honorary Service at the Coronation, still continue to grace their Patrimony; and his Majesty has been pleased to add to the present Duke and Dutchess of *Athol* a Pension upon *Ireland*, the Revenues of which Country are justly charged with a Part of the Expence incurred by a Transaction, the Benefit of which they will so largely share. The Purchase being thus compleated, Provisions were made for the due Improvement of it, by enforcing the Act of 7th *George* I. which condemns all *East Indian* Commodities imported into the *Isle of Man*, except from *Great Britain*; by forbidding absolutely the Importation even from hence of Silks and Linens prohibited here; by confining their Supply of foreign Spirits to the Channel through this Country only, stopping the exportation of them from thence hither, and laying even their own Coasting Trade therein under Restraints; by extending the Hovering Acts to the Coasts, and all the Custom-house Laws to the Interior of the Island; by allowing Offences against those Laws to be tried in the Courts of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; by exacting Obedience to the Process of those Courts; and by inflicting severe Penalties on the Insurers of contraband Cargoes; with several other official Regulations; on the other hand, in order to supply to the Inhabitants the Loss of their illicit Trade by a legal Occupation, they are encouraged to prosecute the Cultivation of their Lands, by permitting them to import into *Great Britain* their Cattle and other Produce free of Impost Duties: They are incited also to apply to Manufactures by giving the same Bounty on the Exportation of their Linens, as are

are given upon the *British* and the *Irish*; and left the Smuggling from the *Isle of Man* ſhould be driven to the *Daniſh* Iſlands of *Faro*, no Bounty or Drawback is for the future to be allowed on Goods entered for thoſe Iſlands, and no Goods prohibited here are to be exported thither, which Precautions are accompanied with other Reſtrictions, guarded by Oaths, and enforced by Penalties.

There are but few of the important Branches of the Cuſtoms which will not feel the Benefit of this Purchaſe: They will alſo be ſenſible to the other Proviſions, which were at the ſame Time made for their Improvement: The Operations of the hovering Acts, which uſed to be confined to certain Species of Goods only, were extended to all that are liable to Forfeiture. In order to ſtop the Practice of Suffering for a ſmall Conſideration the Veſſel which brought a contraband Cargo to eſcape, a ſmaller Share of the Prize was given to the Officer who does not ſecure both, and it is often of more Conſequence to deſtroy the Means of Smuggling than to forfeit the Subject of it. Some further Methods have alſo been deviſed for aſcertaining the real Value of Goods paying Duty *ad valorem*, and a Check given to the Importation of Lace, Ribbands, and other fine Goods of conſiderable Value, but of ſmall Dimenſions, which the Pocket of a Coat, or the Fold of a Piece of Linen might conceal: In Addition to theſe general Regulations, ſome were made particularly applicable to certain Branches of the Cuſtoms only, ſuch as the Importation of Tobacco Stalks, Coffee, Spirits, and Wine; and the Abuſes which prevailed with reſpect to the Bounty upon Refined Sugars were removed by an Alteration in the Mode of paying it: By which Alteration a Saving is made of two Shillings in twenty-one on 60,000*l. per. ann.* which has been the Average Amount of thoſe Bounties: A further Improvement will ariſe from the Frauds by which they uſed to be obtained being prevented; and yet the Refinery continues to receive all the Encouragement, which the Legiſlative ever intended to give it.

This and ſome other of the above-mentioned Regulations relate to the Cuſtoms only; but many of the moſt important of thoſe which have been ſtated, will have ſtill greater Effects upon the

the Revenue of Exciſe: The Inland are higher than the Impoſt Duties on ſeveral of the principal Articles of clandeſtine Importation; and many of thoſe Articles greatly interfere alſo with the Conſumption of other exciſeable Commodities: It is of more Conſequence to the Exciſe than it is to the Cuſtoms, that Tea, Coffee, Brandy, painted Callicoes, *&c. &c. &c.* ſhould be brought to a regular Entry, and an Encreaſe therefore in that Branch alſo of the Revenue ariſes from the Meaſures taken from the Suppreſſion of Smuggling: The Purchaſe of the *Iſle of Man* will particularly contribute to it, as the moſt material Branches of the illicit Trade there, were peculiarly detrimental to the Exciſe; a Practice moreover prevailed there directly levelled at this Revenue: A Brewery was eſtabliſhed in the Iſland; the Corn was brought from *Great Britain*; the Bounty on Exportation received; it was then made into Malt and Beer, free in both Stages of the Manufacture from the Duties of Exciſe: and with theſe advantages the Brewers there could ſupply the neighbouring Coaſts and the Ships which frequented them with Malt Liquors, at a much cheaper Rate than the *Britiſh* Brewers could pretend to do: the Conſequence was that all Veſſels trading from the North-Weſtern Ports to *Africa* and *America*, touched at the *Iſle of Man* for their Stores of this Kind; but they are now prohibited to take them in there: The Commodities themſelves are ſubject on Importation into *Great Britain* to all *Britiſh* Duties whatſoever; and the Bounty is taken off from the Corn exported thither; by which Regulations the Brewery in the *Iſle of Man* is deprived of the unfair Advantages it had over that of *Great Britain*, and the Duties due on the Malt and Beer ſo conſumed are reſtored to the Exciſe. This, however, is not the only Improvement in the ſame Branch of the Revenue: The laſt Duty of 1*s per lb.* on Coffee having been found to be heavier than the Commodity could bear, was laſt Year lowered to Six-pence upon foreign Coffee, and entirely taken of from that raiſed in our Plantations: Proviſions were alſo made during the ſame Seſſions for preventing ſome Frauds in the Duties upon Hides and Parchment; for aſcertaining the Allowance which had till then been diſcretionary for Soap damaged

maged in the Making; for extending to a ſpecies of Beer brewed in *Scotland* called Two-penny ſeveral Exciſe Laws, for want of which the Act recites that the Revenue thereon had been reduced above one Half; and for the better collecting in many reſpects the Duties upon Beer, Starch, Candles, Tea and Coffee, which being meerly official Regulations, I ſhall take no further Notice of.

The ſame Act contains ſome Proviſions relative to the Salt Duties, for preventing Frauds, for ſecuring Officers in the Diſcharge of their Duty, for extending Forfeitures, and for facilitating Proſecutions; a minute Detail of which I ſhall not enter into.

The Stamp Duties alſo underwent a like Reviſion, and many official Regulations were made with reſpect to thoſe on Admiſſions of Freemen, on the Binding of Apprentices, on Advertiſements, on Ale-Licences in *England*, and on Policies of Inſurance, for which I muſt again refer to the Act which provides them: It contains, however, others of more Importance, adapted to remedy enormous Abuſes: The vaſt Quantities of unſtampted Cards which were played with was a ſcandalous Infraction of the Law; but the new Reſtrictions put upon the Making and the Sale of Cards, render that Practice almoſt impoſſible for the future. In another Article, that of Ale-Licences in *Scotland*, the Diſregard ſhewn to the Stamp Acts was very extenſive: It was principally owing to the Juſtices neglecting to meet in order to grant Licences, and to the incompetency of their Juriſdiction over Offenders: But both theſe Miſchiefs are now removed, by obliging the Clerk of the Peace to grant Licences if the Juſtices do not; and by giving an Appeal to the Barons of the Exchequer. Beſides theſe Improvements, a Saving was made in the Charges of Management, by reducing the Allowance to Perſons buying Quantities of Stamps to a certain Value, from three to two *per cent*, which Difference on ſo large a Quantity as is bought by Stationers and others, to ſell again, or to uſe in their Buſineſs, muſt be conſiderable.

The great Addition to the produce of the Poſt-office, by the Reſtrictions upon Franking, and by the Acceſſion of the Croſs Poſt, has been mentioned already; and many other Regulations were

were alſo made in that Department: The Practice of ſending Letters by the common Carriers was very detrimental to the Buſineſs of this Office; but the Miſchief did not extend far from the large Towns, and to check the Prevalence of it in their Neighbourhood, the Rates of Poſtage were by an Act paſſed in 1764, lowered for the two firſt Stages; all other Diſtances are to be exactly aſcertained by an actual Survey of the Roads; and Authority is given to the Poſt-maſter General to eſtabliſh Penny Poſts in ſuch Places as he ſhall judge proper. Theſe Alterations will be ſo many Conveniencies to the Inland Correſpondence and Trade; the foreign will enjoy ſtill greater, as the Rates to, from, and in the Plantations were by the ſame Act reduced; thoſe between *Hamburgh* and *London* put upon the ſame Footing as other *German* Poſtage; and another Communication opened with *Ireland* through *Port-Patrick* and *Donaghadee*, which will be always ſafe and certain: The frequent Miſcarriages alſo of Letters ſent by private Ships is remedied, by obliging the Captains of ſuch Veſſels, before they break Bulk, to deliver their Letters into the Poſt; and allowing them a Conſideration for their Care of them. Theſe greater Regulations are accompanied with others which are official, and with ſeveral Proviſions for the regular and ſafe Conveyance of the Mails.

It is impoſſible (as I before obſerved) to eſtimate the Effect of all the above-mentioned Regulations; but if each ſhould produce but a ſmall Addition, ſo many muſt amount to a great Encreaſe of the Revenue; ſeveral of them are, however, themſelves conſiderable; and all concurring with the other Meaſures which were taken for the ſame End, would in a ſhort Time (if they had been ſteadily purſued,) have eſtabliſhed the Finances of the Kingdom on the moſt reſpectable Footing; and future Operations would have acted with Freedom and Efficacy, delivered from the heavy Preſſure of an Unfunded Debt, aſſiſted with unuſual Vigour in every Department of the Revenue, and ſtrengthened by the great Improvements thus made, by Additions on the one Hand, and Savings on the other. The *American* Revenues (though now reduced) were laſt Year an Acceſſion eſtimated at 160,000*l.* The Duty on Gum Senega 12,000. The Fund created

in

in 1765 for the Payment of Navy Bills 45,000*l.* The Regulation of Franking and the Croſs Poſt 62,000*l.* amounting together to 279,000*l.* which was ſo much certainly added, excluſive of all that might ariſe from the Incorporation of the Civil Liſt Revenues, from the Purchaſe of the *Iſle of Man*, from the Check given in all Parts to whatever was prejudicial to the Revenue, from the numerous and important Regulations made in every Branch of it, and from the great Encreaſe both of Home Conſumption and foreign Trade, which muſt be the inevitable Conſequences of the Peace, and of the Meaſures with which it has been followed.

Another large Fund was at the ſame Time growing out of Reductions in the Eſtabliſhment, and continual Savings of Intereſt; of the former ſufficient has been ſaid already; the latter alſo have been all of them occaſionally mentioned; and being collected together, the Account of Intereſt ſaved within the Period of two Years ſtands thus:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Four *per cent.* on 650,000 Navy Bills paid off	26000		
One *per cent.* on 1,500,000 Navy Bills provided for	15000		
Four *per cent.* 870,888 5 5½ Navy Annuities paid off	34835	10	7¼
* One *per cent.* 1,800,000 Exchequer Bills for nine Months	13500		
One *per cent.* on 2,750,000 Loan on Land and Malt for 1½ Year	41250		
	130585	10	7¼

* I put down the Intereſt on Exchequer Bills at nine Months, to allow for the different Times of iſſuing them, which are uncertain, but the Allowance muſt be larger on 1,800,000*l.* than it would be on 800,000*l.* becauſe the 1,000,000*l.* taken by the Bank is out-ſtanding more Months than the 800,000*l.* which is iſſued in Payments. The Loan on the Land and Malt is alſo out-ſtanding above a Year and Half, but I chuſe rather to under-rate than exceed in my Computation. I muſt alſo again obſerve that ſome ſmall Deduction is to be made for Navy Bills not bearing Intereſt, and for Intereſt made Principal; but it is very trifling.

Which

Which Sum being added to the Improvements ariſing from Acceſſions to the Revenue, which (as appears above) amount to 279,000*l.* the Actual Encreaſe of diſpoſeable Income during the Years 1764 and 1765, appears to be little leſs than 410,000*l.* excluſive of all that may ariſe from thoſe Meaſures the Effects of which cannot be aſcertained; and excluſive of all Reductions which have not actually taken place, though ever ſo near, or ever ſo certain; and all theſe Improvements were made with the Aſſiſtance of a ſmall Loan, on eaſy Terms, at a Time when it was attended with no Inconvenience: the Event having proved that there was no Neceſſity for that larger Loan, which was ſo clamorouſly called for.

It is true that the Revenue would thereby have been raiſed; but no Fund, I doubt, could have been found equal to the Intereſt of the then Unfunded Debt, which would not have been detrimental to ſome valuable Branches of our Manufactures or our Commerce: They are both loaded already with Burthens as heavy as they can bear; and the rival Manufactures of other Countries (as I before obſerved) are benefited by the additional Price of Materials and Labour here: Inſtead therefore of encreaſing the Diſparity, the Legiſlature more wiſely endeavoured to ballance the Advantages which we could not take away from the foreign Manufacturers, by others which we could give to our own; and even the Duties impoſed in 1764 and 1765 were made ſubſervent to this Purpoſe: That upon Coals exported (as I have already ſaid,) is a Tax upon foreign Dyers, Diſtillers, Makers of Glaſs. Workers in Iron, and other Artificers, and enhances to them the Price of ſo neceſſary a Material: The Exception out of the new Duty upon Callicoes exported, in favour of ſuch as ſhall be printed in *Great Britain*, gives to the *Britiſh* Callico-Printer an Advantage over all others, who ſupply themſelves at our *Eaſt India* Company's Sales with the white Callicoes for printing: The Duty upon Gum Senega has the like Tendency with reſpect to the Manufacturers to whom that Material is indiſpenſably neceſſary; we have now the Monopoly of it; the exportation of it from *Africa* to any other Place than *Great Britain* is prohibited by an Act of the Seſſions, 1765; and the

Duties

Duties laid upon it are only Six-pence *per Cwt.* on the Importation, but 1*l.* 10*s.* on the Exportation: So much therefore will the Difference of the Price be in this and other Countries, after the Trade is got into its proper Channel, exclusive of the Expences of Freight, Insurance, and Commission. We have also by the Cessions in *North America* acquired a Monolopy in the Beaver Skins; and the Opportunity was taken in 1764 to rectify the Absurdity which subsisted in the Charges upon them; Seven-dence *per Skin* being imposed on the Importation, and Four-pence draw-back allowed on the Exportation; by which Circumstance of Favour to Foreigners, our Manufacture of fine Hats was daily declining: But the Whole is now reversed; the Beaver Skins when imported are charged with no more than a Penny, and the Seven-pence is laid on the Exportation. An Alteration was also made last Year in the Duties upon Silk, in order to encourage the Art of throwing it in this Kingdom: The Duty upon the Raw Silk was reduced; and that upon the Thrown imported was raised, in order to encourage the Importation of the former; and if the Experiment should succeed, the Difference may be made still wider. The several Commodities which will be affected by these Alterations are used in a great Variety of Manufactures: They will all (except the Silk which we cannot command) cost less here than any where else, and the Cheapness of the Material being thus set against the advanced Price of Labour, the *British* Manufacturer may in such Articles still keep the Place he has hitherto held in foreign Markets.

With respect to the Home Consumption, it has long been usual to impose high Duties upon foreign Manufactures, with a View only to encourage our own: Such as are liable to these heavy impositions naturally become the Subjects of clandestine Importation: Others necessarily must be so, if they can find any Vent here, those I mean which on the same Principle are absolutely prohibited: and the Prevention therefore of mu g-gling, so far as it checks the running in of such Goods, operates to greater Purposes than meerly encreasing the Revenue: It supports our own Manufactures against the Intrusion of others, and enforces

enforces the Execution of Laws framed on the wisest Principles of Policy. The Articles which will thus feel the salutary Effects of these Measures are too many to enumerate; if I were only to instance the two capital Manufactories of Silks and Linens in their several extensive Branches, the Benefit which they will thereby receive is alone a National Object. Spirits, Lace, and all Sorts of fine Goods have been mentioned above; and there are a great Number more to which the Execution of the former Laws, and the additional Regulations introduced to support them, are equally serviceable.

Many Branches also of the *British* Manufactures will soon find the Benefit of the Plan formed for the Suppression of the illicit Trade between the Colonies and foreign Nations, if it be properly supported. The Extent of that Trade was enormous, and it was all stolen from the Commerce, and Part of it from the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, contrary to the fundamental Principle of Colonization, to every Maxim of Policy, and to the express Provision of the Law. Whatever may have been the Value of the foreign Manufactures thus formerly, and now no longer imported clandestinately there, it must in the End be expended in *Great Britain*; and a still further Preference was in 1764 secured to the *British* Manufactures, by retaining upon all foreign Commodities sent thither from hence, the Whole instead of only Half of the Old Subsidy; the Imposition is not indeed very heavy: but so far as it extends, it is in favour of the *British* Manufactures. Duties still higher were at the same Time laid on the Goods forbidden to be worn here, upon the same Principle as the Prohibition is founded: A Check is thereby given to the Consumption of *French* Lawns and Cambricks in *America*: The *East-Indian* Wrought Silks and Painted Callicoes will not for the future exclude so much as they have hitherto excluded the Silks wove and the Callicoes printed in *Great Britain*; and a further Inducement is held out to the *East-Indian* Company to bring home Raw Silk and white Callicoes to be manufacture here. The Prohibition, however, is not extended to the Colonies, for which, if there were no other Reason, the Demand for these Commodities

ties from the *Spanish* Main would alone be a sufficient Consideration.

Another Advantage was in the same Session given to the Manufacturers, by including in the enumerated Commodities several Articles of the Produce of the Plantations, which were not before subject to such a Restriction: All the various Denominations of Peltry, Raw Silk which will probably succeed there, and Whale Fins and Pot-ashes, the Quantities of which annually encrease, are now forbidden to be exported from the Colonies to any foreign Country, and will therefore be cheaper and in greater Plenty at the *British* Market. Coffee, Pimento, and Nuts were likewise for the first Time enumerated; they are not of equal Consequence, but they still deserved this Attention, as valuable Articles of Consumption.

Most of the Regulations I have mentioned as beneficial to Manufactures, are important also to the Commerce and Navigation of this Country. Difficulties imposed upon Smugglers, are Facilities given to the fair Traders, and relieve them from Competitors they would not otherwise be able to contend with: Duties, it is true, are often Burthens upon Trade; but if the Necessities of the State require that they should be laid, it then becomes the Interest of Trade that they be equally levied: If they are not, he that pays them is oppressed by him that does not; a fraudulent Dealer robs the honest Merchant of his just Gain; and good Subjects are in the End more heavily loaded for the Profit of bad Citizens. This is true not only of the Custom-house Duties, but of every other: Frauds upon the Excise are detrimental to the upright Dealers in exciseable Commodities: and all Evasions whatsoever of Revenue Laws, tend to enhance the Prices of the open Market, and to make further Taxes necessary for supplying the Deficiency which they occasion. In other Light too, the Prevention of clandestine Imports is a great commercial Consideration; Foreigners thereby introduce into this Country several Kinds of Goods brought from distant Parts of the World, the Advantages of which Traffic, and the Carriage of which Commodities, the *British* Merchant alone ought to have: To secure it to them is the principal Object

Object of the Act of Navigation; such a Trade is a direct Infringement of that salutary Law: It is therefore in this View highly pernicious here; but in the Colonies it is fatal; I should digress too far were I to state all the mischievous Effects of it there: It suffices to observe that the Check given to their illegal Practices must encrease their regular Supply from hence, when the Causes of its present Fluctuation shall be over; for that Part which Foreigners did, the *British* Merchants will furnish; as the Exclusion of the one, is Admittance to the other.

Some of the most valuable Articles of clandestine Importation both into *Great Britain* and the Colonies, are the *East-Indian* Commodities: The Difficulties put upon Smuggling are therefore particularly beneficial to the Company, who alone are the rightful Importers: How far their Trade is an advantageous Trade is no Part of the Question: The Consumption of the *East-Indian* Commodities will continue; and it is certainly of Consequence to the *British* Navigation to have the Carriage of all that is consumed by *British* Subjects; but of so much as is run in here, or in the Colonies, other Nations have the Carriage from *India* to *Europe*, and, perhaps, from *Europe* to *America*: and to recover the Navigation of such long Voyages, and the direct Importation of the vast Quantities of Goods now brought for our Use by Foreigners, are important national Objects: It is well known to what a Degree the Smuggling of Tea and other Articles was arrived; in some it was carried to such an Excess as almost to exclude the Company: The coarse printed Callicoes, the Cowries and Arangoes, for which there is a great Demand on the Coast of *Africa*, were generally obtained from the *Isle of Man*; so much so, that upon the Purchase of that Island, it was necessary to provide that the *African* Trade should not be deprived of the Supply, and Authority was therefore given to the Lords of the Treasury to licence the Importation of them from any Country in *Europe*, if sufficient should not be imported directly from *India*: At present the Company cannot furnish sufficient; they have had no Encouragement to bring them lately; but being restored to the Market, they will take Care constantly to make a Provision equal to the Demand, and

 to

to have the Whole Benefit of this Acceſſion to their Commerce.

A like Attention was ſhewn to the *African* Trade in the Article alſo of Bugles, by allowing them to be warehouſed free of Duty, inſtead of exacting the whole Duty on the Importation, and returning it afterwards in Drawbacks; Theſe together with the coarſe printed Callicoes, Cowries, and Arangoes, may from hence-forward be attainable upon as eaſy Terms here as any where elſe: The Inducements to bring in ſuch Commodities clandeſtinely are taken away; and Ships ſailing to the Coaſt of *Africa* will no longer be tempted to touch in *Holland* or other Countries for a Supply, the Conſequence of which Deviation moſt frequently was, that they took in alſo Gun-powder, Spirits, and other Aſſortments of Goods, and made up a great Part of their Cargoes there: The *African* Trade will be therefore more our own than it has been; it is in itſelf greater than it was by the Acquiſition of *Senegal*; and a further very liberal Plan was adopted in 1765 for improving all its Advantages. The Committee of Merchants who had the Management of the Whole, were diveſted of that Part of the Coaſt which lies between the Port of *Sallee* and *Cape Rouge*: The reſt was left to them ſtrengthened in their Hands by building a Block-houſe at the important Point of Cape *Appolonia*: That which was taken from them was veſted in the Crown; a civil Eſtabliſhment was formed, with Juriſdiction between the Rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*; the Duties upon Gum are a Fund for ſupporting it; a regular Military Force is to be maintained there; and all the Securities againſt domeſtic Oppreſſion or foreign Invaſion, all the Benefits, in ſhort of a ſettled provincial Government, are provided for that Diſtrict. This muſt be an Encouragement to the preſent Factories; it will be the Means of encreaſing them; it may be the Foundation of future Improvements in Power, in Commerce, and in Settlement, to a Degree, perhaps, of Colonization: But without carrying the Idea quite ſo far, it will at the leaſt certainly give Stability, Order and Credit, to the *Britiſh* Trade upon the Coaſt, and make our Eſtabliſhments ſuperior in Strength, Extent, and Influence, to thoſe of any other *European* Power.

But

But of all the Meaſures which were purſued for the Benefit of Trade, thoſe were by far the moſt important which reſpected the Colonies, who have been of late the darling Object of their Mother Country's Care: We are not yet recovered from a War undertaken ſolely for their Protection: Every Object for which it was begun, is accompliſhed; and ſtill greater are obtained than at firſt were even thought of; but whatever may be the Value of the Acquiſitions in *America*, the immediate Benefit of them is to the Colonies; and this Country feels it only in their Proſperity; for though the Acceſſions of Trade and of Territory which were obtained by the Peace, are ſo many Additions to the Empire and the Commerce of *Great Britain* at large, yet they principally affect that Part of her Dominions, and that Branch of her Trade, to which they immediately relate. To improve theſe Advantages, and to forward ſtill further the peculiar Intereſts of the Colonies, was the chief Aim of the Adminiſtration in the Period now before me. Their Whale-Fiſhery was encouraged by taking off the heavy Duty under which it laboured; in conſequence of which Gratuity it muſt now ſoon entirely overpower our own, and will probably rival that of the *Dutch*; ſo as to ſupply not only the whole Demand of this Country, but Part alſo of the foreign Conſumption. The Reſtraint laid by the Acts of Navigation upon the Exportation of Rice, was at the ſame Time relaxed, and Liberty given to both the *Carolinas* and to *Georgia*, to carry it to foreign Plantations, where large Cargoes may be annually diſpoſed of. The Culture of Hemp and Flax in *America* was promoted by Bounties; and another Bounty was given upon the native wild Produce of the Continent, the Timber, in ſuch Proportions on the ſeveral Species of it, as will enable the Coloniſts to bring vaſt Quantities hither. Should the Ends intended by all this Liberality be anſwered, and the Effect be, as in Time it probably will be, that the foreign Plantations will be ſupplied wholly with Rice, and this Iſland in a great Meaſure with Whale Bone and Oil, with Hemp, Flax, and Timber, from the Colonies, the Encreaſe of their Trade, will exceed the moſt ſanguine Expectations: The Conſumption of theſe Commodities which they

may

may be able to furnish cannot be estimated at less than a Million a Year: In all they will undoubtedly have a Preference, and in some a Monopoly.

At the same Time that new Branches of Commerce were thus given to them, others which they had before were improved. The Prohibition on the Exportation of *American* Bar Iron from this Kingdom was taken away by an Act passed in 1765. By the same Act the Importer of Rice intended only to be re-exported, is excused from advancing the Duties: The Encouragement given to the Culture of Coffee in the Plantations, by reducing the Duty thereon below that charged on other Coffee, has been taken Notice of before; and a still further Preference was shewn to the Produce of our *West-Indian* Colonies, by laying heavy Impositions upon the Indigo, Coffee, Sugar, and Melasses of the foreign Islands imported into *North America*, while the same Commodities raised in our own, were lightly charged at the most, and some of them entirely free. It is also of general commercial Utility that the Fees of Custom-house Officers should be fixed; and that Correspondence by Letters should be frequent, safe, and easy: and for both these, so far as the Colonies were concerned in them, particular Provisions were made by the Acts so often referred to.

Whatever may be the Effects of the Attention thus shewn to the Colonies, the Benefit will be partially felt here, but principally there: To them the Whole is gain; we on the contrary in many Respects sustain a Loss; and if the Interests of the Mother Country could be distinguished from those of the Colonies, it would be difficult to justify the Expence she has thereby incurred; for out of her Revenues, the Bounties upon Hemp, Flax, and Timber must be paid; and on so much of the *British* Consumption as shall in consequence of this Encouragement be supplied from *America*, there will be a further Loss of the Duties upon foreign Hemp, Flax, and Timber now imported here: The Duty too upon Whale Fins must be taken into the Account, which is another Deduction, avowedly made with a View to give their Fishery a Preference even to our own; and

and it is obvious that the Amount of the Whole, though it cannot easily be estimated, must be very considerable.

Were there no other Ground to require a Revenue from the Colonies, than as a Return for these Obligations, it would alone be a sufficient Foundation: Add to these the Advantages obtained for them by the Peace; add the Debt incurred by a War undertaken for their Defence only; the Distress thereby brought upon the Finances, upon the Credit both publick and private, upon the Trade, and upon the People of this Country; and it must be acknowledged that no Time was ever so seasonable for claiming their Assistance. The Distribution is too unequal, of Benefits only to the Colonies, and of all the Burthens upon the Mother Country; and yet no more was desired, than that they should contribute to the Preservation of the Advantages they have received, and take upon themselves a small Share of the Establishment necessary for their own Protection: Upon these Principles several new Taxes were laid upon the Colonies: Many of them were indeed, as I have already shewn, rather Regulations of Trade than Funds of Revenue: But some were intended to answer both Purposes: In others the Produce was the principal Object; and yet even the most productive of all, were of that Kind which is perhaps more tender of Trade than any other: The same Sum could not have been raised with so little Oppression by Impost as by Stamp Duties *, for they do not affect some Articles of Commerce more than others; they do not even fall upon Men of any particular Denomination: They are heavy upon none, because they are paid only occasionally; and they are collected with more Ease to the Subject than any; but a Distinction between internal and external Taxes was set up in *America*, and Occasion was from thence taken to raise Disturbances there, the Particulars and the Consequences of which are of such public Notoriety, that it is needless to mention them: The Events too were subsequent to the Period I am now considering; and many of the Questions which they gave rise to,

* It is impossible to speak with Certainty of the Produce of any of the *American* Taxes: I have therefore throughout followed the usual Calculation, and estimated the Impost Duties at 60,000*l.* and the Stamp Duties at 100,000*l.* *per ann.*

being

being either legal or political, it does not belong to a Work of this Kind to discuss them. But such Considerations of Finance and of Commerce, as were or ought to have been attended to before any Impositions were laid in *America*, are immediately within my Subject: I shall not however dwell upon those which related to the Stamp Act alone, the Repeal of that Act having put an End to them; but whether or how far the Colonies ought to be taxed for the Purposes of Revenue, is still as it was then, a very weighty Consideration, and it will therefore be necessary to take some Notice of the Arguments on either Side of so important a Question.

The Inability of the Colonies, and particularly of those upon the Continent, has been pleaded in a Variety of Shapes; though the Inhabitants of *North America* are reckoned by some to be near 2,000,000 of People, and allowed by all to be 1,500,000 at the least. Taking then the lowest Computation, and supposing that 100,000*l.* had been levied upon them, such a Sum on such a Number could not be an insupportable Burthen; a Capitation Tax of One Shilling and Four-pence *per* Head would raise as much; less than a Day's Labour would provide every Man with his Quota; and the Distribution must be perversly partial, to make that oppressive, which if equally divided would have been so inconsiderable: With respect to the Islands they could well have born their Share, for the *West-Indians* exceed the *North-Americans* in Wealth, as much as they fall short of them in Numbers.

But the Colonies, it is said, were not before free from Taxes, as they always provided for their own domestic Establishments; and does not *Great Britain* maintain her domestic Establishments also? Nor can such Charges in a remote Province ever bear any Proportion to those of the Mother Country, which is the Seat of a mighty Empire, and supports the State of Monarchy, the Splendor of a Court, the Lustre of Nobility, the Dignity of Magistrates, and the Importance of Office, amidst the Profusion of a Capital. The Establishments of all the Colonies at present, do not together amount to 160,000*l. per ann.* adding therefore to these the new Duties, still the Sum to be raised annually

nually in the Plantations would have been little more than 300,000*l.* while the Revenue of this Country exceeds 10,000,000*l. per ann.*

The Interest of the Debt incurred during the last War by the *North American* Colonies, is not included in an Account of their permanent Income, because the Debt is small, and will be of very short Duration. At the End of the War it was between 2,500,000 and 2,600,000*l.* It is already reduced to about 767,000*l.* and the greater Part of this Remainder will be paid off in two or three Years, by Funds provided for that Purpose: But our appropriated Funds are rivetted down on our Posterity: Savings of Interest give no Relaxation of Taxes: They are still wanted to discharge the Principal; and we do not see the Prospect, even in a distant and uncertain Futurity, of a Reduction at all proportionable to that which has been already made in the Colonies: So different are the Circumstances of their Debt and ours; and as to the amount of each, the Comparison would be ridiculous between the National Debt, and 767,000*l.* daily dwindling into nothing: Or if the Consideration be limited to the Expences only of the last War, and their and our Debt thus contracted in a common Cause put together, the general Burthen, even in this confined View of it, appears to be unequally divided.

But it was never intended to impose on them any Share of the National Debt: They were never called upon to defray any Part of our domestic civil Expences: The Legislature only required of them to contribute to the Support of those Establishments, which are equally interesting to all the Subjects of *Great Britain*. The Charge of the Navy, Army, and Ordnance, of *Africa*, and of *America*, is about 3,000,000*l. per ann.* These surely are general; they are as important to the Colonies as to the Mother Country; as necessary to their Protection, as conducive to their Welfare, as to our own: If all share the Benefit, they should also share the Burthen; the Whole ought not to be born by a Part: The *Americans* are in Number a Fifth of the *British* Subjects; yet the Aid required of them was in the Proportion

portion only of about one in twenty; and to make it ſtill more eaſy, the Expenditure was reſtrained to that Country.

In anſwer to this it has been alledged, that the *Americans*, beſides paying a Duty on the foreign Commodities with which they are ſupplied from hence, contribute largely to the National Revenue by their Conſumption of *Britiſh* Manufactures, the Price of which is enhanced to them by the Taxes here: It is true; but if ſuch Reaſoning be purſued, it will be found equally true that they contribute alſo to the Revenues of *France*, to thoſe of *China*, and in ſhort of every Country with which we have any commercial Communication. Thoſe Countries likewiſe may be ſaid to bear a Part of our Charges, for they buy our Commodities; and it muſt at the leaſt be acknowledged, that *Great Britain* makes an ample Return to the Colonies in the Conſumption of their Produce, with the advanced Price upon it, which their provincial Impoſitions occaſion. Could the Facts be aſcertained, perhaps it would appear that we pay in this Manner, if not an equal Sum, yet as large a Proportion of their Taxes, as they pay of ours; for their Contribution ariſes chiefly from the *Britiſh* Manufactures, and but little from the foreign Commodities, which are, however, a third Part of their Supply: While our Contribution is on the *American* Produce, which is the greater Part of their Return: But the Diſcuſſion is intricate, unſatisfactory, and endleſs, and without entering further into it, thus much is evident already, that the Benefits which the Revenue of either Country receives from the Conſumption of the other, are mutual; that the Ballance between them is unknown; and that therefore neither Side can avail itſelf of any important Concluſion to be drawn from Premiſes ſo very uncertain.

When theſe Conſiderations of Revenue fail, others reſpecting Trade are urged: We have their All, they ſay; all that they can gain, all that they can raiſe is ſent hither, to purchaſe *Britiſh* Manufactures, and we muſt therefore be content to ſee their Demand diminiſhed, by ſo much as any Revenue we require may amount to: But does their All really even center in *Great Britain?* Their illicit Trade was computed during the laſt

laſt Peace to be about a Third of their actual Imports; and the Money diverted from that to the Support of the Eſtabliſhment, is certainly no national Loſs: Of the Supply from hence, a Third is alſo ſuppoſed to be in foreign Commodities; ſo that upon theſe Calculations *, the Britiſh Manufactures do not amount in Value to one Half of the *American* Conſumption; and the utmoſt Force therefore of the Argument is, that we loſe a Vent for 80,000*l.* worth of Manufactures, by getting an Acceſſion of 160,000*l.* to the Revenue. Even this is not true if the Revenue be ſo much wanted, that unleſs it is raiſed in *America*, *Great Britain* muſt furniſh it; for no large Funds can be created here, which will not affect our Manufactures; the Home Conſumption, the foreign Demand, even the *American* Supply will be thereby leſſened; and the Diminution being general, it may amount in the Whole to a greater Loſs than can be apprehended from an *American* Taxation; all ſuch Arguments prove too much; they are as ſtrong againſt ſeveral Duties here; againſt any additional Duties; againſt Duties already ſubſiſting; for the Propoſition is generally true, that Taxes are detrimental to Trade and Manufactures; but thoſe which are leaſt ſo, are the beſt; and burthened as this Country is, I believe none can be deviſed leſs prejudicial to either, than Taxes upon the Colonies, when proportioned not to their Numbers but to their Abilities, and adapted to their Circumſtances, upon Principles of Juſtice and Equality.

The Argument is nearly the ſame, it is only weaker, when inſtead of the Conſumption of the Colonies, the Conſequence of that Conſumption, their Debt to this Country, is pleaded, and the new Duties are repreſented as depriving them of the Means of diſcharging it: This Complaint would be juſt, if a Revenue had been exacted from them without furniſhing them with Reſources for raiſing it; but the Peace, and the Meaſures taken ſince for improving the Advantages of it, have done

* The Proportions may be different now; but all Conjectures about the Alteration muſt be very uncertain; and the ſame Reaſoning is applicable to any other which may be thought the preſent Proportions.

 much

much more: For it would be rating the Ceſſions made by *France* very low indeed, if the Security which is the Conſequence of them; if the vaſt Acceſſion of Territory; if the Intercourſe opened with the *Indians*, their greater Demand for Cloathing, Arms, Spirits, and other Commodities, and the Monopoly of their Return in Beaver, Furs, and all Sorts of Peltry; if the Improvements of the Cod, Seal, and Sea-Cow Fiſhery; the Eſtabliſhment of the Right to cut Log-wood; the Facilities obtained in the *Spaniſh* Trade by the Approximation of our Settlements to theirs; and the other Acquiſitions of the Peace; were not altogether valued to the *Americans* alone, at a Sum much larger than the Revenue expected from them. In this Enumeration I have not included ſuch Articles as have lately received particular Encouragement; the Whale Fiſhery, the Rice, the Hemp and Flax, and the Timber; nor the Preference ſhewn in ſo many Inſtances to the Produce of our Iſlands, over that of Foreign Plantations. By all theſe Means we have encreaſed the Abilities of the Colonies, to purchaſe our Manufactures, to make Returns for the Supply, and to diſcharge their Debts in *Great Britain*: All Objections therefore to the Taxing them, as affecting their Trade, are reſolvable at laſt into a Complaint, that we have not done more for them. We have opened to them new Funds of Wealth; and if we apply'd a Part of it to the National Service, the Deduction was only from our Boon, not from their Property: That after all Taxes paid, if all had continued, would have been greater than ever; and the Commerce ſaid to be oppreſſed, would, upon the Whole, have been far more flouriſhing than if no Duties had been laid, and at the ſame Time none of the above-mentioned Advantages given.

Even without entering into the Value of theſe Additions to their Trade, the Bounties alone on but two or three Articles, would have enabled them to ſupport the new Impoſitions; for ſhould this Country be ſupplied from *America* with the Commodities upon which they are given, the Sum which the Colonies would thereby entitle themſelves to receive from the Government here, would have been a Fund for anſwering the Demand

mand of Government upon them; and this Sum is of Ready-money, which they may order to be remitted: It is a direct Grant of ſo much as it may amount to; and ought to be eſtimated as ſuch, independantly of the additional and much greater Value it acquires with them, as the Means of extending their Trade, and encreaſing their Returns.

Nor is this the only Fund lately provided for them: The Encreaſe of the Eſtabliſhments there furniſhes them with another, which alone would more than ballance the Account: For thoſe Eſtabliſhments during the late Peace did not amount to 100,000*l.* *per ann.* and at preſent they are about 350,000*l.* excluſive of the Naval Expence which alſo is greater than it was, and excluſive of Extraordinaries, which in every Part of that Service are augmented; including theſe, the Charge muſt be between four and five hundred thouſand Pounds *per ann.* and though the Whole is not ſpent in that Country, the Cloathing, Arms and other Articles being provided here; yet no Deductions, however liberal, will reduce the actual Expenditure in *America* near ſo low as 160,000*l.* and whatever the Exceſs may be above that Sum, it muſt be remitted thither from *Great Britain*; whatever may be the Amount, it is at the leaſt four Times as much as it uſed to be: So that on this Ground alſo the Colonies are enriched; and they are here again upon the Whole in much better Circumſtances, than if there had been no additional Taxes, and at the ſame Time no additional Eſtabliſhments.

But notwithſtanding theſe Reſources, there is a Scarcity of Coin and Bullion in *America*, and it is therefore, they ſay, impoſſible to pay the Duties, as they are required to be paid, in Silver; which Objection is founded upon a palpable Miſtake; for the Act laying Impoſt Duties in 1764 only declares, that all the Monies therein mentioned *ſhall be deemed to be Sterling Money of* Great Britain, *and ſhall be collected, recovered and paid to the amount of the Value which ſuch nominal Sums bear in* Great Britain; *and that ſuch Monies ſhall and may be received and taken, according to the Proportion and Value of five Shillings and Six-pence the Ounce in Silver.* Theſe alſo were the Words of the Stamp-Act: The Idea is taken in both from the 6th *George* II.; after all

all the Clamour which has been raiſed about it, the very ſame Proviſion is made, and the ſame Expreſſions uſed, in the two Acts paſſed during the laſt Seſſion, for altering the Duties, and for opening Free-Ports in the Plantations; and I will venture to ſay, that in every Revenue Law for *America*, ſome ſimilar Clauſe muſt be inſerted; for the whole Purport of it is only to fix an equal Standard, not varying as Currencies may vary in different Colonies; but had the Clauſe ſtopped here, the Duties muſt have been paid at the Rate of 5*s.* 2*d.* the Ounce, for that is the Sterling Value; the ſubſequent Words are therefore added in order to give an Indulgence to the Colonies of Four-pence in every five Shillings and Six-pence, and the only Effect of omitting them would be to take that Advantage away; the Rate is thereby aſcertained in favour of the Colonies: but the Specie in which the Payments may be made, is no where preſcribed: They may be in Gold as well as in Silver, in Bullion or in Coin, and even in Paper, if the Credit of the Paper be like that of Bank Notes, ſuch as will ſecure the Receivers from a Loſs: If it be not, it would be abſurd to oblige them to take it. But ſtill it is alledged, that as the Money raiſed is to be paid into the Exchequer, the Colonies will be thereby drained of all their Caſh; which indeed would be the Caſe, if the Ballance between them and the Government were not in their favour: But as the Expence of the Eſtabliſhments exceeds the Produce of the Duties, no Money appropriated to the Support of thoſe Eſtabliſhments can ever be brought hither; for the only Uſe which could be made of it, would be to ſend it back again: To prevent therefore this double Remittance, Directions were given that when the Paymaſter General had Occaſion to ſend a Sum of Money to *America*, he ſhould apply to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms or Stamps for Bills upon their Collectors in the Plantations; the Deputy Paymaſters there receive on theſe Bills the Money in the Hands of thoſe Collectors; the Paymaſter here accounts with the Office from whom he has the Bills for the Amount thereof, and the Commiſſioners of that Office pay the Money ſo received of him into the Exchequer: By which

which Tranſaction the Proviſions of the Act are literally obeyed, without drawing a Farthing from *America*.

The only remaining Argument worth Notice, is, that Reſtraints being laid upon the Trade of the Colonies, they ought therefore to be exempted from contributing to the Revenue: A very general Argument indeed, equally applicable to all Times, and to all Taxes; but which would not be a juſt Inference even from a Suppoſition that they had no other Trade than to their Mother Country; and is prepoſterous when applied to a People, whoſe Lands through all their various Soils and Climates are luxuriantly rich in almoſt all the Productions of the Earth, who beſides their inexhauſtible Fiſheries, and beſides their Intercourſe with *Great Britain*, carry on a moſt extenſive Traffick with the *Weſt-Indies*, with *Africa*, and with all Parts of *Europe* to the Southward of Cape *Fineſterre*; and whoſe Seas are from all theſe Cauſes throng'd with Ships, and their Rivers floating with Commerce. This flouriſhing State of their Commerce contradicts all the Complaints which have been made of the Reſtraints laid upon it: For ſuch Reſtraints have ſubſiſted from a very early Period, and under them that Trade has been eſtabliſhed and enlarged, which it is now pretended they oppreſs: They muſt have been more oppreſſive upon Infant Colonies; yet they never prevented their Growth; on the contrary they have been found at all Times, and in all Circumſtances, to be indiſpenſably neceſſary; and in reality, the Acts of Trade do no more than expreſs an implied Condition, which is the firſt Principle of Colonization; for no State would ever have allowed its Subjects to remove into a diſtant Part of its Dominions, if it were thereby to be deprived of their Services and Uſefulneſs: At home their Conſumption and their Labour were all for the Benefit of the Country they lived in; Commodities raiſed, Manufactures made, or foreign Merchandize imported there, were their only poſſible Supply: There only, or by Exportaton from thence, could they find a Vent for ſo much of their own Produce as they wiſhed to diſpoſe of; and they were thus by their Stuation alone the Means by which Induſtry, Navigation, and Revenue, were ſupported. Upon their Migration,

tion, this neceſſity ceaſed: They might then ſupply themſelves from other Places; and give to Foreigners the Carriage, the Uſe, and the Advantage of their Produce. To prevent ſuch a Perverſion, the Acts of Trade confine them in ſeveral Reſpects, and to a certain Degree, only to the ſame Circumſtances in which their Fellow Subjects continue; and compel them by Law to be as ſerviceable to their Country, as they were before obliged to be by Situation. And that excluſive Trade with their Colonies, which is claimed with more or leſs Rigour by all the *European* Powers, is not an injurious Monopoly eſtabliſhed by Force; but is a due Exerciſe of that indiſputable Right which every State, in Excluſion of all others, has to the Services of its own Subjects. Nor was the Exerciſe of it ever ſuppoſed to imply an Exemption from Taxes: The Fact has been otherwiſe from the Beginning. The 15th *Ch.* II. ſtrictly forbids the Importation of any *European* Goods into the Colonies except from *Great Britain*; and all ſuch Goods thereby became liable to the half Subſidy retained on Foreign Merchandize exported from hence; which Merchandize, if conſumed here, was in general charged at that Time with no more than the whole of that Subſidy. The Intercourſe however between our own Colonies being direct, and the Produce of the one when introduced into the other thereby eſcaping all Cuſtoms, a ſimilar Charge was laid upon that alſo by 25th *Ch.* II. and the moſt valuable *American* Productions were ſubjected to the enumerated Duties, on their Exportation from the Places of their Growth to other Colonies. By 7th and 8th, *W.* III. all the Cuſtom-houſe Laws were extended to the Plantations. By 9th *Ann.* thoſe of the Poſt-Office were likewiſe eſtabliſhed there, accompanied with the many Prohibitions, which are neceſſary to ſecure to Government the excluſive Carriage of Letters, and then charging that Conveyance avowedly for the Purpoſe of Revenue. By 7th *G.* I. the Importation of *Eaſt-Indian* as before of *European* Goods into the Colonies, except from *Great Britain*, was prohibited, and theſe alſo thereby incurred the Duties retained on the Exportation of them. By 2d *G.* II. the *American* Seamen were taxed for the Support of *Greenwich* Hoſpital, and by 6th *G.* II. the Produce

Produce of Foreign Plantations imported into our own was loaded with heavy Duties. From this Enumeration it appears, that there never was an Idea of exempting the Colonies: On the contrary, Reſtraints upon their Trade, and Taxes on their Conſumption, have always gone together: And together compoſe the Syſtem, by which they have been conſtantly and happily governed. It is true that theſe Duties were low: So were the Taxes in *Great Britain*, when theſe were laid; and light as they may ſeem at this Time, they were then heavier upon the Colonies, and nearer in Proportion to ſuch as were then levied here, than much higher Duties are now. Our Taxes have been ſince encreaſed many-fold: Their Abilities have been enlarged ſtill faſter: And the great Augmentation of both was made by the laſt War: Our Debt is thereby almoſt doubled: our Eſtabliſhment is now much greater than it was; and their Trade and their Territory are at the ſame Time vaſtly extended. The Proportion between the public Burthens on the Mother-country and the Colonies, as divided when they were in their Infancy, is entirely loſt: And to reſtore that Proportion, and again to make ſomething like a Partition of thoſe Burthens, is no more than maintaining the Syſtem, upon which we have always acted, and to which I own I am partial, becauſe the Colonies have flouriſhed under it beyond all Example in Hiſtory, and I cannot prefer viſionary ſpeculations and novel Doctrines to ſuch an Experience. The *Britiſh* Subjects in *America* are a great commercial People: Perhaps, (if this were a Time for Diſcuſſion,) it might upon Examination appear, that they owe their Greatneſs to the very Laws they complain of: But ſuppoſing the Reverſe, and admitting that if theſe Acts had not interfered, their Commerce would have been more extenſive than it is: Can it be a Principle that no Country ought ever to be taxed, whoſe Trade is not carried ſo far as it might be? Or if Reſtraints upon Trade be alone a Reaſon againſt Taxing, is it material by what Means thoſe Reſtraints are impoſed? Surely the Conſequences are the ſame, whether a prohibitory Law, the Situation of the Country, or any other Circumſtance be the Cauſe: And in this Light many Inland Counties of this Iſland have a better Claim to an Exemption

emption than the Colonies: Even the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* at large have as good a Title: For no Restraint upon Trade is more severe or more effectual, than Accumulation of Taxes; they are oppressive upon all Branches of Commerce, and fatal to many; we are actually at this Time precluded from several and in danger of losing more, on Account of the heavy Impositions we labour under: And Inability thus incurred is a better Plea than any other for Favour and Relaxation: But after all, it is totally indifferent to this Question what the Means are by which a People acquires Wealth, or from what Means of acquiring it they are debarred: The Extent not the Cause of their Abilities is the only Consideration: And that the Share of the Public Burthen which was allotted to the Colonies, was not disproportioned to their Abilities, has been shewn already.

If from what has been said it appears, that no Principle of Finance or of Commerce forbids the Taxing of the Colonies for the Purposes of Revenue only; it must on the other Hand be admitted that the Circumstances of this Country call for every Aid which any of its Subjects can give: And there was a peculiar Propriety in requiring it from the *Americans*, who have contributed so little, and for whom so much had been done: But I will dwell no longer on a Subject, which has carried me already to a Length, which its Importance only can excuse; and with the Remarks it has suggested, I will conclude the Considerations which have occurred to me on the Conduct of the Administration during the Years 1764 and 1765, with Respect to the Revenue and the Trade of these Kingdoms: That of their Successors will not detain me so long: They have done but little: They have indeed undone much; but if the former Measures have been proved to be right, the Reverse of them will require no very elaborate Discussion: And a short Examination will shew that the Ministers who made the Alterations, did not deviate in any one Instance from the Plan of their Predecessors, without doing Mischief to the Revenue; which Examination will be still shorter, and the Comparison of the Measures more easy, if I conform as nearly as I can to the Method already observed in stating the several Particulars.

The

The Plan for paying off the public Debt has, with Respect to the Articles of it, been the same: But there is a wide Difference with Respect to the Amount of the Debt discharged in this and the last Year; and less Care has been taken to prevent its accumulating again.

The Liquidation of the *German* Demands was very nearly finished under the former Administration, and the Payment of them also far advanced; as no more than 106,043*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ of the miscellaneous Demands were unprovided for; to which must be added the third Instalment of 50,000*l.* to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, which became due this Year.

The Navy Debt left outstanding last Year was 2,426,915*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* and on 31st *December*, 1765, it was 2,484,595*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ but the Difference is much greater than on these States it seems to be, for in the former is included an over-reckoning of 340,344*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* which is now deducted; in comparing therefore the two Accounts, either the same Deduction must be made from the former, or the Sum deducted must be restored to the latter; and either way the Difference between them will be 398,024*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$, which is additional Debt contracted in the Year 1765, consisting partly of Arrears of the War, and partly of Exceedings beyond the parliamentary Provision for Re-buildings and Repairs. It is very well known that the Practice of annually accumulating the Navy Debt was strongly opposed by the former Administration: But their Endeavours to restrain it have been ill supported; a large Sum appears in this Account to have been expended before it was provided for: And though so much has been done towards repairing the Navy; and notwithstanding the much greater Provision now made for that Service; still I fear that we do not yet see the End of the Navy Debt, which, for the present is reduced as low as it well can be, the 1,200,000*l.* voted this Year towards paying it off, being sufficient to discharge all that was payable when the Account was made up.

The Prospect is no better with Respect to the Extraordinaries of the Army, which instead of approaching towards an Estimate, are thrown back into a greater Uncertainty than ever. Not that

 they

they will again amount to 479,088*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*$\frac{3}{4}$, which is the Sum voted laſt Seſſion for diſcharging them, a very large Proportion of that Sum being for the Remains of the War: But even the current Expences will be uncontrouled, if better Care be not taken of thoſe in *America*; the former Miniſters had begun to regulate them: And had given Orders to reſtrain the diſcretionary Powers exerciſed both by the military and civil Officers there, in the incurring of Expence: but lately inſtead of Aſſurances that ſuch Orders ſhall be enforced, the Difficulty of complying with them has been pleaded: And tho' Directions were ſent to prepare Calculations of the ordinary Charges, from which Eſtimates might be formed, and Parliament might know and limit the Services; and thoſe Calculations were received many Months ago; yet no ſuch Eſtimates have been produced; all the Licence introduced by the War, and which had not been corrected, ſtill prevails; and firſt by Neglect, and afterwards by Indeciſion, the Uncertainty has been ſo increaſed, that not only the Extent, but even the Nature of the Services is unknown: the Change of Circumſtances in the Colonies ſuggeſts an Alteration: But is that Alteration to be made? Are we ſtill to protect their extended Frontier? Or are the Troops to be removed into other Parts? Or are they to be entirely withdrawn? The Charge will be very different in theſe different Diſpoſitions: And though while *America* was obedient, and a Revenue there was in view, this Country might undertake to repel the Hoſtilities, or to purchaſe the Friendſhip of the *Indians*; yet ſurely we ſhall not now be ſo ready to provide for that Service, which the Colonies alone uſed to bear, but to which they now refuſe to contribute: or at the leaſt we have a Right to know, whether the Service is to be performed, what it will amount to, and who is to defray the Expence.

The Extraordinaries of the Ordnance and the *Nova Scotia* Debt do not ſuggeſt any particular Obſervations: The former amount this Year to 35,061*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* and the latter to 8,008*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* The Intereſt alſo of the 1,000,000*l.* Exchequer Bills which the Bank in 1764 contracted to circulate for two Years, is now brought to account, amounting to 51,763*l.*

The

The Deficiencies of Grants are not in reality ſo great as they appear to be: For the Articles which properly fall under that Deſcription, *viz.* the Intereſt of the 800,000*l.* Exchequer Bills, the Deficiency of the Coinage Duty, the Deficiency occaſioned by the *French* Prize Money not being ſettled before the Cloſe of the Year, the Difference between the real and eſtimated Deficiency of the Land and Malt, and the Difference between the Supply and Ways and Means laſt Year, all together amount only to 224,124*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*$\frac{3}{4}$, but then no more than 3,296*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*$\frac{1}{2}$, of the *African* and *American* Duties were paid into the Exchequer before *Chriſtmas*; not that the Produce had fallen ſo far ſhort of the 72,000*l.* for which they were given: On the contrary Accounts tranſmitted from ſome of the Colonies ſhewed the Nett Receipt in them only to have been above 24,000*l.* and no Accounts were yet arrived from the *Leeward Iſlands*, *Dominica*, *Eaſt-Florida*, *Georgia*, or *Bermudas*. As to the Duties on Gum Senega, and the Regulations which accompanied them, they did not take Place in Time to catch the Seaſon for that Trade; but both the 12,000*l.* charged upon them, and the 60,000*l.* charged upon the *American* Duties, were given at large out of the Produce whenever it ſhould ariſe, and not confined to the Year 1765; ſo that the whole will come in: But as 68,703*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*$\frac{1}{2}$, was at *Chriſtmas* wanting in the Exchequer to compleat the Sums for which theſe Duties were given, it was thought proper to vote ſo much as a Deficiency; and to apply the Monies already raiſed but not paid in, and thoſe which are ſtill to be raiſed under the Vote of laſt Year, to the Service of the preſent: In Conſequence of which the Deficiencies of Grants appear to be 292,828*l.* 4*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$

The Deficiencies of Funds conſiſt of the following Articles:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Deficiency of Annuity Fund 1758 —	45,561	7	10$\frac{1}{2}$
Deficiency of Annuity Fund 1763 —	29,211	12	6
Navy Annuities — —	139,342	2	4
Charges of Management of ſaid Annuities for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Years — —	4,898	14	9$\frac{1}{2}$
Navy Annuities from 29th *September* 1765, to 25th *December* —	8,708	17	7$\frac{3}{4}$
	227,722	15	1$\frac{3}{4}$

The

The Amount on this State of them is leſs by near 10,000*l.* than it was in the preceding Year; and if the *Chriſtmas* Quarter of the Navy Annuities advanced to compleat the Payment of 25 *per cent.* upon them, be deducted, as being no Part of the Charge upon the Sinking Fund for 1765, the Account of which is cloſed in *October*; then the Difference in the Deficiencies of Funds between the laſt and the preceding Year, is above 18,000*l.* owing principally to the encreaſed Produce of the Cyder Tax; and that Duty would have continued, as I have already obſerved, to be upon an Average a much more efficient Fund than it was at firſt: But it is repealed; and others leſs productive are ſubſtituted in its ſtead, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew more at large hereafter.

The ſaving on the Head of Deficiencies by the Payment above-mentioned of 25 *per cent.* on the Navy Annuities, will however appear in the next Account: And that wiſe Plan for reducing the Funded Debt, has been followed exactly this Year, a further Sum of 870,888*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*½, being given for that Purpoſe: Including this, the Account of Debt funded and unfunded which has been diſcharged and provided for in the Supplies for 1766, ſtands thus:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Miſcellaneous *German* Demands —	106,043	13	8¾
Reaſonable Succour to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*,	50000	0	0
Navy Debt — — —	1,200,000	0	0
Army Extraordinaries — —	479,088	10	6¾
Ordnance Extraordinaries —	35,061	6	2
Deficiencies of Grants — —	292,828	0	4¾
Deficiencies of Funds — —	227,722	15	1¾
Towards paying off Navy Annuities —	870,888	5	5½
Nova Scotia Debt — —	8,008	12	7
Intereſt of Bank Exchequer Bills —	51,763	0	0
Total Debt diſcharged and provided for *	3,321,404	3	11½

* The Articles provided for cannot in this Account be ſeparated from thoſe diſcharged: But the Amount of them may be aſcertained: As the Loan this Year is for 1,500,000*l.* ſo much of the Total 3,321,404*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*½, has been provided for, and the remaining 1,821,404*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*½ diſcharged.

This

This Sum is leſs than the Debt paid off and provided for in the preceding Year by 576,164*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*¾, even allowing that the *American* and *African* Duties not yet received in the Exchequer, are to be conſidered as deficient; but if that Deficiency cannot ſtrictly be called a Debt, as there was a Proviſion for making it good, which is now applied to other Purpoſes; and 68,703*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*½ ſhould therefore be deducted from this Account; then the Difference in the Amount of Debt diſcharged and provided for in 1765 and 1766, will be no leſs than 644,868*l.* though the Loan is as great, and the Sinking Fund greater this Year than the laſt.

The ſame Quantity alſo of Exchequer Bills are outſtanding, and on the ſame Terms: The Bank are to circulate 1,000,000*l.* at 3 *per cent.* and the other 800,000*l.* will be diſpoſed of in Payments as uſual: So that in this Part of the Debt no Advance has been made; there will be as many Bills in the Market, and the Publick will pay as much for Intereſt as before.

The Deficiency of Land and Malt though ſeparated from the general Account of Debts diſcharged, is ſtill a Part of the Supply, and is this Year eſtimated at 360,000*l.* which is the higheſt it can be on any Calculation, and more than it probably will be, even in the preſent State of that Revenue: But when the Reduction of Intereſt upon the Loan which was begun laſt Year, ſhall have fully taken Place, a Saving will be thereby made of above 40,000 *l. per Ann.* and if the Land-Tax were reduced one Shilling in the Pound, above 20,000*l. per Ann.* more would be ſaved *: But this deſireable Object is now removed to a greater Diſtance than it was: Many of the Meaſures which tended to prepare the Way to it, are over-turned; others are weakened; and ſome are diverted to different Purpoſes: The Conſequence of which is that the Burthen is continued upon the Land-holders; and the Charge of Intereſt upon the Publick will, in this Reſpect, remain undiminiſhed. Thus the Deficiency of Land and Malt, and the Deficiencies of Funds, the Navy and the Army Extraordinaries will all be greater than they would have been

* I ſuppoſe in both Inſtances that the Money borrowed is outſtanding a Year and an Half, which is certainly a moderate Allowance.

under

under the former Adminiſtration, and ſurely the Miniſters were not intitled to be more free to incur Debt, who had done ſo much leſs in diſcharging it.

That ſo little has been done, is owing to the Encreaſe of the Eſtabliſhment, to the Diminution of the Revenue, and to the Want of Activity or Ability to find ſuch Sums and Funds, as might by proper Management be made applicable to the publick Service. With Reſpect to the Eſtabliſhment, the Augmentation is general, as will appear by ſtating the ſeveral Particulars.

The Money voted for Naval Services, excluſive of the Navy Debt, are as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
16,000 Seamen, including 4287 Mariners	832,000	0	0
Ordinary of the Navy — —	412,983	6	3
Buildings, Re-buildings, and Repairs	277,300	0	0
	1,522,283	6	3

The uſual Proviſion for *Greenwich* Hoſpital was unneceſſary this Year, there being Money ſufficient in hand to anſwer all immediate Purpoſes: Nor was there any Occaſion to apply to Parliament on account of the Lazaret, that Building not being yet begun, and conſequently the Money already given remaining uniſſued: but neither of theſe are permanent Savings; the Services are only omitted in the preſent, and will be reſtored in ſubſequent Years: So that the Eſtabliſhment is in fact larger by 10,000*l.* than on the above Account it appears to be, and exceeds that of laſt Year by 81,316*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The principal Augmentation is in the Re-buildings and Repairs, to which 77,300*l.* are added: An Addition, which ſeems to me abſolutely needleſs, as there are already between ſixty and ſeventy Ships of the Line in compleat Repair: To man theſe and a proportionable Number of Frigates, Sloops, and ſmaller Veſſels, would require near 60,000 Men, and if a War ſhould break out, the 16,000 born on the preſent Eſtabliſhment could not in ſeveral Months be raiſed to that Number; all which Time the Repairs would proceed; and Ships would conſtantly be ready, before Men could be

be procured for them. To provide more than can be employed, is not only an immediate Expence which the Occaſion does not call for: but an annual Charge is thereby incurred for keeping ſo many in repair; and the Ordinary of the Navy is alſo raiſed by the Number: The Eſtabliſhment of the laſt Year was very large: It appears to have been fully adequate to the Service: And I know no Reaſon for encreaſing it.

The Bounty to Navy Chaplains, which was a ſeparate Article of Supply, is now included in the Ordinary: And in the Eſtabliſhment of the Army, the *African* is incorporated into the Plantation Service, and the Horſe-guards reduced into the Half-pay. This being premiſed, the Sums voted for the Army appear by the following State of them to be little different from thoſe of laſt Year, except that another *Iriſh* Regiment is taken into *Britiſh* Pay, and that the reduced Officers of ſome particular Corps are on Account of their peculiar Circumſtances raiſed to full Pay. The whole Account ſtands thus.

	£.	s.	d.
Guards and Garriſons - -	605,608	19	9
Plantations, *Minorca*, *Gibraltar*, and *Africa*	394,505	1	3 5/8
General and Staff Officers - -	11,291	8	6 1/2
Reduced Officers - - -	138,674	0	0
Chelſea Hoſpital - - -	109,875	16	8
Penſions to Widows - -	1,614	0	0
Difference between *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Pay -	7,993	11	4
Full Pay to reduced Officers - -	5,718	6	8
	1,275,281	4	3 1/8

The Reaſon of the Increaſe on this Head having been given, no other Obſervation ariſes upon it. The Proviſion for the Ordnance Service is alſo enlarged, it being now 180,445*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* the chief Cauſe of which is ſome new Works in *Jamaica*; of the Propriety and Extent of which Expence, I can form no Judgment.

The

The other miſcellaneous Articles of the Supply are;

	£.	s.	d.
* Pay and Cloathing of the Militia -	150,000	0	0
Britiſh Muſeum - - -	2,000	0	0
For *Nova Scotia* - - -	4,866	3	5
For *Georgia* - - -	3,986	0	0
Eaſt Florida - - -	5,250	0	0
Weſt Florida - - -	5,300	0	0
General Surveys of *America* - -	1,784	4	0
To the *African* Committee - -	13,000	0	0
For the civil Eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of *Africa*	5,550	0	0
For the Foundling Hoſpital - -	33,892	10	0
	225,628	17	5

In almoſt every Article of this Account which could be altered, an Alteration has been made for the worſe: The Militia and the *African* Committee are ſettled Services, and remain as they were: The Diminution in the Expence of the Foundling Hoſpital is in conſequence of the Meaſures taken formerly for getting rid of it entirely: And the only Savings are in that and in the civil Eſtabliſhment of *Nova Scotia:* On every other Head there is an Increaſe; and Room has been found for ſome poor deſpicable Pittance of Extravagance in Services which would not admit of a large Augmentation; the Amount of many ſuch is not indeed very great; but when this Diſpoſition to ſwell the national Expence pervades every Branch of the ſupply, it is an alarming Symptom of a general Relaxation in the whole Syſtem, and every Demand, every Pretence, becomes the Foundation of a Charge upon the Publick. The ſeveral Additions to the Eſtabliſhment actually voted in ſpecific Sums, amount to no leſs all together than 94,270*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* And in other Articles of annual Expence which cannot be exactly defined, ſuch as the Navy Debt and the Extraordinaries of the Army, inſtead of Attention and Strictneſs, Neglect and Conceſſion have prevailed: The Funds will be leſs productive than they were; in conſe-

* I have throughout ſtated the Militia at the Sum voted for it, which is the only Rule for me to go by: Though the Expence of that Corps is probably not the ſame as it thus appears to be: But it cannot be aſcertained till a compleat Account s made out, which has not yet been done.

quence

quence of the Repeal of the Cyder Tax; and a Reduction in the Deficiency of the Land and Malt by a Reduction of the Land-Tax, is poſt-poned to that very diſtant Day, when the Revenue thus over-charged, and at the ſame Time, as will preſently appear, miſerably impaired, will allow of ſo great a Diminution. Againſt this Waſte of the publick Treaſure, it is ridiculous to ſet in Balance the ſingle ſaving made this Year in the whole Eſtabliſhment; there is but one; and that is of only 45*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* in the Civil Government of *Nova Scotia.* Another indeed was attempted in the Militia: There was an Inclination to be ſparing of the public Money for the ſupport of that conſtitutional Corps, which would have been weakened and diſcouraged by the intended Reduction of Serjeants, and by depriving the Men of the Perquiſite of their Cloathing: But this Attempt happily failed: And in no other Inſtance did the Miniſters laſt Seſſions ſhew any Symptom of Frugality: The Decreaſe in ſome Articles of the Supply being as I have already ſhewn the Conſequence of former Meaſures, in which they can pretend to no other Merit, than the having in Contradiction to themſelves adopted ſome Parts of a Syſtem, the whole of which they condemned.

The ſeveral Particulars of the Supply for the year 1766 having been ſtated, the Account of the whole ſtands thus,

	£.	s.	d.
Debt provided for - -	1,500,000	0	0
Debt diſcharged - -	1,821,404	3	11½
Exchequer Bills - -	1,800,000	0	0
Deficiency of Land and Malt -	360,000	0	0
Navy - -	1,522,283	6	3
Army - -	1,275,281	4	3½
Ordnance - -	180,445	19	3
Miſcellaneous Articles - -	225,628	17	5
Total	8,685,043	11	1⅝

If from this profuſe Supply we turn our Eyes to the Revenues which are to ſupport it, we ſhall not only miſs the Improvements which are due, but ſee eſtabliſhed Funds diminiſhed, and further Reſources prevented: The Ways and Means for the preſent Year contain ſome Inſtances, and lead the Enquiry to others: I will

therefore

therefore endeavour first to give a State of them, and according to the best Information I can procure, they are as follow.

	£.	s.	d.
Land and Malt — —	2,750,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills — —	1,800,000	0	0
Militia Money — —	80,000	0	0
Part of the Composition for *French* Prisoners —	181,000	0	0
Army Savings — —	74,777	14	0
Money remaining of the last Year's Grant for *African* Companies — —	2,321	14	10½
Ditto of the last Grant for the Foundling Hospital	1,167	10	0
American Revenues — —	60,000	0	0
Duties on Gum Senega — —	12,000	0	0
Out of the Produce of the *French* Prizes —	29,000	0	0
From the Sale of Land in the ceded Islands —	20,000	0	0
Annuities and Lottery — —	1,500,000	0	0
Sinking Fund gived for —	2,150,000	0	0
Total	8,660,266	18	10

The Land and Malt, the Exchequer Bills, and the Militia Money, require no particular Notice; the Duties on Gum Senega are not liable this Year to the Disappointment of the last. The Savings on the *African* Companies, and on the Foundling Hospital Accounts, are but Overplus of the Grants for those Services in 1765. The Army Savings are only upon the Pay; and the Produce of the *French* Prizes was before in a Course of legal Proceeding; none of the Money expected from thence was paid in last Year; the Deficiency thereby occasioned is provided for in the Deficiencies of Grants: But a Part now actually has been, or at least is ready to be paid: And therefore 29,000*l.* is taken again on that Head in the Ways and Means for the present Year.

The Composition of *French* Prisoners, and the Sale of Lands in the ceded Islands, were Measures of the former Ministry; and the Publick therefore avails itself of those Aids now without any Obligation to their Successors: But it rests upon them to shew why more is not on both Accounts applied to the Service. The Composition made in 1765 did not include the Prisoners taken in the *East-Indies* or in *Germany*; yet the Demands for these do not appear to have been either of them since settled; and there is too much Reason to doubt, that as that was I believe the first, so

so it will be the last Instance of Money recovered from *France* by this Country. With Respect to the Produce of the Lands in the ceded Islands, the first Sale which was held about Twelve Months ago, produced above 127,000*l.* There has by this Time been another: Upon both, the Purchasers pay 20 *per cent.* at the Time of Sale; and 10 *per cent.* within the Year; 30 *per cent.* therefore must have been received on the First, and 20 on the Second; and the Expences of the Commission cannot be so great as to reduce these Instalments to 20,000*l.* at which Sum they are computed.

The Loan of this Year agrees with that of the last only in the Amount: But the Terms upon which it is made are much worse; and the Duties which compose the Fund are far more burthensome. The Plan of it is indeed taken from the former omitting the Option of Survivorships: Three-fifths therefore are in redeemable Annuities, and Two-fifths in a Lottery, all at 3 *per cent.* but the Circumstances of the Publick are better now than they were then, and it is on them that the Merit of a Bargain depends: The Stocks were about 2 *per cent.* higher when the latter was made: And an Advantage of so much on the redeemable Annuities, is a Difference of 1 ⅕ *per cent.* upon the whole Subscription. But besides this, the redeemable Annuities bear Interest from the 5th *January* last, by which Means the Government pays a double Interest upon the whole 900,000*l.* for four Months, and upon Part of it for Ten: For this Loan being intended to reduce Debt now at 4 *per cent.* to three, the former Rate must go on, till the Payments enable the Government to discharge the Debt; and the first Payment was not before 8th *May*, and the last will not be till 15th *November*, to which Time 4 *per cent.* is continued on so much of the 1,500,000*l.* as is not paid in, while 3 *per cent.* is incurred from *January* on 900,000*l.* whether paid in or not: by which Concurrence of Charges, the Interest upon the Sum of 1,500,000*l.* will at the End of the Year amount to to 63,406*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*¼; whereas on the same Sum last Year it was no more than 48,750, because then the 4 *per cent.* ceased and the 3 *per cent.* commenced on the same Day. The Difference of 14,656*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*¼ is an unnecessary Expence to the Public, when a Diminution rather than an Increase of the Charge might have been expected: And it is at the same Time an additional Profit to the Subscribers of very near 1 *per cent.* which with the Advan-

 tage

tage above-mentioned of $1\frac{1}{4}$, makes their Bargain above 2 *per cent.* better than that of laſt Year, excluſive of the Facilities which the Lightneſs and the Diſtance of the Payments gives them, and which the Nature of the former Subſcription of Navy Bills would not admit of: The whimſical Miſtakes of fixing the ſecond Payment on a Sunday, and the firſt Payments on the Annuities and on the Lottery upon different Days, have indeed thrown this Part of the Scheme into ſome Perplexity; but ſtill the Convenience is conſiderable, and the other Profits are thereby both encreaſed and ſecured. In Anſwer to all this, it is ſaid, that the Terms of the former Loan were too hard, ſo that the Subſcribers loſt by it: A Charge indeed of no great Weight, as the making of too good a Bargain for the Publick is not a very common or a very heinous Offence, and in this Inſtance it cannot be univerſally true; becauſe the Subſcribers were exactly even who ſold their Tickets for 11*l.* 19*s.* and Tickets were before the Drawing at all Prices between 11*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and 12*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* if all therefore had been diſpoſed of at the loweſt Price, the Subſcribers would have loſt no more than $1\frac{1}{6}$ *per cent.*; but now, without taking the Profits made by thoſe who ſold at the higher Prices into Conſideration, and only becauſe ſome might loſe $1\frac{2}{6}$ *per cent.*; an Advantge of above two *per cent.* is given to all the Subſcribers of this Year over thoſe of the laſt: And for that Purpoſe the Public is put to an extraordinary Expence of near 15,000*l.* in borrowing the ſame Sum, with equal Aid in both Caſes from a Lottery, and when the State of the Finances and of the Stocks were far more favourable to ſuch an Operation at the one Time than at the other.

The Difference between the two Tranſactions appears ſtill more conſpicuouſly upon comparing the Funds created on each Occaſion: The Duties which compoſed the Fund of laſt Year have been already ſhewn to fall chiefly upon Foreigners, to be rather beneficial than detrimental to Trade, and there has not been a Surmiſe of their being deficient, when they ſhall have fully taken Place: but the additional Tax upon Windows is an Impoſition upon thoſe who had a better Claim than any others to an Exemption from further Burthens, and the Produce will certainly be greatly ſhort of the Annuities charged upon it: To prove this and

and to prepare the Way for ſuch other Obſervations as the ſubject ſuggeſts, I will firſt ſhew in one View the Number of Houſes and of Windows, and the Amount of the Duties upon each, both before and ſince the paſſing of the Act of this Seſſions. The following is a State of them.

Number of Houſes.	Number of Windows per Houſe.	Charge under the former Acts per Window.		Charge at preſent per Window.		Encreaſe.	Decreaſe.	Charge under the former Acts per Houſe.			Charge at preſent per Houſe.			Encreaſe.		Decreaſe.	
		s.	d	s.	d.	d.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
400,273	7	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0
9,336	8	1	0	0	6	0	6	0	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0
29,378	9	1	0	0	8	0	4	0	9	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	0
15,564	10	1	0	0	10	0	2	0	10	0	0	8	4	0	0	1	8
48,247	11	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
6,358	12	1	6	1	2	0	4	0	18	0	0	14	0	0	0	4	0
9,230	13	1	6	1	4	0	2	0	19	6	0	17	4	0	0	2	2
25,384	14	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
6,994	15	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	2	6	1	2	6	0	0	0	0
6,951	16	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
7,159	17	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	5	6	1	5	6	0	0	0	0
8,070	18	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	7	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0
14,213	19	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	8	6	1	8	6	0	0	0	0
4,135	20	1	6	1	7	1	0	1	10	0	1	11	8	1	8	0	0
3,262	21	1	6	1	8	2	0	1	11	6	1	15	0	3	6	0	0
3,100	22	1	6	1	9	3	0	1	13	0	1	18	6	5	6	0	0
2,951	23	1	6	1	10	4	0	1	14	6	2	2	2	7	8	0	0
3,091	24	1	6	1	11	5	0	1	16	0	2	6	0	10	0	0	0
2,964	25	1	6	2	0	6	0	1	17	6	2	10	0	12	6	0	0

The Number of Houſes having 26 Windows and upwards does not appear: But the Number of Windows in ſuch Houſes is known to be 1,340,292 which are all raiſed alike to 2*s.* from 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* Window: In Houſes below that Point, the Rates generally vary according to the Number of Windows, and therefore in moſt of them the ſtopping up of one Window will be the Means not only of ſaving the Duty upon that one, but alſo of lowering the Rate upon all the others: The Temptation has been found to be irreſiſtable upon every additional Window Tax, wherever the Line has been drawn, thoſe immediately above have endeavoured to get below it; and this is the Reaſon that the Houſes containing ſeven, nine, eleven, fourteen and nineteen Windows are ſo much more numerous than thoſe of eight, ten, twelve, fifteen,

fifteen, and twenty, the Lines having been drawn at different Periods between those several Numbers: But by 2d *G.* III. this Multiplicity of Divisions was taken away, and only one left between Houses of eleven and of twelve Windows, all below paying 1*s.* and all above 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* Window. The Disproportion therefore in the Number of Houses on each Side of that Line is as 48,247 to 6,994: At the same Time, as the Tax then stopped entirely at Houses of eight Windows, all that could be were brought down below that Point, and therefore the Number of Houses having seven was encreased to 400,273. By the Act of this Sessions, those of seven are included; the consequence of which will be that the major Part of them will be reduced to six: And the Temptation is also extended to a great Variety of Persons, who before could not attempt to get below the only Line then drawn, and therefore could avoid the Charge only upon such Windows as they closed; but now that fourteen Classes are established instead of two, most of the Housholders in *England* may by stopping up one Window descend to a lower Class, and thereby make a Saving upon all the others: Thus by shutting one in ten, 3*s.* 8d. instead of 1*s.*; or one in twenty-five, 4*s.* instead of 1*s.* 6*d.*; or two in eleven, 5*s.* instead of 2*s.*; or two in twenty-four, 7*s.* 6*d.* instead of 3*s.* may be saved; and in the same Manner through all the others proportionably: Past Experience of the Extent to which such Oeconomy will operate, forbids us to flatter ourselves that when the Temptations are multiplied they will be less attended to, and whatever the Effect may be, it is in Diminution of the Produce not only of these, but also of the former Duties: These are calculated at 53,310*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* on a Supposition that not one Window will be closed to evade the additional Charges: But if on the contrary one Window in every House should be stopped, the whole Tax will be annihilated, as such a Saving will altogether amount to 53,813*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* and though the Practice should not be universal, it will certainly prevail so far as to cause a great Deficiency; to what Extent, I must leave upon the above Calculations to the Conclusions which every Man will form, who remembers former Occasions. But it is said that some of the Rates being reduced, many Persons will now open those Windows which they had shut before; this is to suppose that men, who have been at some Expence in order

order to avoid, will now be at a greater on purpose to incur an annual Charge: For still no Man can open a Window (except in Houses having from 14 to 19 or above 25) without raising the Rate on all the others: And none will chuse to pay 4*s.* because he must pay 1*s.* 2*d.* or raise his 11*s.* to 14*s.* rather than reduce it to 8*s.* 4*d.* for one Person who will thus thrust himself into a higher Class by opening, there will be hundreds who will retire into a lower Class by stopping up a Window.

By this Specimen of their Abilities, the Talents of the last Ministers in finding Ways and Means, seem equal to those which they shewed in planning the Supply: It was Extravagance in the one: Deficiency in the other. And this Tax so far as it may be productive, though always advanced, and sometimes born by the Tenant, yet will often be ultimately paid by him who pays Four Shillings in the Pound already: Those who live on the Interest of a personal Estate, or on the Earnings of their Industry, are generally free from Charges upon the Means of their Subsistance: while the landed Men are taxed not in their Consumption only, but also in their Income; they bear a burthen now heavier than usual in Times of Peace: They have born it long; the Prospect of a Diminution is more uncertain than it was: And at the very Time that the expected Relief has by Mismanagement been removed to a greater Distance, another Imposition is laid upon them; a perpetual is added to an annual Land-Tax; and the latter is more unequal than the former, as it falls principally upon those whose Estates are in Houses, which are in themselves the worst Estates of any, and the Support of which is already under sufficient Discouragements: The Expences attending them, and the accumulated Load upon landed Property, and upon this Species of it particularly, co-operating with the other Taxes, have been in a great Measure the Cause of uniting Farms, depopulating the Country, and enhancing the Price of Provisions. The Effect has been so great, that instead of 986,482 which was the Number of Houses in *England* and *Wales* no longer ago than the Year 1759, there are now but 980,692, and the Destruction of 5,790 * in so short a Space as eight Years, is

* The Destruction in the Country must be greater than on this Account it appears to be; Part of it being ballanced by the new Buildings in *Westminster* which are

is ſuch a Symptom of Diſtreſs and Depopulation, as to require every Attention to check the Progreſs of the Evil, and to avoid any Meaſures which may accelerate or encreaſe it: Relief to the landed Intereſt is now no longer the Concern of the Individuals only who are to receive that Relief, but is become an important national Conſideration.

If however a Window Tax, becauſe payable by the Tenant, is to be conſidered as actually born by him, then the additional Duty falls upon the Inhabitants of Houſes having ſeven or more than twenty Windows: Near half of it is intended to be raiſed upon the former: That therefore will be paid by Labourers and Handicraftſmen: And as Manufactures are either carried on in large Buildings erected for the Purpoſe, or in the private Houſes of the Workmen, which are very generally thoſe of about ſeven Windows, the new Duty will in the one Place or the other, and perhaps in both, light upon Manufactures: In this Reſpect it differs from the Duties impoſed laſt year, which were even beneficial to them: It differs too in another, that inſtead of affecting principally Foreigners, and none but the rich, a large Proportion of the Burthen is thrown upon one of the loweſt Ranks of the People: And it is fallacious to ſet the Alleviation given to others by diminiſhing ſome of the former Duties, as a Ballance againſt this new Impoſition: For in the whole Kingdom no more than 69,866 Houſes will be benefited by all the Reductions, 117,016 remain as they were: The Rate is higher than it uſed to be on all the reſt: And of the Revenue expected from the whole, 23,349*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* is intended to be levied upon a Claſs of Men, who are poorer than any of thoſe relieved by the Alterations, and who have never been before comprehended in this Species of Taxation.

All the *American* Revenues now left do not much exceed the new Duty thus laid upon the Poor of this Country; for though 60,000*l.* be given out of thoſe Revenues in the Ways and Means for the preſent Year, yet that is not the ſuppoſed annual Produce, but is a Sum made up of all ſuch Monies remitted from the Colonies as were remaining in the Exchequer for the Diſpoſition of

are taken into a general Account of the Houſes in the Kingdom: If theſe were deducted from the Ballance, the Number deſtroyed in the Country would be ſeen to be much more than 5,790.

Parliament,

Parliament, and as ſhall be paid into the ſaid Receit before 5th *April* 1767. It has been already obſerved that above 24,000*l.* nett were received in *America* before 10th *October* laſt, excluſive of all which might have been raiſed in the *Leeward* Iſlands, *Eaſt Florida*, *Georgia*, the *Bermudas* and *Dominica:* When the Accounts from thoſe Places come in, the Produce of 1765 will probably appear to have been about 27,000*l.* or 28,000*l.*; of which little more than 3,000*l.* were applied to the Services of the Year in which they were raiſed; above 23,000*l.* are made over to the Ways and Means of the preſent Year, and are part of the 60,000*l.* above-mentioned. The reſt of that Sum is at the leaſt five Quarters further Receit, ſuppoſing that none received in the Plantations after *Chriſtmas* 1766, will be paid into the Exchequer before 7th *April* 1767; the annual Produce therefore is not now eſtimated at 30,000*l.* which is little more than was raiſed by the impoſt Duties in the firſt Year, which is always deficient;* and there can be no Reaſon for ſtating them ſo low now, unleſs on a Suppoſition that they will be diminiſhed by the Alterations made in them: A Suppoſition, which however denied in Words is by this Eſtimate in reality avowed, and which will be eaſily accounted for by conſidering thoſe Alterations: The principal Reduction is in the Duty upon foreign Molaſſes, which is lowered from 3*d.* to 1*d. per* Gallon: When it was laid two Years ago, the *Weſt-Indians* urged an Impoſition of 4*d.* as neceſſary to ſecure the Preference due to *Britiſh* Molaſſes: The *North Americans* deſired it might be no more than 2*d.* which they thereby acknowledged their Trade could bear: A Medium was therefore taken between the two: But now the Duty is reduced below the loweſt of them: More is given than was asked for before; and on the other Hand, the Preference intended to the Produce of *Britiſh* Plantations is totally taken away, the preſent Duty of one Penny being laid indifferently on all Molaſſes whatſoever. The Reaſons aſſigned for ſo great a Diminution of Revenue, are commercial Conſiderations: But be they ever ſo cogent, admitting all the Inconveniencies to Trade which can be ſuppoſed to attend the Three-penny Duty, it does not follow that Two-pence would have been too much: No Experience is againſt it; on the contrary, the Trade has increaſed and flouriſhed under a Charge exceeding a Penny, for ſo much

* The Deficiency upon theſe muſt have been greater than uſual in the firſt Year of a Tax, from the Nature of the Duties, and from the Diſcontents and Diſorders in *America*.

the

the Expence of Smuggling always amounted to; and ſurely now that it is eſtabliſhed, Two-pence would not be oppreſſive.

This Indulgence to the *North Americans* is accompanied with another to the *Weſt-Indians*, to which, almoſt from the firſt Settlement of their Iſlands, they have been Strangers; the old enumerated Duties laid in the Time of *Charles* the Second upon Sugars exported being now taken away: And whatever the Amount may be, it is ſo much Loſs to the *Britiſh* Revenue. There have been alſo other Alterations made, which ſo far as they extend, are all in Diminution of Revenue: I mean the taking off the Duties upon Coffee and Pimento of *Britiſh* Growth, and upon foreign Coffee, Indigo and Sugar, imported into the Colonies with a View only to be exported; but the Loſs on theſe will, I apprehend, be very inconſiderable, becauſe I do not expect that any great Quantities of ſuch Commodities will be conveyed to *Europe* through the Channel thus intended to be opened for them. The Produce of our own Colonies which will be carried to other Colonies of our own, in order to be brought hither, muſt be very trifling: As to the Produce of the foreign Iſlands, if we could get the Carriage of them, it would be a valuable Acquiſition: But the *French* know the Importance of it: They are in Poſſeſſion; they will endeavour to preſerve it; and they have the Means of preſerving it. The procuring of Cotton by the ſame Means is of ſtill more Conſequence, as that is a material of Manufacture; and therefore every Encouragement which can be ſhould be given, to encreaſe the Importation, and to leſſen the Price of it. The Exemption from Duties granted laſt Seſſion have a Tendency to that End: But the Plan hitherto produced is very imperfect, becauſe though it procures a temporary Supply to the immediate Want, yet it retards at the leaſt, if it does not entirely prevent, the permanent Security which might be provided againſt it; and while it aſſiſts the Manufactory at home, is prejudicial to the Colonies: for all facilities given to the Conſumption of foreign Cotton, diſcourages the Culture of it in the *Britiſh* Plantations: The Soil and Climate of the ceded Iſlands are peculiarly proper for producing it; and the Circumſtances of firſt Settlers naturally lead them to raiſe ſuch a Commodity: But the neighbouring *French* Iſlands have got the Start of them in the Growth, and have now Advan-

tages

tages over them in the Sale, by having more Markets open to them: To rectify ſo undue a Preference, a Bounty ſhould be given on the one at the ſame Time that the Duties are taken off the other: But that muſt be the Work of ſome more provident Adminiſtration.

To compleat the State of the *American* Revenues, the Repeal of the Stamp-Act muſt be taken into Conſideration: A Subject which for the Reaſons I have already given I ſhall not enter into: which if properly treated, would require a very large Diſcuſſion; and which has been of late diſcuſſed ſo often; the only Circumſtance to be taken notice of at preſent is the Loſs of the 100,000*l.* deſigned to be raiſed by it, and which being added to the Diminutions above-mentioned in the Impoſt Duties, ſufficiently accounts for the Reduction of the *American* Revenues from 160,000*l.* which they were intended to be, to leſs than 30,000*l.* *per Ann.* A Sum greatly ſhort of that propoſed to be raiſed on the Inhabitants of this Country by the new Window Tax only, in Addition to all the former Burthens, which they have ſo obediently, tho' ſo hardly, and ſo long born, and which they muſt continue to bear. Such a Diſtribution cannot be ſupported on any Principles of Commerce or of Policy: Glaring Inequalities not only indiſpoſe the Minds of Men, but really leſſen their Powers: One Part is thereby over-whelmed, not for the Benefit of the whole; for if the Charge were juſtly divided, none would be very ſenſible of it: And generally not for the Benefit even of thoſe who are favoured, who perhaps cannot follow the Purſuits which the others may be forced to abandon, cannot ſucceed to the Labours, the Services, and the Uſefulneſs, which by the Partiality ſhewn to them, are loſt to their Country. In the Empire of *Great Britain* for Inſtance, all the Taxes fall upon that Part of her Dominions where the Manufacturers reſide, and the Markets are held: Her ſtaple Commodities are loaded; all the Branches of her Trade are hurt; and many of them ruined: The *Americans* cannot ſupply the Loſs: They might indeed aſſiſt to prevent it, by defraying a Part of that national Expence which occaſions the Diſtreſs: And in this View it appears to be a commercial Object, that the Burthens of a State ſhould be equally ſpread over all the Subjects of it, according to their Abilities: But the laſt Adminiſtration entirely deſerted ſo wiſe and equitable a Syſtem: They might

 have

have ſupported it, though they had given way to the Objections taken, whether with or without ſufficient Grounds, to the Mode or the Subjects of any particular Tax; they ought to have provided that their Conceſſions ſhould not be in effect partial Immunities: And when they promoted the Repeal of the moſt productive *American* Duties, it was incumbent particularly upon thoſe to whoſe Department the Management of the Finances belonged, to propoſe others which ſhould have preſerved the proper Equality: The Colonies themſelves it has been ſaid always profeſſed that they were ready to contribute in that which they called the accuſtomed Method, by Requiſition of certain Sums from each Province, to be levied by their own Aſſemblies; it has even been urged as an Objection to the Stamp-Act, that it was choſen as a Mode to raiſe Money in preference to another which would have met with no Oppoſition: And why is not that other ſubſtituted now? It will at no Time be received ſo favourably as when a ſubſiſting Charge is removed to make room for it? If there be a Difficulty in taxing the Colonies, that Difficulty is encreaſed by the Delay: The *Americans* will not be reconciled to the Payment of Duties, by a longer Exemption from them; nor will future Miniſters ever have ſuch an Opportunity of raiſing a Revenue there: The very Mode of Requiſition which upon this Occaſion has been recommended as ſo much more eligible than the Stamp Duties, will not hereafter have the Advantages it is ſuppoſed to derive from the Compariſon: The Choice will not ſeem an Indulgence: It will be unaccompanied with any Favour: but will be conſidered as a new Charge, inſtead of a Relief, and be obnoxious to all the Clamour which they will raiſe whoſe real Oppoſition is to all Taxes upon the Colonies: Many have been taken off this Year; and every Reduction was a Call upon Adminiſtration to propoſe ſome other Impoſition: Every Deficiency which their Meaſures occaſioned, demanded a Supply: And their whole Conduct with Reſpect to the Colonies, laid them under ſtronger Obligations than ever preſſed upon any other Miniſters, to find the Means of raiſing a Revenue in *America*.

Another Inſtance of the ſame Kind, though to a leſs Extent, was the taking off from the Cyder Counties the Share of the public Burthens which had been allotted to them, without replacing it by any other Charge upon thoſe Counties; a Principle of

of Equality firſt ſuggeſted a Tax upon them; for all the former Duties upon Cyder were levied on the Dealers and Retailers: The Growers and the Makers were exempted: The Revenue therefore ariſing from thence was in a great Meaſure paid by the Conſumers of the Commodity in Places which do not produce it: And the high Duties on Beer, on Malt, and on Hops, lay almoſt entirely upon them: They could drink no Liquor which was not taxed; while the common Beverage in the Cyder Counties was free. This Inequality had been encreaſed by the Addition in 1760 of a perpetual Duty of 3*d.* to the annual Duty of 6*d.* upon Malt, and of 3*s.* *per* Barrel on ſtrong Beer which was charged with 5*s.* *per* Barrel before. The Sum to be raiſed by theſe Duties was no leſs than the Intereſt of 20,000,000; any additional Load upon the Beer Counties would have been Oppreſſion: And a general Tax would have left the Inequality ſubſiſting: When therefore a further Loan of 3,500,000*l.* became neceſſary, it was thought reaſonable, that the greater Share of the new Impoſitions ſhould be laid upon thoſe who had contributed leaſt to the Expences of the War: But ſtill they were not particularly charged with ſo much as one half of the Burthen: The Wine Duty bears the reſt, and that is a general Tax: They were ſtill greatly favoured; for though the Cyder Counties are not equal to the Beer Counties in Number, Extent, or Abilities, and the ſame Revenue cannot therefore be expected from them; yet the Difference is not ſo great as between 70,000*l.* which is all that the Cyder-Tax was at firſt given for, and more than it ever produced; and above 830,000*l.* which is the Amount of the Annuities and Charges of Management to be paid by the new Duties upon Malt and Beer. But without entering into an uncertain Calculation of the Proportion they bear to each other, the Lenity ſhewn to the Cyder Counties will appear from another Mode of Compariſon: Whoever makes his own Malt is allowed to compound for the Duties at the Rate of Seven Shillings and Six-pence for every Perſon in his Family: Whoever makes his own Cyder was allowed to compound at the Rate of Two Shillings for every Perſon above eight Years old: Children under that Age are a numerous Part of the Inhabitants of the Country, and they were in the one Caſe excuſed, while in the other, the Infant at the Breaſt is counted: And at the ſame Time the actual Poor in the Cyder Counties, whoſe Tenements were not rated at above

above 40*s.* *per Ann.* and who did not make above four Hogſheads in a Year, were excuſed both from the Duty and the Compoſition; but in the Beer Counties the neediest Poverty gives no Claim to an Exemption: So very great is the Difference between the ſuppoſed Values of the reſpective Duties upon each Man's Conſumption! ſo much more favourably was the Compoſition collected on the one than on the other! and ſo very ſmall a Share of the public Burthen was born by the Cyder Counties, even while the Tax ſubſiſted! now that it is repealed on Account of the * Inconveniencies attending the Mode of collecting it, the former Diſproportion between them and the Beer Counties returns: For the common Beverage of the Inhabitants of the former, that which they grow or make themſelves, is totally exempted: the Duties ſubſtituted in the Lieu of that which is taken away, are 16*s.* 8*d.* *per* Hogſhead on all Cyder conſigned for Sale to a Factor or Agent: 3*l.* *per* Ton on all which ſhall be imported, and 6*s.* *per* Hogſhead on all which ſhall be made in *Great Britain* and ſold by Retail, or made and ſold by Dealers from Fruit of their own Growth: The firſt and the laſt of theſe can hardly be deemed new Duties: They are rather Proviſions to

* The Compounder was free from the Viſitation of the Officers of the Exciſe: And therefore the Maker, unleſs he was alſo a Seller of Cyder, was not expoſed to any of theſe Inconveniences; but to prevent his evading the Duty due on ſo much as he might think proper to diſpoſe of, he was required to give Notice of his Intention to ſell, and in that Caſe only was the Exciſe Officer authoriſed to come upon his Premiſes; but he could enter no Room beſides that into which he was conducted: He could gauge no other Caſk than that which was pointed out to him: He could on no Pretence come again till again ſent for: And he was obliged to give a Certificate of the Veſſels he had examined, which was a Sanction for the Removal of them. The Neceſſity of procuring ſuch a Certificate might Occaſion ſome Trouble, and Delay: Other Inconveniencies might accidentally ariſe: But none of them were vexatious or oppreſſive: And when aggravated to the higheſt, they were not nearly equal to thoſe to which the Grower of Hops muſt always ſubmit; he muſt give Notice both of the Places where his Hops grow, and where they are to be cured: He muſt give a ſecond Notice of the Time when he intends to bag them: And his Ouſt and his Storehouſes are at all Times expoſed either by Night or by Day, to the Search of the Officer: No Compoſition is allowed to ſkreen him from the unwelcome Viſits of the Exciſemen: Whether he does or does not ſell he is equally liable: All Malſters, all common Brewers, all Diſtillers are in the ſame or a worſe Situation: The Maker of Cyder was the only Seller of an Exciſeable Liquor, who could preſcribe a Time for the Viſit, and Limits to the Examination of the Officer; and an Exciſeman thus ſtripped of his Power of Search, is almoſt as inoffenſive as any other Collector of the Revenue.

fix

fix the former Duties upon thoſe who have hitherto avoided them, becauſe not literally within the Deſcription of Perſons in whoſe Hands the Commodity was chargeable: The two others are additional Duties, and like all other additional Duties will diminiſh the Conſumption; eſpecially as the Liquor is rather a Luxury than a Neceſſary in thoſe Countries which do not produce it; and being laid upon Cyder ſold, and moſt of that which is bought being for the Uſe of the Beer Counties, the Charge is transferred from the Cyder Counties to them, and the Diſparity is thereby rendered greater than ever. Nor will the new Duties yield upon the whole near ſo much as that which has been taken off; which on the Experience of the two Years that it ſubſiſted, muſt be reckoned 45,000*l.* at the leaſt: Whereas of the new Duties, the 6*s.* *per* Hogſhead retailed though the moſt productive of them, will not at the utmoſt produce 23,000*l.*; for that is more than the Amount of ſuch a Charge upon 76,602 Hogſheads which has been upon an Average the Number annually charged with the former Retail Duty: But that Number will be diminiſhed by the Decreaſe of the Conſumption; and both the new and the old Duties, will be thereby affected: The additional Duty upon Cyder imported will have a like Effect: The other two will hardly ballance this Loſs; and therefore the Diminution of the Revenue, by the Change of the Cyder Tax, cannot upon the whole be ſo little as 20,000*l.* at the loweſt Computation.

The ſeveral Alterations made in the Revenue, during the laſt Adminiſtration having been now mentioned, the State of them altogether is as follows:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
By the Encreaſe of the Eſtabliſhment -	94,000	0	0
By the Diminution of the *American* Revenues	130,000	0	0
By the Repeal of the Cyder-Tax - -	20,000	0	0
	244,000	0	0

Theſe are all ſet down at leſs than they probably will be: Together they amount to a Sum equal to the Intereſt of Eight Millions: And the Effect is the ſame as if an additional Debt of ſo much had been incurred, without providing Funds for paying the Intereſt upon it; ſo that the Nation has been in one Year, and

in

in a Time of profound Peace, impoverifhed, (if confidered in one Way) 8,000,000*l.* in its Capital; or (if taken in the other) above 240,000*l.* *per Ann.* in its difpofeable Income; by the Meafures which the laft Minifters are entitled to call peculiarly their own: For the Savings which may be brought againft this Lofs, were made on the Plan left them by theirPredeceffors: Wherever that has been followed, the Revenue has been improved; as in paying off another 25 *per cent.* of the Navy Annuities; and providing again for 1,500,000*l.* Navy Bills; by the former of which 34,835*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*¼ by the latter 15,000*l.* * Intereft has been faved, and both are upon exactly the fame Sums, in the very fame Species of Debt, and by the fame Mode of Proceeding, as in the preceding Year. But even allowing to the laft Minifters all the Merit they can claim for not having deviated in thefe two Inftances from the Meafures of the former Adminiftration; and adding to fuch Savings, all that the Window Tax may produce, which cannot be a great Acceffion, though it is impoffible to fay how little it will be; yet this only proves that the Revenue which ought to have been improved by 50,000*l.* is worfe by near 200,000*l.* than it would have been in other Hands: Which is in Effect the fame as a Diminution of 244,000*l.*; whereas under the former Adminiftration it was vifibly encreafed above 400,000*l.* in two Years, which is at the Rate of above 200,000*l.* *per Ann.* fo that the Difference between the two Adminiftrations in their Management of the Revenue is more than 400,000*l.* a Year.

By fo much as the Eftablifhment is encreafed, or the Income of the Public leffened, the Ability of the Sinking Fund to clear off the national Debt is impaired, as there will be fo much lefs applicable to that Purpofe, though the actual Produce fhould continue to be as great as it is: In the laft Year it exceeded what it had been in the former; for though the difpofeable Money on 10th *October* 1765 was no more than 1,951,769*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*½, yet two Sums having been advanced for the Purchafe of the *Ifle of Man*, and for the Alteration in the Pay-days of the confolidated 4 *per Cents.* together amounting to 275,246*l.* 5*s.* which are only an occafional Application of Part of the Produce, fo much muft be reftored to it, and then the real Surplus of 1765 above the

* From this as from other the like Sums a fmall Deduction muft be made for Non-Intereft Bills, and for the Intereft accrued on the others.

proper

proper Charges upon the Sinking Fund, appears to have been 2,227,015*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*½, which is more than that of 1764, even including the accidental Advantage of a Quarter's Produce of the Beer Duty in the Account of that Year; but deducting that Sum, the Difference will be near 150,000*l.* in favour of the latter Year. The difpofeable Money was however no more than 1,951,769*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*½, and the *Chriftmas* Quarter yielding lefs than ufual, about 30,000*l.* was wanting of the 2,100,000*l.* intended to be raifed by that Time: And as this Deficiency muft be fupplied out of the firft Monies arifing in the *April* Quarter, fo much muft be added to the 1,150,000*l.* which the Sinking Fund is given for this Year, and 1,180,000*l.* therefore appears to be the eftimated Produce to *Chriftmas* next, that Quarter being again included in the Computation.

But there is great Reafon to fear that under fuch Management as has lately prevailed, the feveral Branches, which compofe the Sinking Fund, will be lefs productive than they would have been under the former: And if there were no other Ground for the Apprehenfion, than that a general Relaxation may be obferved in almoft every Article where it is open to Difcovery, that alone would juftify the Suppofition of its extending to others, in which it may not be fo apparent: And the Attention, Vigilance and Activity, by which the Revenue was improved, and without which it cannot be preferved, do not feem to have belonged to an Adminiftration, who were diftinguifhed by many Conceffions, and many Omiffions, but not by any Act of Vigour. The Surmife grows ftill ftronger when we fee no one Step of Confequence taken for the Improvement of the Revenue, in any of its various and extenfive Branches, though the Minifters were called upon to exert themfelves by the Example, and urged to it by the Reproach, of the many Regulations made for this Purpofe by their immediate Predeceffors: But the Symptoms are ftill worfe, when the Plans begun are deferted, or thofe which were eftablifhed are impaired; and of thefe there are many Inftances: Several have been mentioned already, where they avoided to bring in aid of the Revenue certain grofs Sums, as Compofitions for Prifoners, Ballances of Accounts, *&c.* which were not only fuggefted, but exprefsly named to them, and the very Mode of recovering them clearly mark'd by the preceding Meafures: Others

were

were equally notorious; and have been equally neglected: When the Purchase of the *Isle of Man*, and the subsequent Provisions were made, the Design was to follow them with similar Regulations of the Intercourse between this Kingdom, and the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*: No Parliamentary Interposition was necessary. The King in Council being vested with sufficient Powers over those Remnants of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: And the vast Influx of clandestine Importation from thence calls for the Exertion of those Powers: It was intended by the former Ministry; that Intention was declared; and the Means of accomplishing it under Consideration; but nothing has been done: And the Plan for distressing all illegal Importation, by taking away the Facilities which arise from the Situation of neighbouring Islands, is not only left unfinished; but even the Effects of the Progress which had been made in it is to a Degree defeated, while Smuggling though shut out at one Entrance, finds Admittance at another. The Manner in which the Establishment of Cutters has been treated, is another ill Omen to the Revenue: They have been reviled, ridiculed, and continued: The Expence attending them is as great as ever: The Operation of them less: The Ministers have acknowledged the Measure to be right, by continuing it; but the Dislike they shewed to it, discouraged the Service: As the Persons employed therein, could not hope to recommend themselves by Activity, nor fear to suffer for Remissness, in a Service, which the Administration wished to expose and to condemn. The Doctrines too, which have been lately broached with Respect to the Colonies, and which portend still further Relaxations of the Acts of Trade, and other Diminutions of Revenue, will have a like Effect there: All Vigour in exacting Obedience to the one, and collecting the other, must be at an End under such a System as the present: The pernicious Clandestine Trade which was almost suppressed, is said to be reviving very fast: And it will encrease, while the Execution of the Laws is attended with Danger; Infractions of them escape with Impunity; and the Officers of the Crown who faithfully discharge their Duty, are exposed to Insults, and doubtful of Support. I have heard of other Instances of Neglect and Remissness: But these are notorious, and the Effects of them extensive. And these alone make the Prospect of finding other Diminutions and

and Deficiencies in the Revenue, more than meer Matter of Apprehension.

They cannot have consulted the commercial Interests of this Country, who have been thus careless of its Income, and prodigal of its Treasures: For Trade and Revenue are in many Respects nearly connected; and a judicious Management of the one, tends to the Improvement of the other. Discharge of Debt, and Reduction of Expence, prepare the Way for Alleviation of Duties: But less Debt was discharged, and much greater Expences were incurred, by the last than by the former Administration: And the late Alterations in the Revenue have been shewn to produce the same sensible Effects, as if eight Millions had been expended, and the Publick were charged with the Interest: Trade and Manufactures must feel the Consequences: Even if the procuring of commercial Advantages had been the Object of them, those Advantages ought to be very great, to compensate for such Losses and such Charges incurred to obtain them; but in fact a very small part of the Whole 240,000*l.* has the least Relation to any commercial Considerations. It is not pretended that the Encrease in the Establishment was made for such Purposes: The Repeal of the Cyder Tax has as little Connexion with Trade: As to the Stamp-Act; one of the principal Motives assigned for the repealing it, was to remove the Distress occasioned here, by the Reception of that Law in *America*; but that Distress did not arise out of the Act: It was owing entirely to the refractory Spirit which had gone abroad in the Colonies; and which the Ministry (to say the least that can be said of them) had neglected to quell: No Tax was ever laid upon the Subject with more general Approbation; none was ever opposed with less Reason, or with so much Violence: Sedition never met with so little Resistance from Government: And the Repeal, upon whatever Grounds it was made, was at the most but an occasional Measure. The only Alterations therefore in the Revenue which can be claimed as general permanent Measures for the Benefit of Trade, are the other Reductions of the *American* Duties, particularly of those upon Sugar, and upon Molasses. The taking off the enumerated Duty upon Sugar, leads to no great Object, as the Commodity has born the Burthen near a Century, and it was never supposed to be a very heavy Grievance. The Reduction of the Molasses Duty

 is

is a more considerable Alteration: And though Three-pence on a Gallon of Rum (for the Charge amounted to no more) does not seem to be an intolerable Load upon such a Commodity, and the Effect of it could not be thoroughly known by one Year's Experience only, yet as a Duty of one Penny must incontestably be less inconvenient to the Trade, which the *American* Distilleries supply, the Importance and the Extent of that Trade become the principal Considerations: And so far as this Manufacture, (for it is an *American* Manufacture to which the Indulgence has been shewn, and so far therefore) as it interferes with the Produce of the *British* Distillery, either on the Coast of *Africa*, or in the Fisheries, it certainly ought not to be favoured; so far as it is supported by Molasses purchased with Money, or as the Consumption of their own Corn in the Distilleries is prevented by the Importation of Molasses, it is not advantageous to the Colonies: And the excessive Use of Spirits among themselves, has been found to be so pernicious to the People, that the Imposition of a Duty as the Means of checking it, has been often under Consideration in the very Provinces which are most concerned in the Manufactory. That Part therefore of the Trade which does not fall within any of these Descriptions, is alone deserving of Encouragement; and the Benefit which it is said may arise from lowering the Duty upon that Part, is the only commercial Advantage supposed to be obtained, by a Diminution of 240,000*l.* *per Ann.* in the disposeable Revenue.

I pass over here the other less important Articles which have been mentioned before; and to these must be added the opening of Free Ports at *Jamaica* and *Dominica*; of which little can be said with Certainty, as it is a Concession which may be beneficial or may be dangerous to Trade: I can see Advantages arising from it, if proper Precautions be taken against the Mischiefs which may attend such a Relaxation of the Acts of Navigation: But I confess myself not a competent Judge of the Plan which has been adopted. It is a Subject which requires the most mature Deliberation, much previous Enquiry, a watchful Jealousy, and extensive Provisions: The Ministers themselves once thought they were not prepared for such an Establishment this Year: They suddenly changed their Opinion; but I have not altered mine: I still wish it had been postponed, till the whole Extent of the Indul-

Indulgence and all its Consequences could have been examined, and Care taken that no Detriment should mix itself with the Benefits proposed to the commercial Interests of *Great Britain*.

But even supposing the Plan to be perfect; supposing the Repeal of the Stamp-Act to have been expedient; and allowing all the Merit which the last Ministers can arrogate to themselves from all their Measures: They still must not pretend to have promoted the Interest of the Colonies so essentially or so extensively as their Predecessors had promoted them: The new Funds of Wealth and of Trade which were opened by the former Administration, exceed in Value all the Hopes ever entertained from the Promises given by the latter: And the Advantages expected from each differ so widely in the Circumstances attending them, that if they were equal in amount, they would still not be of equal Importance: The former are Grants: The latter are Concessions; and the Consequences must be very different from Beneficence and from Compliance. But not to dwell upon this though a material Distinction, the Mode in which the Trade of the Colonies was encouraged by the one Administration, must have far more extensive Effects than that adopted by the other: For when Taxes are taken off meerely that the Sum which would have been raised by them, may be thrown into Trade, the Value of that Benefit can be no more than the Amount of those Taxes: And therefore if I were to admit that all that the Revenue loses by the Repeal of the Stamp Act, will be applied to commercial Purposes, the Advantage to Trade is but 100,000*l.* Whereas such a Sum judiciously given in Bounties might produce Millions: In the one Case, the Expence and the Acquisition are exactly the same: In the other a small Expence purchases a large Acquisition: But of all the Benefits done to the Colonies in 1766, none belong to the latter Description, except the Alleviation of the Molasses Duties, the Alterations made in the lesser Duties, and the Establishment of the Free Ports: Allowing again to these all the Effects which are barely possible, still the warmest Advocates for them will not be hardy enough to compare the Returns, which by such Means may be made from the Colonies to this Country, with those which the Encouragement given by the former Administration to the Fisheries, to the Culture of Rice, Hemp, and Flax, to the Sale of Timber, and to the many other Articles of *American* Produce, will furnish. Besides the Object of most of these is to promote and

and extend Cultivation, which is the proper Buſineſs of Colonies; but the later Regulations have no ſuch Tendency, except in ſome trifling Particulars: On the contrary, the Alteration of the Molaſſes Duty was avowedly made for the Benefit of a Manufacture: And Manufactures more peculiarly belong to the Mother-Country: But even an Equality, which is the leaſt that the *Britiſh* Diſtilleries are entitled to, is not ſecured to them under the preſent very low Duty on Molaſſes: And the Preference due to the Produce of *Britiſh* Plantations is loſt, in the Molaſſes, the Cotton, and other Articles. In Addition to all theſe, another obvious Difference preſents itſelf in the Conduct of the two Adminiſtrations: The Meaſures of the latter are founded almoſt entirely upon Speculation: They have been defended upon Principles repugnant to thoſe which have been always eſteemed to be the beſt adapted to the Management of Colonies: They are Experiments ſubſtituted in the Place of Experience; uncertain in their Event; and perhaps dangerous in their Conſequences. For there can be no Aſſurance of the Effects immediate or diſtant, which may enſue from Conceſſions made to Colonies in a State of actual Reſiſtance: By the Eſtabliſhment of Free Ports, an opening may be made for bringing the Produce of foreign Settlements into our own; or on the other Hand, for the Introduction of *European* Manufactures into the *Britiſh* Plantations: This and the other Regulations which are intended to procure the Carriage of Commodities raiſed in the *French* Iſlands, may encreaſe the Conſumption of thoſe Commodities on the Continent of *America*, to the Prejudice of our *Weſt-Indies*; or facilitate the Exportation of our enumerated Commodities to other Places than to the Dominions of *Great Britain*: And the Facilities given to the Intercourſe between our and their Settlements, may either furniſh the Coloniſts with the Means of making Returns to this Country, or of diverting the Returns they were before provided with, to other Countries. The Event in all theſe Inſtances is at leaſt doubtful: Whereas the Meaſures of the former Adminiſtration were certain of their Effects: To open a Vent for the Produce of the Plantations, to encourage Cultivation there, to extend their Fiſheries, to prevent their clandeſtine Trade, and to confine their Conſumption to the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, were Meaſures equally beneficial to the Mother-Country and to the Colonies,

Colonies, and cannot in any Event or by any Abuſe become detrimental to either.

There was but one of Importance amongſt them from which any bad Conſequences to Commerce were apprehended, which was the Duty upon Molaſſes: But as I have had Occaſion to mention that Subject more than once, and it would carry me too far were I to enter into all the Conſiderations which ariſe upon it, I will leave it to reſt upon the Obſervations which have before occurred, and upon that general Knowledge which the Publick is poſſeſſed of, from its having been ſo long the Topic of Converſation. There was another Meaſure of the ſame Adminiſtration, which it would be alſo tedious to dwell upon at preſent, and which, if the Intereſts of this Country had been conſulted, would not have been made an Object of ſo much Attention: I mean the Stop ſuppoſed to have been put by Orders from hence to the Importation of Gold into the Colonies. That no Orders were given for that Purpoſe, that on the contrary Orders were diſpatched to prevent any Interruption of the Trade, and that the Merchants concerned were conſulted and ſatisfied, are Facts which have been proved, and are now univerſally known: But the Clamour raiſed upon the Occaſion may have miſchievous Conſequences, which they who encouraged it, muſt anſwer for. As groundleſs a Complaint though of a different Kind was made in Relation to the Admiralty-Courts, as if the Eſtabliſhment were an Innovation; or the Uſe of them in ſupport of Revenue and commercial Laws were a Grievance; whereas in fact they are coæval with the Colonies, and the Appointment of Judges to preſide in them, is reſerved to the Crown in the original Charters. The Trial of Offences againſt the Act of Navigation, and againſt the Act of Frauds is expreſsly given to them by thoſe Acts, paſſed in the Reigns of *Charles* the Second and King *William*: The Juriſdiction of Juſtices of the Peace in *America* under the Statutes of Queen *Ann* for the Preſervation of the King's Timber, is by the 8th *G.* I. transferred to the Courts of Admiralty, as being more proper Judges in Crown-Cauſes than Magiſtrates elected by the People: And in the ſame Courts, the Penalties under the Sugar Act of 6th *G.* II. under 12th *G.* II. for allowing the Exportation of Sugars, and under 21ſt *G.* II. for encouraging the Growth of Indigo, are recoverable, from all which it appears

appears that the Jurisdiction given to them in Offences against the Stamp-Act was agreeable to a constant Series of Plantation Laws: And with Respect to this particular Branch of Revenue, the Proceedings are not very different here: For except in two Instances only, which affect none but Lawyers, the like Offences against the Stamp Acts in *Britain* are triable in a summary Way, without Jury, before Justices of the Peace: These are far better Magistrates than provincial, annual, elective Justices; and yet cannot be thought as respectable as a Judge of an Admiralty Court, who has had an Education suitable to the Office he fills, and enjoys a Salary adequate to his Station. Provision was made for such a Magistrate in the Colonies in the Year 1763, when one Court of Admiralty was established at *Halifax* for all *America*, having concurrent Jurisdiction with those which subsisted before, but which were fallen into disrepute, on Account of the Incompotency of the Judges; as it was impossible to find Persons qualified to preside in every distinct Court, the only Remedy to this which was the principal Grievance, was to make the Number unnecessary, by vesting in one Judge equal Powers with all the others, and annexing to the Office such liberal Appointments, as should induce Men regularly educated here, to accept of it: But another Inconvenience arose from the Distance at which many of the Provinces were from this new Seat of Justice; and therefore a Plan was formed in 1765 for removing the Court from *Halifax* to *New York* or *Boston*, and for establishing two others at *Philadelphia* and at *Charles-Town*: Each of them to have certain Provinces within its District, and all the Judges large Salaries: By which Distribution every Part of the Continent would have been as near to its supream Court of Admiralty, as some Parts of *England* are to *Westminster*-Hall; and with this View a Clause was inserted in the Stamp-Act, directing that all Offences against the Laws relative to Trade and Revenue, which by the Act of the former Year were triable in the general Admiralty Court, should be prosecuted either in that of the Province, or in any appointed or to be appointed which should have Jurisdiction in the District where the Offence should be committed. But this Plan which was calculated for the Ease and Satisfaction of the Colonies, not having been compleatly carried into Execution by the Ministers who formed it, no Progress was made in it by their

their Successors: The Grievance was left to rankle in the Minds of the People; and now that the Stamp Act is repealed without excepting the Clause above-mentioned, the intended Alteration is defeated, and every Matter, however trifling or however tedious, which can possibly arise from one Extremity of the Continent to the other, out of any of the Acts of Trade, or the whole Body of the Custom-house Laws, may be carried at the Will of the Prosecutor to *Halifax*: All therefore that the last Ministers did with Respect to the Admiralty-Courts, so far as the mercantile People may be affected by them, was to frustrate the Relief which had been held out, and to revive the Inconveniences which the former Administration had endeavoured to remove.

In this then which has been called so important an Object, the present Year is far from being marked with favour to the Colonies: With Respect to their other commercial Interests, whether peculiar to themselves, or common to them and to their Mother-Country, many Proofs have been already adduced to shew, how much more liberally and more effectually they were consulted in the preceding Years: And it must further be acknowleged that the Trade of the Colonies will suffer greatly by the total Prohibition of their Intercourse with *Ireland*: For by an Act of the last Sessions it is provided, that on taking any non-enumerated Goods on board, Bond shall be given in the same Manner as for the enumerated Commodities, not to land the same in any Part of *Europe* to the Northward of *Cape Finisterre*, except in *Great Britain*. *Ireland* is not within that Description, and great Quantities of Corn used to be annually imported into that Kingdom from the Plantations; the Linen Manufactories there almost depend upon the Supply of Flax Seed which they procured from the Colonies; the Consumption of Pipe Staves, and other Articles of *American* Produce was very large: The Trade was necessary to *Ireland*, and of the utmost Importance to the Colonies, who there found an extensive Vent for their Commodities, and thereby made Returns for their Demand of *British* Manufactures: And the Loss therefore which in Consequence of this Interruption they sustain, will be a heavy Ballance against any Advantages which may have been given to them.

And if upon the whole Account the last Ministers have not equal Merit with the former, even in Regard to the Commerce

 of

of *America*; in other Branches of Trade, they will not pretend to a Competition: For excepting the Bounty upon *British*-made Cordage, and a few minute and official Regulations, I do not recollect any Steps taken by them for commercial Purposes, or for the Encouragement of Manufactures; for the Prohibition of Foreign Silks was not I understand a ministerial Measure; and I have therefore passed it unnoticed.* Against this single Bounty then when the Comparison is drawn, stand all those many and important Measures of the preceding Ministry, which are not partial, or local, or speculative, but extensive as our Commerce, various as our Manufactures, and certain of their Effects, upon Principles and Experience.

But the different Management of the Finances during the two Periods will not even admit of Comparison: They are direct Contrasts: The one as distinguished for Oeconomy as the other for Profusion: The former was all Activity and Vigour, exerted to oppose Encroachments on the Revenue, to detect Frauds, and to rectify Abuses: And Researches were made on every Side for encreasing the Capital or the Income of the Nation: During the latter there was not Energy enough in Administration to enable the Publick to avail itself of its own Property; but universal Relaxation, Concession, and Negligence prevailed: And the Revenue, wherever they touched it, shrivelled before them: The Resources which had been lately opened, were cut off: Means already provided, were diverted from their proper Application: Others immediately in view, and distinctly pointed out, were overlooked; and Sums which might have been brought in Aid, were disregarded; Improvements which had been begun, were checked; and all Expectations of more, were disappointed; the Endeavours which had been used to prevent a licentious Dissipation of the public Money, were frustrated: Though Estimates were swelled, Debt was accumulated: And the Sinking Fund which had been fostered with so much Care by the preceding Ministers, which was raised to such a Produce, and promised still more while it continued under their Management, now, incumbered with additional Establishments, deprived of collateral Support, and wasted by Diminutions in the Revenue, is labour-

* For the same Reason I omitted the Prohibition laid on foreign Silk Stockings, Mits and Gloves in 1765, the then Administration having only consented to, not plan'd that Measure.

ing

ing under Charges and Deficiencies, which spight of all Reductions of Interest, and Operations of Finance, will remain inherently fixed to prey upon it for ever.

The Depression of Public Credit is the necessary Consequence of such Measures; and accordingly we see that the Stocks do not now shew that Disposition to rise which they did a Twelvemonth ago, notwithstanding the Order restored to the Finances by the Administration which was then dismissed, and the large Produce of the Sinking Fund, and the Provision made for the Amount of the whole unfunded Debt, (for though the Exchequer Bills are still out-standing, yet the funded Navy Annuities which have been paid off are almost equal to them;) yet notwithstanding all these Circumstances, which prove the Abilities of this Country, and the natural Effect of which would be to raise its Credit, yet the Funds at the End of a Year of profound Peace feel now the Abuses of that Time, and though a little higher, are in a more uncertain Situation than they were at the Beginning, and lower than they have been in the Course of it: I do not judge of them from accidental Circumstances which may have affected them, but the general State of them for some Time past marks Doubt and Apprehension, instead of that Confidence which they had begun to assume. When the Ministers who had done so much for the Recovery of the Finances were dismissed in *July* 1765, the Price of the Three *per Cents.* was about * 87½. That Event was not marked by any material Alteration in the Stocks; but as the Effects resulting from the Measures of those Ministers did not cease immediately with their Powers, the natural Inclination of the Stocks to rise in Time of Peace continued as long as those Measures had any Operation: The Sinking Fund could not sustain any great Prejudice before the Beginning of *October*, when the Account of it was to be made up; and nothing could prevent the Payment of 870,000*l.* upon the Navy Annuities at *Christmas*; till that Time therefore the Stocks kept up to an advanced Price: And all the Disturbances in *America* did not lower them; they were still at 91 to the End of *December*, when the whole Extent of those Disorders was publick: But as soon as the new Year commenced, and the Abilities and the Measures of

* To prevent Confusion in comparing the Prices, at different Times, I shall in stating them always deduct the Dividends due upon them: And I shall keep to the Three *per Cents.* as the best Measure of the real Value of the Stocks.

the

the then Adminiſtration began to be known, they immediately fell; nor was this occaſioned by Suſpence about the Fate of the Stamp-Act; for they continued after that was decided much below the Point they had before arrived at, they remained ſo to the End of the laſt Adminiſtration, and they are now that *America* is quiet, Two *per Cent.* lower than they were when it was known to be throughout in Confuſion: From hence a certain Judgement may be formed of the real Merits of thoſe Miniſters: Though ſuch Pains were taken to perſuade the Nation that they were popular; yet the monied Men, they whoſe Property was affected by their Conduct, ſaw that Property depreciated under ſuch Management, and lowered the Price they expected for it: They knew the Conſequences of allowing Extravagance to ravage, while Deficiency was let in to conſume the Revenue: At the Cloſe of the Account they found that the Loſſes and Charges of a Year of Peace, were equal to a Fund ſufficient to provide for a *German* Campaign: And they feared that further Depredations were impending: They obſerved that the Relief expected by the Landed-Intereſt was removed out of Sight; and that Trade and Manufactures were not even flattered with the Hopes of any Alleviation: They could perceive no Advances made towards any great Operations of Finance, but on the contrary, the preparatory Means which ariſe from Oeconomy and Improvement, abandoned, or diverted, or deſtroyed: And they dreaded the Poſſibility of a War, while the Opportunity of Peace, the Seaſon to provide for it, was unprofitably paſſing away.

Nor is their Confidence reſtored by the late Changes in the Adminiſtration, as no Aſſurance of a Change of Conduct can be derived from them, all the preſent Miniſters having been Parties to or having ſupported the Meaſures of the laſt: Publick Credit therefore is not revived by ſuch an Arrangement, it even ſeems to decline ſtill more, for it feels that the Evils which have affected it will grow inveterate by Continuance, and ſhrinks under the Apprehenſions of further Aggravations of them. Theſe Evils are the more hardly born, becauſe they are not neceſſary; and becauſe they have daſhed the Hopes which were entertained, when ſix Millions and a Half of Debt diſcharged or provided for, and an Addition made of above Four hundred Thouſand Pounds to the national Income, in the Space of two Years only, had proved the Extent

Extent of the Abilities, and the Number of Reſources ſtill left to this Country: The Stocks then roſe; and they would have riſen to a much greater Height than they are at now, if the ſame Meaſures had been purſued; but a different Syſtem has check'd the Progreſs natural to them in Times of Peace; and ſo long as that Syſtem prevails, we can pretend neither to an Independency of Trade, nor a Permanency of Power. Drooping Credit, and Revenue continually crumbling away, in a Seaſon of perfect Tranquility, are alarming Circumſtances to a commercial People: And fruſtrate the Proviſion neceſſary to be made againſt that Day, when we ſhall be called upon to maintain the Aſcendancy we have acquired in *Europe:* It will not remain with us long, our Trade cannot be protected, our Colonies cannot be preſerved, our very Exiſtence cannot be ſecured, if the Finances of the Kingdom be ruined: In vain may we diſcipline Armies, build Fleets, or form Alliances, while the Means to make uſe of them are wanting; and by a ſteady and judicious Management of the Revenue, and by that alone, can thoſe Means be procured. We have ſeen how much may be gained in a ſhort Time by ſuch Management; we have ſeen how much may be loſt in leſs Time by a contrary Conduct: Let us judge then of the Meaſures by their Effects: And of the Miniſters by their Meaſures: The Deciſion is important; For the State of the Nation depends on the Syſtem which is choſen for the Adminiſtration of the Finances.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 24,	Line 26,	after *to* inſert *be.*
54,	16,	after *much* dele *the.*
56,	9,	for *brought* read *bought.*
57,	7,	for *Compoſition* read *Compenſation.*
71,	4,	for *then* read *than.*

0130