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TO

WEALTH and GLORY:

OR,

S ODIOUS ONLY IN NAME.

Most humbly addressed to

Both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

## L O N D O N:

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T O

WEALTH and GLORY, &c.

THOUGH I am conscious of my inability to write upon a subject of this kind, and set it in a proper light, yet as no able pen has appeared in a cause of such high importance to the welfare of the kingdom, I hope, as the unfolding of truth is the prevailing principle, that my endeavours will be acceptable, and give some light that may be of service to the public: but should it be of no other use, it may serve as an alarmpost, to give notice on what side the enemy may come upon us.

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Most writers upon taxes have hitherto either endeavoured to cast a dark shade upon the subject, or render it obnoxious by saying it is destructive to trade. It must be highly criminal to write with a full design to impose upon the understanding of mankind, especially in a point that is of the utmost importance to their country; though I can't pretend to decide, whether this proceeds from its being judged the most popular argument to distress the government, or partly from ignorance: yet that it must be from one or other of them, is the design of the following lines to shew.

In order to view this subject in a proper light, we will first just see what a Tax is: Secondly, inquire into its use, and how it operates in a state, if judiciously raised: from which it will appear to have been the fountain or spring to the great inundation of wealth

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wealth that has flowed in upon us for half a century past.

Taxes are properly nothing more than each man's share to a joint stock, to be employed for our mutual interest and defence. The advantages that arise from them (like other trades) will be in proportion to the capital. Whatever sum this is extended to in time of war, if duly administred, must multiply our advantages, in proportion, over the enemy.

There are but few that would not readily contribute their share to a profitable partner-ship, and chearfully be at a constant small expence, to secure a certain great profit.

If a company of merchants or traders, we will suppose a thousand, found they could infallibly gain a million per annum by a new trade to California, and farther, that an arm-

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ed force was necessary to protect the new fettlement, the expence of which would amount to an hundred thousand pounds, which sum must be raised prior to any thing else, which we will call a Tax, and to be paid annually; here is an hundred pounds a-man to secure a thousand profit to each. And in this same light we ought to look upon Taxes to the state, to protect the trade and general commerce of the kingdom.

All that exclaim against Taxes, must know nothing of the commercial or true interest of the nation, or be enemies to their king and country. Their prevailing favourite argument is, that the present great national debt, together with what more may be added during the war, must leave such a load upon trade, as will give our enemies the French the advantage over us, and in the end be our ruin. The principle those writ-

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ers argue from is this, viz. that the raised price of articles of confumption by a Tax must raise the price of labour, by which our manufactures will be enhanced to fuch a degree, that the French must undersell us at foreign markets. Thus our speculative gentlemen raise a mountain of evil upon a grain of fand. If there is any thing in their argument, I defire to know why the occupiers of our lands have not raifed the wages of all fuch as are employed in agriculture, for the last two years. The labourer that had a shilling a-day for his work when wheat fold for four shillings a-bushel, one might reafonably think, should have had two shillings a-day when wheat fold for double that price. Certainly, if such a pittance as the tax upon falt, foap, &c. will advance wages, it must follow, that the high price of the great article, so necessary to every family, should be ten times as likely to do it: nay, one would be apt to think, both the reason of the thing,

and common humanity, should incline those that employ labourers in husbandry, to give the poor wretches that work for them some finall addition to their wages, when provifions are so monstrous dear, and at the same time when the master is inriched to such a degree by it. Sure there must be some great mystery in all this, that neither the nature of the affair, nor common justice, should incline the hard-hearted master to let those that slave for him live as well by their labour when his gains are high, as at other times. In this instance man is used worse than the beast; both the gentlemen and farmers give their horses, and other cattle that labour for them double wages when oats and hay are as high again as usual. If the coach-horse was to have but his usual wages, his master must soon be obliged to tramp a-foot.

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One would think, certainly here is a grievance that wants to be redressed. If labour rose with the price of things, this could not have been the case; and if sifty millions had been borrowed for the use of the state, and a tax established upon articles of consumption to discharge the interest, and corn at a middling price, it could not have brought a thousandth part of the misery upon the lower class of people, as the high price of corn has done for the last two years past.

Taxes are either intended to pay the interest of money borrowed for the use of the public, or to support the annual exigencies of the state. The millions borrowed and laid out the two last years, for the army and navy, in corn, sless, timber, woollen, linen, iron, leather, &c. land and trade have had the benefit of it, and the labouring manufacturer, mechanic, &c. have been amply rewarded

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rewarded for what he might have paid, in having more work, and more money for doing it, which is doubly in his favour. If it had not been for this seasonable addition to labour, many thousands must have severely felt the want of it: it is the demand for labour that keeps up wages; and if trade is but sufficiently protected, no reasonable Tax can hurt us. By this measure we are enabled to distress the French, who are our principal rivals in trade, in proportion to which our own commerce and navigation grow and flourish; with this agreeable circumstance attending it, that the market must come to our own price.

Imposing of Taxes is only raising a sum of money to be put in motion for our mutual interest; it is a flux stock that is a benefit to every hand it passes through, and increases the internal trade of the kingdom. There is a peculiar bleffing or benefit in this

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national trade: what we pay, we have again: it diffuses its advantages immediately to every individual in the kingdom. On the contrary, if we with-hold the finews of war, our rivals the French must have our trade; which must soon reduce the labourer to great necessity.

Taxes are of the same use to make the great wheel of trade move round, as oil to a piece of mechanics, wind or water to make the mill go, or horses to draw the loaded carriage along. What is paid upon articles confumed by labour must add as much to trade, and we have that quantity. the more to carry to market: fo that Taxes act upon a double principle for the interest of the kingdom; they secure a market, and furnish wares to carry to it. A due circulation of taxes is the principle of life to the state, and, like the blood in a human body,

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if stopt in its course, the members must soon mortify.

The master that may keep a number of workmen by the piece, or week, always takes a small sum from each of them, to pay for setching in and carrying home the work, and other incident expences in tools, &c. and this is just the same as a Tax, to find or secure every labourer in the kingdom a market: and all workmen make it a rule to earn that sum the more; So much for master, and such a sum for myself, before I deem the week's work done. This is easily understood by any man; this is reasonable, and has no mystery in it.

Taxes upon commodities or articles made use of by both master and workmen, are no more than this, and add to the industry of all just in the same manner. The duty upon strong beer, tobacco and snuff, is never complained

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complained of, nor felt otherwise than to work a little the more; and in reality the labourer has those very articles to gratify him for nothing, or at least more than he could possibly enjoy, but for the Tax, supposing trade by that neglect was not protected.

In time of peace we should be always prepared, and never have less than forty thoufand sailors in pay; they might then be employed, some in the sishery, and others in search of new branches of commerce; and if we part with any, they should have pay to be inrolled, so as to be called upon at any time when wanted.

The French have an eye to all the profitable branches of commerce, as well as we, in most of which our interests clash. Our present superiority at sea is Britain's glory; and happy for us if we have but wisdom to preserve it. It is this commands a market

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for our manufactures, and secures to us a flourishing foreign trade in time of war. If ever we should be so far wanting to ourselves, as to with-hold the necessary supplies to keep up our naval force, that period must be the date of Britain's downfall.

Every friend to his country is for vigorous measures, as the many loyal addresses, lately presented to his Majesty, sufficiently shew; and public measures would go on extremely well, if always attended with success, and not a word said about Taxes.

The great Mr. Locke has made all the landed gentlemen enemies to Taxes of all kinds, by representing that, lay it where you will, it must in the end be paid by them. His words are: "Taxes, however contrived, and out of whose hands soever tate ken, do, in a country where their great fund is land, for the most part terminate upon

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" upon land." And again: "It is in vain,
" in a country whose great fund is land, to
" hope to lay the public charge of the go" vernment upon any thing but land; for
" there at last it will terminate."

Here, first, we must observe it is taken for granted, that land is our great fund; but I think it may be difficult to conceive how it is possible for land to be any fund at all, when the value of it intirely depends upon labour, and will for ever rise and sink with it. If there was no labour in the kingdom, there could be nothing paid to land for necessaries; and then where would be this mighty fund?

If people went naked, as in Britain formerly, and they lived upon what the land produced without cultivating, there would be no occasion for labour; no body would work, and our land could be of no value to

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any body as proprietor. The like quantity of land in some part of America, that may be equally as fertile as Britain if cultivated, does not produce, or at least is not worth, a farthing to any body as land-holder. All there having a right to take what they can meet with, and contenting themselves with the natural products of land and water, as that country may one day or other be stocked with inhabitants, the value of the land will rife in proportion as they have people to cultivate and manufacture its products. If a new colony was to settle there under one governor, prudence would direct him to order part of the people to labour in agriculture, and others in manufactures, building houses, and the various arts necessary for furniture, &c. If, contrary to this plan, he should order all to manure the land, they could have neither houses to live in, nor cloaths to wear: and if all were ordered to work upon manufactures, they could have nothing

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nothing more than the natural products of the earth to eat; neither of which will do to live comfortably: but if divided, and one moiety, or half, work in agriculture, and the rest in manufacture, mechanics, &c. they can exchange corn for cloths, which will furnish all with necessaries, and constitute commerce: what is paid by trade for corn, &c. may be deemed the value of land.

If a due proportion of labour in agriculture and manufactures is not kept up in our new colony, it must soon breed convulsions, and shake our little state to pieces. In order to view this in a proper light, we must bring labour to some nominal value. If those that work in agriculture estimate the products of the year at a thousand pounds and those that work in manufacture value theirs at the same, each exchanging half with the other, they are all provided for:

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if, the next year, those that manure the land fay, We have but a middling crop, and must therefore value it at double what it was last year; and farther, that we cannot afford to take any of your manufactures; that all our labour will but just find us in provision: the others may justly reply, We have no other way to purchase your corn but by your taking an equivalent in manufactures; so if you can't wear any cloths, neither can we pay for what we eat: therefore you must either let us have a share of the provision for nothing as long as it lasts, or we must starve. From all which it is demonstrable, that if you have no trade in a kingdom, there can be nothing paid to land for necessaries: and it may be well worth while for the landed interest to observe, when corn is so high that people in general can't wear as well as eat, they can't pay for provision, and of course become a burden upon land.

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The two grand points to increase the wealth of a kingdom, are, to find a market for your labour, and to furnish labour for the market: the former is to be done by keeping up your marine, and paying a bounty upon manufactures for such markets where you are underfold; and the latter is more or less as you have people, and conduct to keep them employed. In a well governed state none should be idle, nor any want the necessaries of life.

I will only suppose we have now two millions of families in the kingdom, that earn by their labour ten shillings a-week each, which amounts in the whole year (allowing two weeks for holiday) to sifty million. This must be our great fund, not land; it is this must support the King upon the throne, the Nobles, and all that deem themselves above labour; the landholder must have his all from this fund; it is this

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will fill your ships with manufactures, and make your merchants as princes, who crowd the ocean with their ships, and furnish you with what is valuable from the most distant parts of the globe,

If out of all our present taxes a million is raised upon luxuries, &c. consumed by those that labour, which, we may suppose, will amount to a million more before it comes to their hands, for every trader to have his profit upon it: here are two millions neat labour more than we could otherwise probably have; to which if we add, after it passes from them, for brokerage, &c. at a moderate rate we may fay a million more, which, in the whole, amounts to three millions per annum, to add to our exports upon the score of Taxes: this can never otherwife affect land, than to raise its value; and though some perhaps may think it hard, that so much must come from the middling and lower

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lower class of people, I have only to reply, that it is paid by them, take it in what manner you will: for though the distiller, publican, &c. may look big, and think themfelves men of great consequence to the state, they receive all they pay from labour with great interest: from all which we have this rule; the sewer hands a taxed article passes through before it comes to labour, the easier it will be paid, and consequently the more can be raised.

From what has been said above it must appear, that if the national debt had been wiped out with a spunge sifty years ago, and the Taxes taken off that were established to pay the interest, the nation must now have been more than an hundred millions poorer than we are. To make this clear, we will suppose the debt half a century ago just sifty millions; and I must beg leave here to observe, that this money formerly borrow-

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ed, and circulated amongst ourselves, was the reason of the high encomiums on the glorious times in Queen Anne's wars, which our ancestors have handed down to us as the golden age, when every man got money; which must slow from the above. This sum, formerly put in motion, is now any man's that has a hundred pounds to spare, which may be laid out in stock at a market-price; whereby we have no money lying idle, and the capital and interest of the nation swell immensely.

A debt of fifty millions, estimated at 4 per cent. is two millions per annum, which, at the above rate of only one million in Taxes falling upon labour, will amount to three million as before, to add to our exports, and make one hundred and fifty millions in the fifty years; and if labour pays more than half the two millions, there is so much more to add to the account of gain. Though this estimate

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estimate may not be near the truth, as to the number of people, or sum paid in taxes, it is sufficient to shew how Taxes operate in the kingdom; which in some measure is peculiar to Great Britain, and arises from our superiority at sea, by which the circulation of money is never interrupted; when in every other country we may be at war with, their commerce must stagnate, and in proportion as they are distressed, our own trade grows and slourishes. And here before I proceed farther, I challenge all that exclaim against Taxes, and all the accomptants in the kingdom, to disprove what has been advanced upon this head.

I would not have the reader conclude from what has been faid, that the more we are in debt, and the more numerous our taxes are, the richer the nation is; for there are certain limits which it ought never to exceed, and which may be beside my present purpose to explain,

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explain, and must lead me too far out of the way for a work of this kind. All I have in view, is to shew we have no occasion to fear increasing the national debt fifty millions, and that the Taxes in consequence of it, if judiciously laid, must be of public utility; and you may likewise add to the sinking sund a sum sufficient to reduce it in a twenty years peace.

If the excise laws are already upon an equitable plan, it can be no wrong measure to extend them, by which you will be at no farther expence in collecting, than at present. Taxes upon commodities, first luxuries, sit most natural and easy. What is paid by the landholder, merchant, manufacturer, labourer, &c. is only for what each do consume, in which every man is at liberty to use more or less of the taxed articles as they please: so there is not the least shadow of reason to complain.

From

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From what has been said it must appear that if we have labour, we have money; and as money will exchange for every thing, in possessing this valuable metal we have all things. It is men to fight our battles, and ships; it is corn, wine, and oil: and tho our divines are pleased to call it an evil, it is productive of every good. Money is the finews of war; let your supplies be effectual, and the enemy pay all at the day of account; whereas, for want of it, the nation must fink into contempt. Britain has money enough, and more than sufficient to banish every evil we at present complain of. What can we fay then? What a reproach to a country, that has the natural means in their hands, and will not use it? How can we expect a bleffing upon our arms, and not exert ourselves according to our ability? To fast and pray for success is mere mockery, without first doing what we are able in defence of ourselves, and to recover our just rights.

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rights. The ploughman in the fable, that petitioned Jupiter to get his cart out of the mire, was ordered to put his shoulder to the wheel, and whip the horses, as the most likely means to effect it. Rouse then, my countrymen! let us not starve the cause. Why should not twenty millions be borrowed for the service of the current year, and every loyal city and borough have liberty to fubscribe as much as they please? This fum put in motion would chase the French from the back of our fettlements, from Virginia to Nova Scotia, by which only can we ever have a lasting peace. By this measure we should secure a trade for skins, furs, &c. which with the fish trade, and intercourse of commerce between his Majesty's dominions in Europe and America, must be a more lasting fund to the British Empire, than a mountain of gold. With this fum, likewise, we might more vigorously support our noble ally the King of Prussia, and not let

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the labouring ore lie so heavy upon his hands. If we had an hundred thousand men more to plead the protestant cause in Germany, what might we not promise ourselves. The above measure, pushed vigorously, and continued as long as the war lasts, would enable our Sovereign to sharpen the point of his sword, and make France tremble, and be the likeliest means to end the war soon and well.

After all, it may be objected to what has been said above, that money borrowed for the use of the state does not wholly circulate amongst ourselves; for the we may supply the army and navy with all they want when at home, great sums must be sent out of the kingdom when we have troops abroad; to which may be added what is paid in substitutes, and to hire foreign troops; all which, according to some of our political writers, must be so much dead loss to the nation.

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is an allowed maxim in war to carry into the enemies country if you are able. and in the next place, I believe, all will agree it must be right to deside the combat, any where rather than at home. If two or three million per annum is spent by us in Germany, and there cannot be a loser without a gainer; one would imagine if we are that sum the poorer, the Country where its fpent must be enriched by it: But I believe neither Saxony, nor Hanover, nor any country that is the feat of the war, will boast of their profit by it: On the contrary, many of them look upon themselves as a ruined people; their lands uncultivated, their manufactures at a stand, their country ravaged by a merciless army, and nothing but devestation and horror in every countenance, This is the situation of the unhappy people, whose country is the seat of war; the money that may be spent there cannot rest with them; but that, together with all they can

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shift for, will make itself wings, and fly to those that can supply them with necessaries: and then our merchants bring all home again.

Here give me leave to observe, that though Germany were debtor To Cash three millions at paying, that sum may in return have credit for ten millions in corn and other merchandise; from which it must appear, there can be no disadvantage to us in the above sum, being first circulated abroad, as we must have it in the end center with us, for the products of our lands and manufactures, no other country being more likely to surnish them with it.

I hope I have fufficiently shewn that Taxes are so far from being an evil, that they are the hand-maid to trade, that cherish those that pay, and are productive of every good. Taxes are the perpetual motion, and the treasury; the bag that fills as it empties, the purse

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purse that will never be exhausted. Money thus in motion for the use of the state, is like the rivers running into the sea, that can never be drained; and lastly, taxes are the Philosophers Stone, that has been so long sought for in all ages, that turns all it touches into gold, durable gold; that will multiply the Wealth, and raise the Glory of England to its meridian of splendor, and continue its influence to the latest posterity, if we have wisdom enough to keep it.

I shall conclude with desiring the reader to well weigh what has been said, and not too hastily determine from former prejudices; and then I make no doubt but every man that is a friend to his country will join with me in saying, Britons, support your King.

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