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A

STATE

OFTHE

NATIONAL DEBT,

as it stood

December the 24th, 1716.

WITH THE

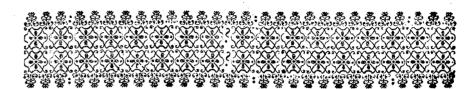
Payments made towards the Discharge of it out of the Sinking Fund, &c.

compared with

The Debt at Michaelmas, 1725.

LONDON:

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STATE

OFTHE

PUBLICK DEBTS, &c.



HERE have been so many Accounts and States of the Natio-

nal Debts drawn up and published within a few Years past, that I should have thought it very unnecessary to have troubled the Publick upon this Subject, if I had not lately, to my no small Surprize, met with such warm and angry Contentions about it, as have very much disturbed the Peace and Quiet of the Neighbourhood where I live; and it is not unlikely, that they have had the same Effect in other B

Parts of the Kingdom. This having led me to enquire from whence these unexpected Disputes did arise, I found they were occasioned by a late Essay on the Publick Debts, which the Author says "he was induced to write, in order to remove "fome Mistakes upon this Subject, which he "found generally to prevail, to the Prejudice of the Publick, that our Debts have increased upon us since the Provisions made for the Discharge "of them; and, as he rightly says, it is the Interest of the Publick that the Truth in this Case should be as generally known as may be."

I was in hopes from hence to have met with a clear and distinct Account of what our Debrs were at the Beginning of this Reign, or some other fix'd Period of Time; and of the particular Sums which had been discharged in part thereof; and from that plain Proof, to have continued in the Satisfaction which I had for some time enjoyed from the Belief that the National Debts were considerably lessen'd; which every one might easily imagine them to be, as well from the Provisions made for this Purpose by the Sinking Fund, as from the frequent mention made in the Votes, and in the Titles of many Acts of Parliament of the Redeeming of one Fund or other; which I thought was paying off the Debts that had been charged

A State of the Publick Debts, &c.

charged thereupon. This, together with an Abfence of some Years from Town and Engagements in Things of another Nature, had indu-

ced me not once to question that Fact.

But after reading a very few Pages of this Writer, I began to doubt, from his confused Manner of Stating these Accounts, and the little Shifts and Distinctions made use of to disguise them, that I was mistaken; yet being as unwilling to believe it, as this Author seems to be that the Publick should know it, I immediately resolved to procure such Papers and Informations, as I thought necessary to enable me to satisfy my self in this Enquiry, which now much more engaged my Concern than my Curiosity.

And after the strictest and most careful Examination, being convinced of my own Delusion, and seeing the Endeavours used to deceive the Publick, in a Particular, in which it very much concerns them to be truly informed, I have therefore thought it to be of greater Service, than I otherwise should have done, to collect from the Papers, which have been delivered to the House of Commons, as far as they will enable me to do it, a true State of our present Debts, and lay the same before

them.

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As I do not pretend to have any other helps and affiftances, but these Papers only, which I think are fully sufficient for this Purpose, as well as authentick, so I do not expect any Credit but what is supported by their Authority. That the Reader's Attention may not be interrupted, nor his Eye disturbed by turning over long Accounts, I have annexed those, which I think necessary, to the End of this Paper, and refer to them as Occasion requires.

The most reasonable and unexceptionable Method of doing what I propose is, I think, to begin with the Account of the National Debt, as it is stated from the Exchequer the 14th of March 1716, which varies very little, I believe, from what it was the 24th of December, 1716. the time that is referr'd to by all our Acts of Parliament.

The several Particulars of this Account have been so often printed already, that I have only made an Abstract of it; but in such a Manner, that it may be very easily examined by any body, who will take the trouble of doing it.

To this Account, as then delivered to the House of Commons, I have added all such Debts as have been stated fince that time, but were due for Services performed before, and consequently do compleat

A State of the Publick Debts, &c.

compleat the total Sum of the National Debt, as

it stood the said 24th of December, 1716.

The Manner of drawing up Accounts, by way of Debtor and Creditor, being, I believe, most plain and intelligible, I have therefore stated the Accounts this way, placing the Debt before-mentioned on one Side of it, and on the other I have set down all the Payments, which since that time have been made at the Exchequer, out of the Produce of any of the Taxes and Duties appropriated to the Payment of any Part of these Debts; and then such farther Sums as have been applyed towards the Discharge of them out of the Money of the Sinking Fund, from Michaelmas, 1715. the Time of its Commencement, to Michaelmas, 1725, to which time only these Accounts are delivered to Parliament.

The Ballance of this Account * thus stated, will, I doubt not, be well understood, and undeniably granted to be the *Total National Debt*, which would have been owing at this Time, in case no Additions had been made to it since the 24th of December, 1716.

And this Sum appears to be Forty-five Millions, Five Hundred Fifty-nine Thousand, Seven Hundred Forty-six Pounds.

The greatest Part of this remaining Debt, with the sarther Sums which have been Contracted fince that Time, having, as it is too well known, changed their Denominations by the Subscriptions into the South-Sea Corporation, in the Year 1720; I have therefore thought it for the Reader's ease and conveniency, to form an entire new Account of the Publick Debt, as it now stands, which includes the before-mentioned Ballance, with the Addition of such Debts as have been contracted for Services since the 24th of December, 1716; and which for that Reason are not in the former Account: and these Sums make the Debtor Side of the second Account *.

The first Article on the Credit Side is the Ballance of the first Account, by which means the Debt to the 24th of December, 1716, is deducted out of the Debt, as it now stands. The other Articles are the Payments which have been made of any Part of the Debt fince the Alterations made by the unhappy South-Sea Scheme; and this, either by the Produce of the Funds themfelves, or by Money out of the Sinking Fund, which could not be brought into the former Account. These two Accounts do therefore contain

A State of the Publick Debts, &c.

all the Money which has, at any time, been paid in Part of the National Debt, from the 24th of December, 1716, to the 24th of December, 1725. And the Ballance of this Account is most certainly the Sum, which has been contracted or added to the Publick Debt, since the Year 1716. And this Addition or Increase amounts to the Sum of Seven Millions, seven hundred sixty-four Thousand, and thirty-seven Pounds. And by this means the Debt which would have been reduced, as appears by Account (No. 1.) to Forty-five Millions, five Hundred sifty-nine Thousand, seven hundred forty-six Pounds, is now increased to Fifty-three Millions, three hundred twenty three Thousand, seven hundred eighty-four Pounds.

This, I hope, is sufficient to explain to the Reader, That by the increased Debt I mean the Sum more than the National Debt would have been at Michaelmas, 1725, in case no Additions had been made to it since the Year 1716; and will likewise obviate an Evasion, that may probably be made use of, to deceive those who are not conversant in these Things, which is artfully to omit any Notice of the Sums which have actually been paid in Part of the Debt due in 1716, and then to compare the State of it at that Time, when it appears to be Fifty-one Millions, six hundred and forty

Thousand

Thousand, nine hundred thirty-four Pounds, with the Account of it at Michaelmas 1725, which is Fiftythree Millions, three hundred twenty-three Thousand, seven hundred eighty-four Pounds; and from thence argue that there has been little Addition made to the Publick Debts.

In Answer to this, it must be considered that some Part of the Debt in 1716, has been constantly paying off out of the Produce of the Funds originally appropriated to the Payment of the Money borrowed upon them; and other Sums have from Time to Time been paying off, out of the Produce of the Sinking Fund, which begins from Michaelmas, 1715.

And if this Author should be living at the End of 28 Years, and the whole old Debt of fifty Millions should then be paid off, as he supposes, and yet the National Debt should, notwithstanding, be still fifty Millions, would he have the Confidence to affirm that there had, in this Time, been no Addition to, or Increase of the Publick Debts?

This is just the present Case, tho' in a smaller Sum.

I believe this Account will, in some Measure, remove the Author's "Wonder how the uncomfor-" table Mistake, as he is pleas'd to call it, that our " Debts have encreased upon us since the Provisions made

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. ' made for the Discharge of them, has so generally

' prevailed." And that it has not arose from any designed Misrepresentation of our Circumstances, but is a most certain, and unhappy Truth, which must surprize every body who reads his positive * Assertions, That our Debts have in this Time been really diminished the Sum of two Millions, ninety-six Thousand, nine hundred ninety-three Pounds. For allowing him to deduct out of the Ballance of the increased Debt the three Millions, one hundred fifty-five Thousand, eight hundred fifty-eight Pounds, increased by the Subscription of the Irredeemables, which, for the Reasons I shall afterwards mention, there is no Ground for; yet notwithstanding this, the Difference between his Assertions and the true State of the Debt will be four Millions, six hundred eight Thousand, one hundred seventy-nine Pounds; To which adding the Sum of two Millions, ninety-six Thousand, nine Hundred ninety-three Pounds, which he affirms the Debt is diminished, the total Difference is no less than six Millions, seven hundred, sive Thou-Sand, one hundred seventy-two Pounds.

If to the increased Debt of seven Millions, seven hundred sixty-four Thousand and thirty-seven Pounds, as it stands in this State, there is added the five

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^{*} P. 31. and 34.

hundred Thousand Pounds borrowed upon the Victuallers Tax, The Deficiency of one hundred and one Thousand, three Hundred Pounds, still unprovided of the Supply for the Year 1724, the Deficiences of the Land-Tax and Malt for the Years 1724 and 1725 (not to mention 1726,) which have not been yet made good, with the extraordinary Expences of the Fleets abroad, and the unusual Supply of an unlimited Sum for Services unknown or unnamed, a like Instance whereof I have not before met with in the Journals of Parliament; I am afraid that the increased Debt of this Kingdom, at Christmas next, will not be much less than ten Millions; and this in about ten Years; and, as the Author truly says, in a Time of almost uninterrupted Peace.

One would think the Writer of the Essay had from hence made his Calculation of the Sum he supposes we may be obliged to run in Debt annually for 25 Years to come: nay, *he thinks it not only probable that the Exigencies of the Government may make new Debts necessary, but afterwards seems to intimate that the Increase may be sifty Millions more than the present Debt. Or else to what Purpose does he wast his own Time, or trouble

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. II

trouble his Reader with that laborious and comfortable Computation of the Time, in which the Sinking Fund, is to pay this one hundred Millions. He further tells us *, "That the Lands, Estates, "Expences or Commerce of Great Britain will yet easily admit of farther Duties, to answer even any Expence."

As they may very likely be soon wanted, he would have done well to have pointed out some of these easy Taxes. To assist him in this Work, I have at the End of these Papers annexed a View of all the several Taxes, Duties, &c. which have been laid upon the Subject, since the 5th of November 1688, over and above all Taxes payable at that Time, and have, from Time to Time.

been continued, till they were most of them very lately made perpetual, and are not to cease

till the National Debt is paid off.

I believe very few of my Country-men have feen or considered this in the manner it is now laid before them; and I confess it was so unpleading a Task, that nothing could have extorted it from me, but the Mis-representations and extravagant Assertions of this Author, that we are

* P. 51.

still able to bear a great many more; for whose Information I have been prevailed on to draw up this Abstract, which I think well deserves the ferious Confideration of the Publick. And for his farther Information, I think it may not be unnecessary to acquaint him, that the doubling or encreasing any of these Duties, will be of very little use to his Purposes. For though the Customs may now be reckoned at least four times greater than they were before the Revolution; yet whoever examines these Revenues, will find that they do not produce above one half more than they did before the Additions to them. So that altho' Trade is burthened and oppressed, yet the Publick has not the Benefit expected from these multiplied, encreased Duties.

It is impossible to read many Pages in this Writer, without being put in mind of the Empsons and Dudleys, those great Oppressors of Old,
who, in their most cruel Treatment of the People, never discovered a more merciless Disposition than this Author, in his Assertion of the Easiness of laying more Taxes upon them. And
since it is Pity he should lose his Reward,
I wish he may be made the Collector, as well as
the Inventor of them.

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A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 13

I must consess, I did not think it possible to have found any Briton so void of Compassion to his Country, and all Sense of Duty to his Majesty, who has so often and so earnestly recommended the Payment of our Debts, as to allarm his Dutiful and Loyal Subjects with these terrifying Suppositions, and instead of giving them hopes of being eased of some of the numerous Taxes they now pay, to insult the People with telling them that they may not only easily bear more, but that they may be continued for ever upon them; which is the plain and certain Consequence of his Doctrine, and seems to be the whole Tenour and Design of his Book.

It is an Observation of the Naturalists, that every venomous Creature, by the Goodness of Providence, carries with it the Antidote of its own Poison; and nothing being more plain, than that the Intention of this Author is to encourage us to run into new Debts, upon the pretence of shewing us the Easiness of paying off our Old ones, by the help of the Sinking Fund, and thus turning to our certain Destruction the only Means lest for our Preservation; it is to be hoped, that since, by this Instance, we are warned that the Kingdom may produce those, who think like this Author, the Nation will therefore be upon its

Guar

Guard, to prevent such Doctrines being put in Practice. We are, I believe, in no danger at present, that they should receive the least Encouragement or Countenance; since, as I am informed, the Gentlemen in the Administration very justly place no small Part of their Glory and Merits in encreasing and supporting the Publick Credit, which, they must be sensible, cannot be more effectually destroyed, than by publishing such dangerous and pernicious Insinuations.

When therefore it was impossible that this Writer could ever think to make his Compliment to them, it justly encreases our Wonder, what Motives could induce him to this Attempt, and what vain Presumption could persuade him to imagine, that by a confused Jumble of Figures, he should be able to pass such a gross Imposition as this upon his fellow Subjects, that our Debts are really decreased above two Millions.

I think we may venture to draw a farther Confirmation from it, of what I just now mentioned, that this Performance owes its Birth to the ill judged Officiousness of the Author, and not to any Encouragement from his Superiours, who, I believe, will give him little Thanks for this Instance of the Respect which he pretends to have for them. For if it was possible to believe, that any of them could have

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 15

have a Desire that the National Debts should be thought of in the Light which this Author would put them; was not the only Way of doing this, to leave them, as before, to be talked of in general words? By which Means, with the Help of a little Authority, and some Assurance, modest Knowledge would be often born down, not only in Conversation, but even in Places where it is of much greater Importance that the Truthshould be known. But Falts and Figures are the most stubborn Evidences; they neither yield to the most persuasive Eloquence, nor bend to the most

imperious Authority.

I have therefore thought it much more for the Reader's Satisfaction, to lay a plain Account of the Debt before him, than to waste his Time in taking any Notice of this Author's laboured Piece of Confusion; but think it necessary to acquaint him, that the Sums I have inferted in the Account, as paid at the Exchequer upon the several Lotteries of the Years 1713, 1714, and 1719, and likewise Part of the Sum towards the Discharge of Exchequer Bills, is rather Guess, than Certainty, by reason of the Ignorance or Negligence of the Person, whom my Friend sent to make the Enquiry; for I do not suppose, for many Reasons, that the Answer which he sent me

Was

was true. The only Difference will be, that in case the Sums which I have set down on these Heads, as paid off, are not so, the Debt is the greater.

I do not apprehend that there is any other Objection or Pretence for the least Cavil, except placing the one hundred ten Thousand, three hundred twelve Pounds Navy Annuities, as a Debt since the Year 1716; for though it is true, as the Author says, that this was an Arrear due to the South-Sea Company before the Year 1718, when it was provided for, yet whoever reads the Act 4° Geo. * or the Act 50 Geo. † will see no Reason to believe that it was grown due before the Year 1716, but the contrary. And were it otherwise, there is ample amends for it made, by placing the whole Arrear of one hundred ninety-one Thousand, twenty-eight Pounds to the East-India Company, as a Debt before the Year 1716, when above one hundred twenty-seven Thousand, five hundred Pounds of it was contracted since that Time; but I was not willing to break the Sum, lest it might give trouble to any Body who is pleased to examine the Accounts.

As for the other Sums, which the Author excepts out of the present Debt, because the Money was borrowed in Aid of the Sinking Fund; which

210

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 17 are the Lottery 1719, the Money advanced by the South-Sea Company, for taking in the Lottery 1710, and the Exchequer Bills applyed to the Payment of the Lottery Annuities, due Credit is given for them by the Payments in the Account to-

wards the Discharge of the Publick Debt.

But I must ask leave to set the Author right in one Thing, which is, That the whole five hundred forty-four Thousand, one hundred forty-two Pounds, advanced by the South-Sea Company, was not employed in Aid of the Sinking Fund; for one hundred eighty-eight thousand, two hundred and twenty-fix Pounds was allowed to the Company to make good an Arrear of Interest incurred in the Years 1719 and 1720. and when Interest is turned into Principal, I suppose it may be called a Debt; and the farther Sum of thirty-three Thou-Sand, two hundred forty-two Pounds, though it does not appear in any of the Accounts to be accounted for to the Publick, yet it is the Sum which, I suppose, was allowed the Company for their Benefit by this Subscription, pursuant to the Act, and is Part of the thirty-seven Thousand, five hundred Pounds, which they were to have had, in case the whole Sum remaining unpaid of the Lottery 1710, had been subscribed; but as it was not, if their Proportion was to go hand in hand with

^{*} P. 262. † P. 287.

the Sum of seven hundred seventy-eight Thousand, seven hundred and fifty Pounds, the Publick was in that case to have had, and the Sum of five hundred forty-four Thousand, one hundred forty two Pounds, which they did receive, it will be found that the South-Sea Company received seven thousand and forty Pounds above their Proportion. It is very probable that I may be laught at, for taking notice of such a Trifle, who have the Simplicity to think, that nothing is so, which will be the least Help towards lessening the Debt of the Kingdom.

As I cannot see any Reason, why the Author has deducted out of the Debt since the Year 1716, the three Millions, one hundred twenty-three Thousand, one hundred eighty-seven Pounds (and not three Millions, one hundred fifty-five Thousand, eight hundred fifty-eight Pounds, as he makes it) which was allowed the Annuitants, upon Subscribing their Annuities to the South-Sea Corporation, in the Year 1720: So I do not know in what other Period of Time to place it; for it would appear very unreasonable to place it to the Account before 1716, when there are so many living Instances of Publick Justice upon those, who have been punished, in a very exemplary Manner, for bringing this Debt upon us. For it is well known the chief Reason for giving this advanced Price, was because the Publick

Publick was to be reimbursed it with a greater Sum, towards the Discharge of the National Debt, by the seven Millions which were to have been paid for this Bargain; and no Body doubts but the Loss and Injury the Publick suffered upon this Occasion, as well as the private Calamities of the Subject, were considered in the Punishment. And this Writer is sure very unlucky in the choice of this unhappy Article, which is so very fresh in all our Memories, and is, of all others, the most afflicting and grievous to the remembrance of every honest Briton, and is too strongly fixed upon the Nation, to be removed by his Exception to it.

But was it otherwise, neither the Author, I believe, nor my self have any Authority to enquire by what Means or Methods our Debts have been contracted or increased: for if we had, I might possibly with as good Reason except very large Sums out of the Debts before 1716, and others might enter into Enquiries of this kind, that I believe

would not be very agreeable.

But I think such Examinations of no use in the present Case; nor that it is very becoming either of us to be pointing at any Debts that may be thought to have been contracted by the Weakness or Wickedness of any Ministry, to give handles to D 2 make

make Comparisons of one Reign or one Administration with another.

I shall therefore content my self with stating the Debt as it is; and have carefully chosen Periods of Time to avoid the least Suspicion of any such Reflections; Truth and nothing more being the End of the present Enquiry, which I hope will appear plain and satisfactory by this State of the National Debt.

And, to obviate every Objection I can think of, it is necessary to acquaint the Reader that he will find charged one Million in Exchequer Bills made out for the Navy Debt, and five hundred thouland Pounds raised by the Lottery 1719, for paying off Exchequer Bills, is given Credit for in the Account; neither of which Sums are inserted in the Accounts of the Sinking Fund.

The State of the Debt, being fettled, naturally leads me to the Consideration of the Provisions made for the Payment of it, as stated by the Author of the Essay; who, for Reasons which he does not explain, is pleased to quarrel with the Order of printing the Statutes, because the Act for Redeeming several Funds of the Governours and Company of the Bank of England, &c. is not put before the two others, which he recites. But I think he had much better Grounds to have found

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 21

found fault that a certain Act of the first of the King is printed before those Acts of the third of the King, because it very unluckily flatly contradicts his Assertion, That the first material Provision that was made for discharging the Publick Debts, was by the Acts be mentions, which were all passed 3° Geoij. And every body, who has made the least Enquiry into these Things, or has turned over the Statute Book, knows very well that the Act 1° Geoij. for Enlarging the Fund of the Governour and Company of the Bank of England, &c. establishes the aggregate Fund, which is the first great Branch and Foundation of the Sinking Fund. I am forry the Author has no better Notions of Truth and Candour, than to think this fly Compliment, made at the Expence of the Honour and Memory of the Dead, could be acceptable to those, whose Merits do not stand in need of such low Artifices to gild them.

I suppose the Estimate which he has made of the Produce of the Sinking Fund, is taken from the Accounts delivered to the House of Lords; for they not only differ in the Times they are made up for, from those delivered to the House of Commons, and directed by the Acts of Parliament, but likewife in the annual Sums; but as the Differences are not very considerable, I shall not trouble the Reader

Reader with them; but only take Notice that it would have been some Advantage to his Argument, if he had made his Calculation from the Accounts of the Sinking Fund laid before the House of Commons for the two Years ending at Michaelmas 1725; for in the last of them the Produce is feven hundred seventy-five Thousand, seven hundred twenty-six Pounds; and this, notwithstanding a Sum of one hundred, one thousand, eight hundred, thirty-five Pounds is taken (as it is faid) to make good so much owing to the Civil List, which I suppose is not to be an annual Deduction: but I must confess I don't understand what is the meaning of it, which I could wish had been a little explained; fince, after no small Pains in examining the Accounts of the Sinking Fund, I find that the full seven bundred thousand Pounds per Ann. established by Parliament for the Civil Lift, has been constantly deducted; and therefore I am not able to find the Reasons for the Deduction of this farther Sum of one hundred thousand Pounds.

I am also at a loss for the Reason that, in the Account of the Sinking Fund to Michaelmas 1725, there is said to be then remaining in the Exchequer, the Sum of five hundred forty-seven thousand, six hundred fifty-four Pounds; and this Account is dated

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 23 dated the 25th of February, 1725. For by Act 9° Geo". it is expresly ordered that this Money should be applied, from Time to Time, as it arises, to the Discharge of Exchequer Bills; and a Paymaster is directed to be, and I suppose has been appointed for this Purpose, to whom by this Act of Parliament it seems, this Money should have been paid long before; except there has been any other express Directions since that Time, as I am told there has not; but must confess I have not seen the Acts fince. And the Author, who is a very Great Man at Compound Interest, will, I believe, find that this is a Loss to the Publick of near eight thousand nine hundred Pounds. But, what is worse, it hurts his Computation of the certain Payment of the Debt in about 28 Years: since every Interruption or Delay, in applying the Sinking Fund, puts it back. And is he sure that nothing more of this kind will happen in such a Number of Years, since this may be said to be stumbling at the Threshold?

I hope the Reader will excuse me for giving one Instance of the Author's great Care and Exactness in the Use of his Papers, upon this Occasion, as well as of his great Sagacity in the Observation he is pleased to make, that the Produce of the Sinking. Fund in the Years 1723 and 1724,

"exceeds the same Fund for some Years before, by
a greater Sum than can be accounted for by the
Discharge or Reduction of the Interest of any
Part of the Publick Debts; and he is therefore
inclined to attribute it to the Provisions made
about that Time for preventing Frauds in the
Revenue, &c."

I hope, and do not doubt, that the Publick will in time find the Benefit of this Act: but whoever considers that it takes place from the 25th of March, 1722, only, and is never so little acquainted with these Things, and knows the many Branches of Trade, which are concerned in the Sinking Fund, with the numberless Accidents that may occasion little Variations one Year more than another, will, I believe, think the Author a little too hasty in his Conclusion, that the Difference, which appears in these two Years Produce of this Fund, is owing to the immediate Effect of this Act; and at the same time overlook a much more probable, and, I may fay, certain Cause, which is (contrary to his Affirmation) the most remarkable Reduction of Interest since the Year 1720, viz. sixty thousand, two hundred thirty-nine Pounds per Ann. upon the Annuities of one Million, two hundred and four Thousand, seven hundred eighty-six Pounds from Lady-Day, 1723, and twelve

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 25

twelve Thousand, sour hundred sourteen Pounds per Annupon two hundred thirty sive Thousand, two hundred ninety-seven Pounds, from Lady Day 1724. and if he will add these Savings of Interest to sive hundred ninety-seven Thousand, one hundred twenty-sour Pounds, the Produce of the Sinking Fund for the Year 1720, he will find it exceeds either of the Years 1723 or 1724.

Or if the Author will examine the Produce of the great Branches of the *Customs* for the Years 1719 and 1720, he will find them *more* than in his favourite Periods of 1723 and 1724.

As I have hitherto looked upon the Establishment and Appropriation of the Sinking Fund to the Payment of the National Debts, as the wisest and most beneficial Provision, which, in our Circumstances, could have been thought of; I cannot but be pleased to see any Advocate for the Improvement and strict Application of it to this great and good Use; and I am not a little glad to see an Opinion, I have always entertertained, confirmed by this Author *viz. "That "the Sinking Fund is grounded upon a Con-"tract between the Government and the Publick "Creditors, they on the one hand accepting one E

" fixth Part less of their Annuity or Interest, "upon the Assurance and Security given them " by the Legislature, that this Saving should be in-" violably applyed to the Payment of their Prin-" cipal; to which Purpose it is in such a Manner " appropriated by the Legislature, that it is not " alterable by any subsequent Acts of Parliament, " upon Pretence of any publick Conveniency "whatsoever. And that we may confidently " expect that no Person whatsoever, to whose " Hands the Administration of our Affairs may " at any Time be committed, can ever approve " or recommend the Application of the Produce of the Sinking, Fund in any possible Exigency, to "any other Uses than those to which it stands " now appropriated". A Declaration thus clear and full, from one whose Maxims do not much favour the only good End proposed by this Fund, viz. the Payment of our Debts, would be very satisfactory, if, in my looking over Papers upon this Occasion, I did not meet with a Difficulty which I cannot solve; and that is, that without any great Exigency, as I think, in our Affairs, this Fund has been a Security for Payment of Money raised for the Current Service of the Year, which certainly has nothing to do with our Debts before 1716. and must have been provided

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 27 for, if no such Fund were in being. I know there is a Proviso, that in case the Funds do not prove sufficient for the Purpoles for which they were granted, they are then to be made good out of the first Aids of the next Year; but in case that fails, the Sinking Fund stands engaged, and is no doubt looked upon as the Security, or otherwise it would be to no purpose to name it. Whether this is not a Practice that may be dangerous, I shall leave to others to consider: for if there should be a necessity, upon any Occasion, to raise large Sums for the Service of any one Year, and the Deficiency of the Funds should be too great to be provided for out of the Supplies of the next Year, the Sinking Fund will be then probably obliged to make good that Deficiency, and diverted from the Uses to which it is most strictly appropriated; and this without any Benefit that I can Tearn to the Publick; for is it not equal in Point of Advantage to the Kingdom, whether we save a higher Interest by paying off our old Debts, or take the Money that ought, preferable at least to all other Considerations, to be applyed to the Payment of them, only to make a Merit of Raifing the Supplies for the Current Services at a Lower Interest, in prejudice to the Publick Credit, and to the insensible Increase of our Debts?

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And in the Times of Peace and Prosperity which we have enjoyed, I believe no body, who is acquainted with Trade and Business and the regular Payments upon the Land-Tax and Malt, and knows any thing of providing Necessaries for the Navy, &c. as I have done, would find any great Difficulty to supply the Money for the Year's Service, from time to time, as it is wanted, without putting the Kingdom to the Expence of Two per Cent Interest. I have been informed that the late Earl of Godolphin did not, for the Serwices at home, pay above Four per Cent. or 4½ in the Heat of the War; but indeed, I believe he was not of Opinion, that the Wealth, Trade, and Riches of these Kingdoms were too considerable to stand in need of any frugal Management: and after many Years presiding at the Head of the Treasury, he lest no Acquisitions by his Employment, but, without the accidental Falling in of the paternal Estate, he would have dyed in Want 3 a glorious Example for all his Successors to follow! And who is there, that has any Sense of publick Merit, who does not fincerely wish that his Honour and Memory may be perpetuated for ever, and his Family distinguished with the most lasting and uninterrupted Happiness ?

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A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 29

I must consess, that Arguments for the Preservation of the Sinking Fund have a very odd Appearance in one, the whole Intent of whose Writing seems to be, to pervert the great and good Ends proposed by it, to the most pernicious Purposes that the Wit or Wickedness of Man could have thought of, viz. An Encouragement and Foundation of a Succession of endless Debts and Taxes; and his extraordinary Zeal for it puts one in mind of the common Jugglers, who amuse you with bidding you hold fast the Money, which they are then dexterously taking from you.

For would it not have been much better, that there never had been any such Thing as a Sinking Fund, than that it should be made the Instrument and Means of encreasing, instead of lessening our Debts, as this Author is pleased to argue, and tell us in very plain words *, "That it will always appear more eligible, in regard to the Publick Interest, as well as more easy to those Persons in the Administration, to raise what shall be farther wanted, by increasing the Publick Debts with farther Loans upon Interest provided for by New Duties, than to supply the same Sums from the Sinking Fund."

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The Writer must have a very mean Opinion of his Readers, if he thinks the putting this by way of Supposition will be a sufficient Security from the just Reproach of such Insinuations, which are followed with very express Declarations of his Meaning.

For * where he argues against the Reduction of the Interest of the Funds to three per Cent. he tells us, that in case this should be done, "The "danger seems to him by no means inconsidera-" ble, that it may soon after be determined to employ the Sinking Fund in the room of our " other Taxes, and leave the Debt upon the King-" dom for ever." How is this to be reconciled with his strong Assurances and firm Belief before-mentioned, That the Publick Faith and Justice was so strongly engaged for the Security of this Fund, that there was no Danger of any Violation of it? To what purpose then does he frighten the Publick Creditors with the Apprehensions of Exigencies happening, in which it might come into a Competition, which was most eligible, To seize upon the Produce of the Sinking Fund, or to contract New Debts upon New Loans, on the Prospect of paying them off

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 3

by this Security; and is not this the most certain Consequence of his Reasoning?

For if it is reasonable that the Present Ministry should, for their Ease, be allowed to encrease the National Debt; will not the same Plea hold for the next, and so on? Nay, will not any succeeding Ministry have much stronger Reasons for adding to the Debt, not only from the Precedent of their Predecessors, but by their having anticipated all Taxes which the Wit of the sharpest Projectors could invent, and consequently left no Room to raise any Sum for the Necessities of the Government?

I must consess, the Author's Reasoning, upon this Occasion, seems but a very odd Complement to any Ministry; for I always thought their great Honour consisted in their Skill and Ability to extricate their Prince and Country out of the Difficulties in which they were involved; and not in pursuing Measures that must end in the Destruction of both, however easy and beneficial they may be to themselves: But this Author having very wisely, as he supposed, secured his own Interest by taking the Present Ministry under his Protection, leaves the next Reign and Ministry to shift for themselves; and if his Doctrine is pursued, they will find it no easy Task, unless

the Riches of the Kingdom, and the Patience of the People are equally inexhaustible: For he has not been so kind to his Country, as to fix the happy Æra, when an End is to be put to multiplying of Taxes and Debts; and till then, he might have spared himself the trouble of making any Computation of Time, when it is probable the Debt of the Kingdom will be paid.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to consider, that the Kingdom of Great Britain only already pays, for the Current Services of the Government, and Interest of our present Debts, between six and seven Millions a Year; besides the vast and unlimited Charge of Managing, Collecting,

and Bringing in the same.

I must leave it to those, who are best acquainted with the State of the Nation, to judge what farther Sum they think may be annually raised upon the Kingdom; this being near as much as was granted in the most expensive Years of the late great War. And to encourage us in the farther Prosecution of it, I doubt not that many remember we were flattered, "That the Revenues of the Crown, at the Revolution, being about two Millions, two-hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, exclusive of the Charges of Collecting, the Expences of the Government, both "Civil

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. "Civil and Military at the End of the War, would " be under one Million, one hundred and twenty Thou-" Sand Pounds, per Annum; and the Kingdom would " certainly gain a Saving, to all Futurity, of a" bove a Million per Annum." From what Causes then these annual Expences have in so short a time been encreased to above three Millions a Year, and what is like to be the Consequences of it, I must leave to the Consideration of those, who have a Right to make this Enquiry, and who cannot forget, That the Crown at King James's Accession, when his own Revenue, as Duke of York, was consolidated with it, did little exceed one Million, seven hundred thousand Pounds, exclusive of all Charges of Collection, for all Expences Civil and Military; which, upon Occasion of Monmouth's Rebellion, and other Exigencies, was afterwards encreased four hundred thousand Pounds, and Part of this Sum was given for five, and some for eight Years only.

With this Revenue it is well known, that King James paid Debts of the former Reign, of near eight hundred thousand Pounds, and left no inconsiderable Sum in the Exchequer; and all this, in as little Time almost, as we have seen one Million of Debt contracted upon one Branch only of our annual Expence. And we may believe, that the wicked

Designs

Designs, which this King was at the same time carrying on, to introduce Popery, and Arbitrary Power, and over-turn the Constitution of these Kingdoms, might require, at least, as great a Sum for secret Service Money, as may have at any time since been necessary to support them.

It is certain from the Assistance we at present receive by our Paper Credit, that we are less sensible, than we otherwise should be, of the constant great and unusual Expences of the Publick: And this Credit, managed with Prudence, and kept within due Bounds, may be of great Use and Service to us in our present Circumstances; yet, if it should be extended too far, will be its own Destruction; and it is necessary for us not to suffer our selves to be deluded by it, into a vain Confidence and Dependance upon greater Riches than we really posses; for this will have very fatal Effects; and, by hiding from us our Poverty, and hindering us from taking proper Measures in time to prevent its growing upon us, we shall be exposed to the greatest Extremities, and shall find ourselves, when Distress comes upon us, plunged into Necessities and Debts without Remedy.

And fince it is possible, that the Author of the Essay may not have fully considered the Consequences of running in Debt; I shall beg Leave to tell

him

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 35 him a little History, that is very well known in a certain County of Great Britain; and I wish there was this single Instance only in the Kingdom.

A certain Family was possessed of an Estate of two Thousand Pounds a Year, upon which the Grand-Father lest a Debt of two Thousand Pounds only, the National Interest being then eight per Cent. The Son, soon after he came to the Estate, had the Misfortune to engage in a Competition for the County with his Neighbour, who was a Gentleman of a much better Estate. The fashionable Hospitality of that Time, encreased by this Contention, (that Source of Corruption and Ruin) engaged this unhappy Gentleman to make a great Addition to the first Debt: but Interest being some time after reduced to six per Cent. he very prudently took the Advantage of it, to change the Mortgage; at which time several little Debts being uneasy to him, he took up Money enough upon this Occasion, to pay them off, and added the Sum to the Old Mortgage; but resolved to keep the two per Cent. saved sacred towards discharging his Debt; not reflecting that by the last Addition to it, there was little more than one and a half left for this Purpose: But what was worse, The Fancy which from hence he entertained of clearing his Debt, made him not so careful as he was before, to regulate his

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Expences

Expences, to the yearly Income now remaining, which was farther lessened by the Publick Taxes, and his Debts multiplyed upon him faster than his saving by Interest paid them off; and it becoming generally known that the Estate was mortgaged near its Value, no Body would lend any more, which reduced him and his Family to Poverty and Missery.

However melancholly this Story may be thought, yet it will not be surprizing to a Gentleman, who has been accustomed to attend to the Increase of Money put out at Compound Interest, and consequently knows, that an annual Payment of seven Thousand Pounds only will, at sive per Cent. amount to the whole Value of an Estate of forty-nine Thousand Pounds per Annum, in less than forty-three Years.

This is so true, that I believe it may be affirmed, that near nine in ten of the Families in this Kingdom have been undone, by paying Interest for the Incumbrances upon their Estates: For in this case, there are but two possible ways for a Man to avoid his Ruin; either by consenting to give up the Vanity of owning a Title to a greater Estate than he possesses, and selling Part of it at once, to discharge the Debt; which is generally the wisest Way; or, what perhaps is still more difficult, resolutely and

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 37 and obstinately keeping his Expences within his real Income.

Are not Kingdoms a Collection of Families? And if any one doubts, whether devouring Interest is not as certain Destruction, as a consuming Land War, he will need no other Proof of it than this Author's Arguments, upon the Easiness of paying the National Debt, by the Benefits arising from Compound Interest, which I hope he will give me leave to make a little use of, to shew from thence the Mischief of running into Debt.

In order to this, I must desire the Reader to remember, that this Author tells us *, that the Sinking Fund encreases every Year, by the Addition of the Interest of the principal Sums in every Year paid off; and it is therefore very obvious to every Body, that it will in a much shorter time pay off a greater Debt at the end of twenty-eight Years, than it did at the Beginning of this Time; therefore, though the Debt of twenty-five Millions more, which this Writer supposes may be added to the present fifty odd Millions, may be paid off in little more than seven Years, after the twenty-eight, in which he proposes the present Debt may be paid off from Midsummer next, provided that

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the fifty Millions are then entirely discharged. Yet is there not something more to be considered in this case than the Time? Is the Money, that is to be raised upon the People, not worth thinking of? For, upon the Author's own Supposition of contracting this New Debt of twenty-five Millions, by one Million a Year only, there must be raised upon the Subject, by some New Tax, the Sum of above eighteen Millions, three hundred thousand Pounds, for the Interest of the Principal Money, at the end of five and twenty Years, at four per Cent. and then for the Interest of the whole Capital of twenty-five Millions, for eight Years more, it will require above nine Millions, two hundred thousand Pounds; which two Sums added to the Principal, make above fifty-two Millions, over and above the Old Debt of fifty odd Millions, which the Publick must pay for this New Debt, in case it should be contracted; which God forbid!

But to do the Author Justice, his Reasonings are of a Piece; and he seems to think himself such a Master of Figures, that he can impose upon his Readers at pleasure. Therefore * where he talks of reducing the Present Debt from four to three per Cent. which he does not approve, he tells

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. tells us that the Benefit by this Reduction would only be to discharge the Debt about four Years and a half sooner; and if you will raise a New Tax of three hundred twenty-two thousand Pounds per Annum more than the Nation now pays, to add to the present Sinking Fund, it will pay the Debt in the same time, though it is continued at four per-Cent. I must here again put this Writer in mind, that if he will make use of his Arithmetick, he will find that this New Tax will, in twenty-three Years, cost the People above eleven Millions, seven hundred and ninety thousand Pounds. And one per Cent. Interest, reduced upon fifty Millions Debt, will be a real Saving to the Kingdom, in this time, of eighteen Millions, three hundred thousand Pounds: So that the Difference in Advantage to the Publick, by the Reduction of Interest, and this Proposal of an Additional New-raised Fund, is a Saving of above thirty Millions, with this farther Benefit, that in one case there is less Money sent out of the Kingdom, for the Interest due to Foreigners; and in the other, more Money is raised at Home to be sent Abroad. Can a Nation sail to thrive under fuch Politicians as this Author? Who, out of his great Zeal and Concern for the Happiness of his Country, has thought it worth his time and trouble, to compute how many Years are required to.

pay a Debt of fifteen hundred and seventy-five Mil-

lions Sterling!

When the Author, to whom every Thing of this kind is, I doubt not, very easy, has found out the Taxes for sixty-nine Millions a Year, to pay the Interest of this Debt, with the Provision for the current Services of the Year, and Sinking Fund for it; as much an Enemy as I am to the Contracting of any Debts, he shall have my Consent even for this Debt; and I don't know, but that may be as fignificant as the Intimation which he has been pleased to give us *, that the Author is one of that Importance, that his Promise would be sufficient to make us hope for an End of the present Taxes, after the Payment of the publick Debt: A Grace, however, which he does not think fit to grant, though he might very safely have promised it, in case he has the Power to put his own Doctrine into Practice, if he had the Certainty of living to the Age of old PAR.

It is to be hoped, that this uncommon Genius will, in the mean time, give the Publick a Demonstration of that New and Curious Proposition, "† That an Increase of Figures is not any real Increase of the true Quantity of the Debt." For when they

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 41 are convinced of this Truth, it will remove all Uneasiness about Multiplying of Debts, even to the fifteen hundred Millions Sterling.

What a Loss is it to the Kingdom, that such an excellent Head should not be better employed? For I am afraid, these fine Speculations will neighber divert the Publick from thinking, nor the Peo-

ple from feeling the Weight of their Debts.

I believe the Author need not have given himself the trouble which he has done, upon the Subject of Reducing the Interest of the National Debt from Four to Three per Cent.; which I am so far from fearing, as he seems to do, that I think it very desirable, as soon as it is practicable: but I am afraid that we are not yet ready for that Consideration; since it will, very probably, be thought adviseable to see a little what Influence the Reduction of above fifty Millions to Four per Cent. may have upon our Affairs, before we proceed farther; and I am confirmed in this Opinion, by the late Caution of our Superiours upon this Occasion; for whom I have as great Respect as this Gentleman; and They thought it more prudent, to give the Bank about seventy-five thousand Pounds for their Consent to a certain Reduction of three Millions, seven hundred seventy-five Thousand, and twenty-seven Pounds, from Five to Four per Cent. at Midsummer,

them off that Sum, in case of their Refusal; although this Sum would, in thirty Years, have paid off a Debt of above two hundred and forty-four thousand Pounds; And this at a Time, when the least Apprehensions of Danger seemed to be at a great Distance; which have since, in a very sudden and surprizing Manner, laid hold on us.

The Gentlemen in the Administration are, no doubt, fully informed of the Sum we owe to Foreigners; and have the most exact Knowledge of the particular Circumstances of the Kingdom, in regard to our Coin, and the Ballance of our Trade; and therefore are able to judge, whether, if, upon a farther Reduction of Interest, Foreigners should draw their Money in large Sums, it is likely to be any Inconveniency or not to us: Considerations, that will be allowed to be very necessary; and this shows us one more Mischief of continuing in Debt, by cramping our Ministers in any Designs they may have for the Publick Good, in which I wish them to enjoy as great Liberty as they themselves can desire: but this is not to be expected in our present Condition; which, to the no small Mortification of every Briton, renders us, in some Measure, Slaves to the Nations we despise; for the wisest and richest Prince, who ever A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 43 fat on a Throne, tells us, that the Borrower is a Slave to the Lender.

Ishall not trouble the Reader with the several Arguments which have been used in relation to fixing the Rate of Interest, in which two very great Men, one for his practical Knowledge, and Experience in Trade and Business; and the other for his Extent of Thought, and fustness of Reasoning, did formerly a little differ; but I believe, were they now to debate the Case, they would agree.

For, when the great Increase of the personal Estates of this Kingdom, since the Restoration, is considered, plain and obvious Reasons will lead us to think, That it will be most agreeable to Justice and Policy, to keep even the Interest of the Funds, near what Mr. Locke calls the Natural Interest of Money.

As to the Author of the Essay's Arguments against the Reduction of the Interest of the Publick Debt from Four to Three per Cent. upon the Principles and Practices of Stock-Jobbing, in which he seems, to me at least, to be a very great Master; I am in Truth so great a Stranger to them, that it would be very ridiculous in me to pretend to judge of them.

But I think they offer the strongest Reasons against increasing the National Debt, from the great

Inconveniencies and Mischiefs arising to the Publick by this most pernicious and destructive Traffick, which diverts the Thoughts, Industry, and Money, that would otherwise be usefully employed in carrying on and promoting our Trade; the only true and lasting Support of these Kingdoms. But every Body must know, that as long as there is so much greater a Quantity of the Funds at Market, than can be purchased by the Money there is to place out upon Interest; great Part of the running Cash of the Nation will be laid out in them; and from hence the frequent and unavoidable Occasions and Necessities there will be of the Stocks shifting from one hand toanother, will as certainly cause a Rise and Fall in their Value, as there will be an Ebbing and Flowing in the Thames: and one may as well think to stop the one, as pretend to prevent the other, by any other means, but lessening the Publick Debt; and whoever gives his Consent to the Increase of it, is a greater Promoter of Stock-Jobbing, than the busiest Broker upon the Exchange, let his Clamours be never so great against it.

I believe there is no Man, who wishes well to his Country, but is grieved to see the Property of above fifty Millions of his Fellow-Subjects, in a Coin that is in the Power of such micked Craft, to

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 45

be raised and lowered at the Pleasure of the vile Dealers in it: and this without the Stamp of Royal Authority, or the least Benefit to the King or Kingdom; and by dextrous Management of pretended new Projects and Designs at home, or Alarms from abroad, may, great Part of it, in the Compass of a few Years, be brought into as few private Coffers, to the no small Impoverishing of the Nation, for want of that necessary Circulation of Money, without which, it will be impossible to manage our Trade at home, much less to carry it on abroad.

If Mr. Locke's Calculation is near the Truth, That a thriving Trade cannot be carried on in any Country (for the Reasons he gives) with a less Proportion of Money than a fiftieth Part of the Labourers Yearly Wages, one Twentieth Part of the Brokers or Retailers Yearly Returns in Money, and one Quarter of the Landholders annual Revenue; and that every Kingdom wants more or less Money in Proportion to the Slowness or Quickness of the Circulation of it in that Country; it deserves our Consideration, what are likely to be the Consequences of enlarging a Traffick, that has so great a Tendency to cause a Stagnation in the Current Cash of the Kingdom, by consining the Circulation of it to Exchange Alley. And they who live in the Cloathing Parts,

and Places where the chief Manufactures are carried on, are best able to judge if they feel no Effects of it already.

These, with numerous other Considerations which will occur to every Body will, it is to be hoped, excite our Zeal, encourage our Endeavours, and determine our Resolutions to put a stop to the Increase of the National Debts; that we may in time make use of the Advantages of the Trade we now enjoy, to the effectual Paying them off. For, we are not secure of always possessing it in the same Degree; and this not only from the frequent Changes, that from many unforeseen Accidents happen in the Trade of all Countries, with the common Interruptions of War, which, though temporary only, yet, in our Circumstances, are not wantonly to be engaged in, but if possible to be avoided, where the immediate Preservation of the King and Kingdom do not require it.

But we must also have in our View, what seems more immediately to threaten us: the new Trades and Manufactures that are daily growing up, and increasing in most Parts of Europe, where they were unknown before. All our neighbouring Princes, who have long neglected the Care of this great Good, seeming to begin to be now sensible

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 47 sensible of their Errors, are turning their Thoughts and Endeavours to settle it in their Countries, and making their utmost Efforts to cherish and improve it. The Effects of these Measures we have for some time past felt; though we have willingly deceived ourselves, by imputing them to other Accidents, rather than to the true Causes.

For, I believe, every Body who heard the Arguments relating to the Prohibition of East-India Silks, &c. was fully convinced that the great Reason of the Decay of our coarse Woollen Manusactures (the great Article in the Consumption of our Wooll) is owing to the making of this Sort of Goods in Prussia, and those Parts of Germany, which, though not so good as ours, yet, by the Wisdom of their Governments, are wholly made use of in Cloathing their Troops, and the Generality of their People; and they do, in great Measure, supply with these Commodities the Northern Crowns, and even Russia, which formerly received these Goods from Us.

The Loss we have suffered, by the Prohibition of our Stuffs in Flanders, is fresh in every Man's Memory. And what we are likely to suffer by the late great Missortune of the Prohibition of our Manusactures in Sicily, and the Designs of Erecting them in the Imperial Dominions to supply those Parts, is not yet known nor felt.

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But what seems most surprizing is, that it does not appear that we have made any Stipulations with the Emperor for the Security of our Trade in a Kingdom we conquer'd at our own Expence, and generously gave him; for if we had, those Engagements would, no doubt, have been made the Foundation of our Complaint of their Infraction, and not the Declaration of the 25 Febr. 1713. made at Utretcht with the King of Sardinia, then Possessor of that Kingdom; but this is the only Treaty printed and appealed to in the Courant of the 6th of August last, in which I shall be very glad to be mistaken; but if true, it is a very melancholy Consideration, that the fatal Over-sight, in relation to Ostend, has not been a sufficient Warning to us, to take Care of our own Country, when we are giving Kingdoms to others. And in case of a War, who knows what we may farther suffer by Prohibitions in other Nations?

For I am afraid, let our Forces and Expences at Sea and Land be never so great, they will not be able to recover the Trade we have lost, nor hinder any Princes or States from erecting such Companies and Manusactures as they think sit in their own Dominions, whatever the Mischief may be to ours. And, whatever Success we may slatter ourselves with, in the uncertain Events of

War,

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 49

War, by Reason of our great Superiority at Sea; yet we may believe it must be some very great Injury and Provocation that will engage us in it, since it may be very dangerous to a Nation, that wholly subsists upon Trade, to hazard the diverting the most profitable Branches of it into other Channels; for that may be a much more lasting Evil than the Quarrels which occasioned it.

And I wish we don't find all Endeavours to force a Trade to have just the same Consequence in publick, which it is known to have in private Affairs.

The only true and certain Means will be to lessen, as soon as possible, the Publick Debts, which will put us in a Condition, as we see Occasion, to ease those Branches of Trade that require it; which Paying Debts with one hand, and Contrasting with another, and so making the continuance of the same Duties and Taxes still necessary, can never enable us to do.

But these extraordinary Burthens upon our Trade will in time get the better even of those great Advantages we naturally have for the Improvement of it, beyond any of our Neighbours; and deprive us of those Benefits, which a judicious Writer thought and said, many Years H

since, were, by the Bounty of Providence, in-

separably annexed to these Kingdoms.

That we may therefore neglect no Endeavours to prevent so great an Evil, it is necessary that we should not be discouraged, nor artfully diverted from the steady Pursuit of those Measures which will enable us to struggle with any Difficulties, from the Causes before-mentioned, and put us into a Condition of Opening new Branches of Trade, in case of the Failure of any of the old ones.

I hope that we now are, and, by the prudent Management of the Administration, always shall be able to pay off, (in the gradual Manner it must be done) the utmost Sum which the greatest Improvement of the Sinking Fund can produce, towards the Discharge of the Publick Debts, without being sensible of the least Inconveniency by the Money owing to Foreigners; and shall not therefore be amused with the vain Apprehensions, that the Payment of our Debts would carry away our Money, which I have lately with great surprize heard mentioned by Men of no mean Rank, nor Understanding; and I am now convinced from whence such Infinuations arise, and wish others would take Notice from what Quarter they come, and the Designs they are meant

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 51 to serve. For if it is once come to be generally believed, that the Payment of the National Debt is either desperate or dungerous, it will soon be thought that Adding to it is no harm; but the doing it may be looked upon as an Act of Address and Skill; and he may be esteemed the ablest

Minister who can increase it the fastest.

If any Thing could make me merry upon so serious a Subject, it is the great Concern and Tenderness which this Author expresses for our Ministers, in the Objection which he gravely tells us, Himself and his Friend have frequently met with ('tis pity he did not say in what Company) against the Payment of the National Debts, " Because " the Continuance of them is necessary for the " Profit that arises from them to our Ministers, " who without the Influence and Power this gives " them, to reward their Creatures and Dependants " by their Grants to them of the several Offices " and Employments which they have reserved to " themselves for this Purpose, would not be able to " support themselves in their Authority and Gran-" deur." So that if we have no Debts, the King will have no Ministers; which puts me in mind of a Saying of one, "That no Government " was worth serving without some Jobbs." And it H_2

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must be allowed that our Debts have been no bad one to some.

However, great as this Evil is, I cannot help wishing it was put to the Trial. And it is possible that some generous Briton may arise, who will undertake this Burthen, even with this great Disadvantage. But I hope there is not so degenerate a One now living, who can have any Comfort in the Profit that may arise to him by the Continuance of the Miseries of his Country. And if there should be such a Wretch, yet I doubt not that, as long as a British Parliament has a Being, there is no Danger that the Interest of these Kingdoms should be sacrificed to the Avarice, Ambition, or Power of the most meritorious Minister. And in this Assurance we are happily confirmed by His Majesty, who, in almost all his Speeches, has, with the most compassionate Earnestness, recommended the Paying of the National Debt; well knowing that the antient Splendour and Dignity of the Crown, which suffers by publick Necessi. ty, is to be recovered by this Means only; and that the Glory of the Prince consists in the Riches and Ease of his People.

Upon what Principles therefore this Author founds his Reasoning, I shall leave others to judge: but it is the first time, I believe, that it

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 53
was so publickly intimated, That the Poverty of
Prince and People were necessary to reward and enrich the MINISTERS; and it will scarce be
denied, that they must be the wickedest of Servants
who think so.

But to remove this Gentleman's Fears and Apprehensions, "Of looking forward with no plea"fure to that Period of Time (which every honest"
Briton longs and wishes for) least the Payment of the publick Debt should deprive his Majesty on his Successors, of the Means to reward his faithful Servants: I would ask him, whether he does not think, that a Minister would rather choose to ask the Excesses of a Civil List Expence, from a People Rich and Easy, than in Necessity and Distress?

And who is there that has the least Regard to the Honour of the Revolution, and the Protestant Succession, who does not heartily wish that the Circumstances of our Affairs had permitted us to discharge one Debt at least, the common Invective of the inveterate Enemies of both, instead of adding ten thousand Pounds more to it this Year, that Sum being, by an Account delivered to the House of Commons, acknowledged to have been paid in part of the Million, out of the Six-pences. It is indeed a small Sum; but as I do not re-

member

member to have seen in the Votes any Message from the Crown for it, If it should have been given without this, or taking any of the usual Steps observed in granting Money, (that great and essential Part of our Constitution) and this should be the least weakened by such a Precedent, may it not make the Civil List Debt to be remembred much longer than every good Subject wishes it may be?

The Author, as a farther instance of his Zeal and Concern for our Ministers, and to give us some Hopes that the Debt of the Kingdom will not be absolutely necessary to be continued at their Pleasure, and for their Prosit only, has luckily found out other Reasons to recommend the securing the same Benefits to them by Continuing the Duties and Taxes we now pay for the annual Supplies of the Government, after the Payment of our Debts.

As this is a Case not very likely to happen in the Time of many Men now living; few, I believe, need trouble themselves with this Consideration, but leave it to the next Age, to judge for themselves, with our hearty Wishes that they may not act, as we have done.

Ishall however venture to say, that tho' there may be some of the Conveniences which the Author

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 55 Author mentions in raising Money by Excises and Customs; yet the Benefits are not so great as he imagines. And this Nation has always expressed the greatest Aversion to them, as Badges of Slavery, and Encroachments upon the Liberties of a Free People. And whoever reads Mr. Locke upon this Subject (which well deserves the Perusal of every Gentleman) will, I believe, be fully convinced, that there is in Truth no Benefit to the Landed Interest by it; though Gentlemen are apt to fancy the contrary, because it does indeed fall in with our present Way of Thinking, both in publick and private Affairs; for it only removes from our Sight, a present Uneasiness, at the Expence of a much greater and more lasting Evil; and I believe no Gentleman will doubt the Truth of it, who will order his Steward to look back and compare his yearly Expences in any Commodity (Candles and Soap, Coffee, &c. for Instance) before and since the Tax was laid upon them. And the Contests, as Mr. Locke justly observes, which are set on foot, and sometimes encouraged between the Landed and Moneyed or Trading Interests, only shew the Decay of the Wealth; and Riches of any Kingdom, or the Uneasiness of their

Taxes.

For where the Bulk of the Property of any Country is Land (which is not the Case of Holland) the greatest Part of the publick Expences will terminate there, and Gentlemen have no other way of relieving themselves, but by keeping them within due Bounds; for shifting the Names of the Taxes will only deceive them for a Time, but will at last fall the heavier upon them; it being with Kingdoms as it is with Families, neither of which can be happy nor easy who spend more than their Income.

And by this Author's Proposal, we are to lose one of the greatest Benefits, which I believe most People hope for, by the Payment of our Debts; That is, the being freed from a vexatious Army of Officers, who, under the Names of Commissioners, Secretaries, Clerks, Inspectors, Collectors, Surveyors, &c. are scarce Inseriour to the usual Establishment of Guards and Garrisons in Time of Peace, either in Number or Charge, and have always been looked upon as not much less dangerous to our Liberties; and are Troops, whose Number and Pay is augmented and reduced at the pleasure of their Superiours, without Application to Parliament.

If any Thing can equal the Author's Reasoning for keeping up this Standing Army, it is his ArguA State of the Publick Debts, &c. 57 Arguments against the farther Reduction of the Interest of the Funds, lest it should put a Check to our present Luxury, and we should be the terrible Example of a Kingdom, undone by Frugality: such Reasons as these, he may be very secure,

will for ever remain unanswered.

I did not intend to have troubled the Reader any farther, but that I find I have forgot to take Notice of the great Advantages this Writer says the Publick received by the Increase of our Debts in one Instance; which was the Subscription of the Annuities for Terms of Years, in order to make them Redeemable.

I hope I shall be indulged, upon this Occasion, in a few Observations upon this destructive Project; from which we may at least reap this Advantage, to be warned by Errors, that had almost proved fatal to us, to avoid the like Dangers.

I believe there is no better Way of doing this, than to resolve, upon all Occasions, to make some use of our own Understandings, and not blindly to give into any Proposal from an Opinion, that Men, who are at the Head of Societies or Employments, are always the best, or only Judges of the Affairs under their Direction: We ought no doubt to pay a just and due Deference to them, by willingly and readily receiving any Proposals

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from them; but it is our Duty to consider, and examine them with the same Care and Caution, as if they came from Persons of less Note and Eminence; for a little Observation upon Ancient or Modern Times will tell us, that the great Distinction of one Man above another is sometimes owing to the Corruption of the Heart, and not always to the Clearness of the Head.

But nothing is more necessary, than for us to be upon our Guard, against pretended Confidences, and fecret Motives, to influence us to Actions which our Reason does not approve; in which the Experience of most Men, who have lived any time in the World, will satisfie them, that they have commonly been deceived and missed: and if this Hint prevents them from falling into the like Weaknesses, it will abundantly make them amends for the little Shame such Restlections may give them.

There are few Things so intricate in Business, but a little Attention will enable us to judge of them; and they, who are often thought to understand them best, are sometimes most Mistaken.

There cannot, I believe, be a plainer Instance of this, than in the prevailing Opinion, which I heard was the great Temptation to the South-Sea Scheme;

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 59

Scheme; That it was in vain to think of any Reduction, unless the Annuities could be made Redeemable. But has not Experience shewn us, that the Publick had no more Reason to be afraid of their advanced Price at Market, than at the Rife of the Value of Land, in which no Body is concerned but the Buyer and Seller? for the Publick could pay no more than the certain Annuities. As to the Point of Credit, That would and, it is plain, hath an Influence upon them, in raifing and falling their Value in Proportion to other Things: but the Annuities would have had little or no Effect upon the Credit in general, and in all probability much less than they have now, by their being changed from the settled Estates they generally were; and this I believe would be found true, if they were now all unsubscribed. This Mistake would however have been of less Consequence, if it had not drawn on another more mischievous, which was, that all Arts were fet on foot, and encouraged to engage the Proprietors of these Annuities to subscribe them, by magnifying imaginary Benefits, instead of providing such as had a real and solid Foundation; by which only Ju? stice could have been done to the Subscribers, and the Publick, who were to receive no less than a Sum of seven Millions, for a Liberty to the Proprie-

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tors of the publick Debts, to unite themselves into one Body.

But may we not now ask, out of what was this great Sum to be raised, unless the Subscribers Properties? For bateing the Assente Contract, and the Fishery, I never heard of any Advantages they were to have but the Profits of a Colony abroad, which may be truly called an Estate in Terra incognita; and this afterwards refused them: and these Grants were to enable them to pay seven Millions, and an Interest to the Proprietors equivalent to the advanced Price of the Stock.

This shews us that the Case would have been very little altered, if the Bank had succeeded in this great Struggle. For can any Man think that a little extending of their Credit in Loans, and Discounting Bills of Exchange, &c. would have enabled them to have paid five Millions, and an Interest to their Proprietors in Proportion to the advanced Price of their increased Capital? By this we may likewise learn, that the Opposition to the South-Sea, in savour of the Bank, was not quite so meritorious as it has been thought; for the encouraging the Contentions between the two Companies, for Reasons that are no Secrets, was no small Cause of the Madness, which sollowed

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 61 from an Opinion of the unerring Wisdom and Prudence of one of these Bodies.

And the Proposers and Encouragers of these Chimerical Schemes were thought to be Men of great Knowledge and Understanding in these Things.

I am not so uncharitable, as to distrust that the great Motive to this Design was the Hopes of gaining a considerable Sum, towards the Discharge of the National Debt; for surely there is no Minister, but must wish and have a Pleasure to see it decreased under his Administration; and I hope it will be no Reslection to say, that there was some Prospect of Advantage to the Contrivers, and Managers of it; for no Man is so soolish and unreasonable, as to grudge any Ministry a just Share in the Benefit of Things, that are proposed and conducted by them for the Good of the Publick.

And something of this Kind might have been made very beneficial to the Kingdom, if too much Regard had not been shewn to a cunning, designing Money-Jobber (who I, have been assured, stole the Project from another, and then spoiled it by his Alterations) from a common mistaken Opinion, that because such Men are conversant and acquainted with the Tricks of Stock-jobbing, and the low Arts of Usury, and have possibly been found useful in that Way, that they are there-

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fore proper Judges of all Affairs relating to Money: But these Mens notions of Things seldom reach beyond their own narrow Experience and Practice, without the necessary Principles of general Knowledge to direct their Reasonings, which are usually biassed with little Views of their own Gain. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that they should mislead all those who listen to them, or trust them in Points of a National Concern; in which they are generally miserably ignorant, as the unfortunate Event in this Case has sufficiently shewn.

For it is not natural to suppose, that the Directors themselves foresaw that Deluge of Misery and Mischief, which they were bringing upon the Kingdom; and, in Consequence of it, their own Ruin, (as it might have been very reasonably expected:) but it was boundless Avarice, with Ignorance and Inability to conduct an Affair so much above their Capacity, that led them into the monstrous Measures they pursued; and for which the Managers could not be too much punished, because of the numberless variety of Villanies which they committed in the Execution of this Project: and this was followed with a Proceeding, the sad Effects whereof my self, with many other unhappy Families, have long selt; though I have but

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 63

very lately met with the Particulars in Print; which whoever reads will find as extraordinary as any Part of the Proceedings upon this delusive Scheme: I mean the TRE ATY between the two Companies, for the mutual Support of each other; which appears to have been carried on with the greatest Deliberation, and concluded in the most Solemn Manner, before Witnesses of great Rank and Figure; and the AGREEMENT then Authentically published. The many unhappy Families, who had hitherto escaped the general Madness, and were by this means involved in the common Ruin, is too well known, and too melancholy a Consideration to be enlarged upon; especially by those, who owe their Misfortunes to this unexampled Transaction, and cannot therefore speak of it with the Decency due to some Persons, who appear to have been concerned in it. I shall therefore leave it to the Reflections of every Man who will take the trouble to read it, in a late printed Case of the Directors, who, whatever their Inclinations might be, yet, one may believe, would scarce dare to publish a Falsebood in this particular.

I shall only add, that as Faith and Justice are the only Bonds of human Society, and the Foundation of all Government, and I have never yet met with any Reasons for the Violations of them,

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for any publick Good, or Conveniency, I should be glad to be informed, in what Cases our Modern Politicks make this allowable and necessary; that we may be upon our Guard when to expect them.

After this short View of this unhappy Project, and the Calamities attending it; I believe it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see what the Condition of the Publick would have been at this Time, in regard to the National Debt, in case no other Measures had been pursued, but a strict Application of the Funds appropriated by Parliament for the Paying these Debts, with the Additions which have been made to them by the Reduction of the Interest to sive per Cent. which, no Body will deny, would have been very easily effected without this Project.

To make this as clear as I can, I have distinguished the Debt under the two Heads, by which they are usually called; The Redeemable, and Irredeemable; the case of the one being so very different from the other, that it will not otherwise be easy to make any Estimate or Comparison of the Advantages or Disadvantages, which have arisen to the Publick by this Scheme, which was once so much applauded by all Parties; for they who, since the unhappy Success of it, condemn it most, yet, as I am informed, made no Objection

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 65 to the Project it self, when it was proposed, but only contended who should have the Honour of executing it.

In the Account No. 3. is a View of the whole Debt, under the two Heads before mentioned, as it stood at the Year 1715, when the Sinking Fund commences, with the Addition of the Debts for Services before that Time, but adjusted since. The only Difference between this and the former State is, that, in this Account I have set down the whole Sum allowed to the Adventurers by the Acts of Parliament upon the four Lotteries, to prevent the Consusion that would have arisen by breaking into the Produce of these Funds from their first Establishment, the Credit whereof is taken into the Account.

By this State it appears, that in case the respective Funds appropriated by Parliament to the Payment of the Redeemable Debt, with the saving by the Reduction of the Interest to five per Cent. had been applied to the Payment of it, the Debt remaining at Michaelmas last would have been no more than thirty Millions, nine hundred sixty-five thousand, eight hundred seventy-two Pounds.

And, without any other Addition to the Funds, upon the Credit whereof this Money was first K

borrowed, or any Improvement of them, but the Falling in of the Funds for the nine per Cent. Annuities, and the Lottery 1710, after the Payment of the Debt upon them, at the End of sixteen Years from this Time, this remaining Debt of thirty Millions, nine hundred fixty-five thou fand, eight hundred seventy-two Pounds, would be paid off in less than twenty Years. But if we take in the Additions made to the Sinking Fund by unappropriated Money, and some accidental Improvements, without any Regard to the South-Sea Project, and consider that in this Case the Principal Money would have been paid off weekly at the Exchequer; I believe it may be truly affirmed, that this Debt would have been paid off in eighteen Years, and there would have been above three and thirty Millions less raised upon the People at five per Cent. by the Ceasing of all those Duties and Taxes for the Redeemable Debt, that, according to the Author of the Essay's Calculation, must be continued ten Years longer to Discharge the National Debt; and comparing this with our present Circumstances, it increases our melancholy Reflections, to think that in case any Part of these Debts had been Reduced to Four per Cent. (and what Reasons are there to believe they might not?) they would then have been paid off in a shorter time. But A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 51

But we may, even from these unhappy Mistakes, receive this Comfort, That the Payment of the National Debt is by no means desperate, as I have heard some are pleased to suggest; for it is evident from these Accounts, that many now living will have the Satisfaction to see their Country discharged from this Burthen, with Justice and Honour, in case the Produce of the Sinking Fund is constantly and inviolably applied, as it arises towards the Payment of it; and this will not only give new Life to our Credit, by the daily Decrease of our Debt, but put these Kingdoms into such a State of Prosperity at home, and give us that Consideration and Influence abroad, as was never known in any former Age; and we may hope will be a sufficient Encouragement to us, to struggle with any Difficulties, rather than make the least Addition to it.

But supposing the Interest to continue at Five per Cent. the present legal Interest, we should in the Year 1744, or there-abouts, have no other Debt subsisting, but the Long Annuities, and the greatest Part of them, as I mentioned before, would have continued in the Nature of settled Estates, and sew of them been brought to Market: but the Alteration of them, by the South-Sea Subscription, has thrown twelve Millions, seven

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hundred thousand Pounds into it, to increase the detestable Trade of Stock-Jobbing.

And one fourth Part of the Time of these Annuities, one with another, being elapsed, the Nation was sure to be discharged of this Debt at the End of a Term, not much above the common Age of Man: and, as we have no Way to judge of the future, but by the past, if Things go on as they have done, there is no great Certainty of their being now redeemed sooner; and Posterity must determine, whether they would not have had greater Obligations to us, if by this Debt, being left in the State it was first contracted, some Part at least of the Revenues of the Kingdom had not been in the Power of their Fathers to have mortgaged even beyond that time; and if some Stop is not put to the increasing our Debts, they will soon so much affect every Gentleman's Estate in Great-Britain, as to deserve a Consideration in their Settlements, as well as any other Incumbrance: for, I believe, it will not be denied that, under the present Land-Tax of two Shillings, and considering the great Variety of Duties upon almost all the Necessaries used in a Family, there is scarce a Gentleman, who spends a thousand Pounds a Year, who does not pay near three hundred Pounds in Taxes.

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A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 69

And till the National Debt is paid off, this is a real Mortgage upon the Estates of the Kingdom: for I will, for once, suppose, what idle unthinking People may have sometimes said, (but no sober Man, I am consident, ever did or will think) that when the Bulk of our increasing Debt is become too burthensome, there is a short Way to get rid of it. Well, admit this to be done: no Man, in his Wits, can imagine that it is to be attempted without a total Subversion of the Constitution; and can he be so silly as to think that the Power, which is sufficient to do this, will not be able to seize these Revenues? nay, that there will not be an absolute necessity of doing it, to support this Act of Injustice and Violence?

And, what will be the Condition of the Kingdom then, but that all these numerous Duties and Taxes, will, in the literal and most extensive Sense, become perpetual and without Hopes of Redemption for ever? Let us therefore turn our Thoughts which way we please, we shall find that there is neither Probability nor Possibility for us to transmit our Estates to our Children without these Incumbrances, nor to secure to them the Possession of them, but by Paying off the National Debt; which, if we had not hearkened to the vain and chimerical Pretences of Ministers, to pay off Debts with-

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out Money; or, which is the same Thing, to pay a great Sum with a little Money, it is plain most of the present Age might have had the happiness to have seen almost discharged: and it might then have been hoped, that the Smart they had felt, and the Danger they had escaped, would have produced one Law more, which, I have heard, was once proposed, and seems necessary to make the rest worth preserving: That, unless in case of an Invasion, it should be Capital for any Minister to create a greater Expence in any one Year, than what the Money actually raised by the Provisions made for the Service of that Year would pay. This would not only restrain them from running into wanton and unnecessary Profusions, but oblige them to preserve some Decency at least, in proposing Funds to the Parliament, and not to name the first Thing which any idle Projector puts into their Heads, without any Regard or Concern whether it will be deficient or not, because they think the publick Faith in general is always at hand, to be a Security for their Follies and Extravagancies. There have indeed been Profligates in all Ages, who spend their Estates without any Regard for their Posterity; but the Body of the Gentlemen of a Nation must certainly be perswaded, that to leave a secure and flourishing Inheritance to their Families,

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 54

Families, is infinitely preferable to any uncertain temporary Advantages from Places, Employments, &c. by which they themselves become dependant in their Life-time, and their Children may be made Beggars and Slaves after them; who, not being secure that they shall be equally fortunate in the Smiles of the Ministers of their Times, may, with the most sensible Grief and Regret, seel the Weight of their Fathers Compliances.

It is well known, that That once Great and August Body the Senate of Rome, to whose Empire the greatest Part of the then known World was either subject or dependant, fell from this high State, and became the most abject Slaves to their Emperours, humoured and gratified them in all the mad Caprices, and wild Extravagances, which unbridled Lust, and licentious Power could think of. Yet, in their utmost Degeneracy, they kept firm to one Point, to preserve inviolable their own Properties, and those of the Roman People; of which there cannot be a more remarkable Instance, than in the Reign of the best of Men and Princes, Marcus Antoninus: for notwithstanding the Revenues of the Empire, as it is well known, had been considerably diminished by the unavoidable Wars carried on by himself and his Predecessors, (Emperours likewise of great Frugality and Virtue)

and the People of Rome were terrified with a fresh Breaking out of the Germanick War; a War which of all others they dreaded most; yet They would not supply him with on Obolus towards this Expedition, though they had Money to spare to buy all the rich Furniture, Jewels, and Rarities of the Imperial Cabinet, Pictures, and Statues, even to the Habits of the Emperour and Empress, which this Emperour was forced to sell, to enable him to carry on this War; and, after the Conclusion of it, This good Prince, by a Frugal Management of his Treasury, saved Money to repurchase every Thing which he had sold in this Necessity; that he might have the Satisfaction to leave the Succession of the Empire in the same Splendour he received it.

To the different Condition, which it appears, by the State before-mentioned, that we might have been in, to what we now are, with regard to our Debts, I must add, that, in case the Funds had continued as they were first appropriated, we should have avoided the great Inconveniences and Hazards we are liable to, by the Alteration of the antient established Manner of Paying off the Loans Weekly at the Exchequer; by which Method, as is before observed there would not only have

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 73 have been a considerable Saving of Interest, but every Lender would have been a very good Inspector, for the Publick as well as himself, into the Produce of each particular Fund, by reason his Interest ceased the Moment there was Money in the Exchequer to pay him off. And when any of the Duties had discharged the Money lent upon them, the Surplus plainly appeared at the Foot of the Register, without going to another Place to state an Account what it was.

But it is well known that it is otherwise now; for the Companies trouble themselves no farther than to receive their Annual Interest without any Enquiry after a Surplus towards the Discharge of their Principal, which is not their Business to look into.

And, as far as I can guess, by the Papers delivered to the House of Commons, and some other Informations, the stating the Accounts of the Surplusses which make the Sinking Fund, is looked upon as no small Mystery, nor a very easy Task; since four or five Months are taken to collect the necessary Papers from the several Offices, as it is said, to enable them to adjust the Ballance of it: and neither the Original Papers from which it is made, nor any authentick Certificate from the respective Offices, do appear to the House to support

port and justify Accounts of this very great Confequence which I believe every Body now wishes there had been; since it would have prevented Mistakes that have been committed in them; for it is plain that there is an Omission of no less than one Million, five hundred thousand Pounds, in the Account of the Sinking Fund, there being no Notice taken of the five hundred thousand Pounds, raised of the Lottery 1719, for paying off Exchequer Bills, nor of the Million Exchequer Bills made out for the Navy Debt, and without Supplying these Desects, every Body who tries, will find (as I did) that neither the Account of the Publick Debt, nor the Produce of the Sinking Fund can be truly stated.

I believe there is no Wrong yet done to the Publick, because these Sums as I suppose are omitted on both Sides of the Account; for I take it for granted, that the Total Sum taken Credit for Exchequer Bills, cancelled out of the Money of the Sinking Fund, is over and above the five hundred thousand Pounds, cancelled by the Money of the Lottery. But allowing this (which is only to be guessed at) no Body can say that the Account is right; and whoever understands any thing of Accounts, must be sensible that in a little Time, when Fasts are out of Memory, other Mistakes and Injuries, from thence may arise

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 75

to the Publick; for Errors in Accounts are of all others most fruitful, and become the more intricate and difficult to be discovered by multi-

plying one another.

But what is more surprizing, it is now owned, that these are not the only Mistakes in these Accounts; for fince writing this, I have been acquainted with the Reasons given for taking the one hundred and one thousand, eight hundred thirty-five Pounds before mentioned, from the last Years produce of the Sinking Fund, upon which Occafion I am assured it was publickly acknowledged, in the House of Commons, that they have never yet had any true Account of this Fund laid before them; for this Sum of Money, it is said, was taken to make good so much short of the seven hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, for his Majesty's Civil List, that has arose by a Train of Errors and Mistakes committed every Year, in all the Accounts which have hitherto been made for the Sinking Fund, from their very Beginning in the Year 1715, to the last of them in the Year 1725.

I confess this seemed to be very improbable, not to say impossible, considering the great Penalties attending the least misapplication in this Case;

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that I could not give any Credit to it, till it was confirmed to me in such a manner, as lest me no Room to doubt the Truth of it: when it is considered that the Property of above fifty Millions depends upon the Truth and Justice of these Accounts, as well as the only Hopes and Security we have to be freed from this great Load of Debt, we cannot have the least Doubt, that the Guardians of the Properties of the Publick and the People, will omit no Industry nor Endeavours, to examine thoroughly into a Fact of this extraordinary Nature, and vast Importance to the Nation.

And whatever other Consequences it may have, we may be assured that it will not fail to produce such farther Laws, as shall be found necessary effectually to prevent the Possibility of such Mistakes in the Accounts of this sacred Treasure, with Directions for making them up in such a plain and clear Method, and to carry such authentick Proof of their Certainty in every Particular along with them, as may remove the least Doubt or Jealousy of the Justice done to the Publick, in a Point in which they are so nearly concerned.

And

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 77

And this will appear to be highly reasonable, when it is considered, that the meanest Retailer in the Kingdom, though he can neither write nor read, is yet obliged by a late Act of Parliament, to keep such Books and Accounts, as will satisfie the Officers of the Revenue, to a Pound of Coffee or Tea every Day bought or sold by him; and if through Ignorance, Negligence, or Design, he commits any Mistake, he will incur, and is sure to suffer the Penalty for so doing. And when the Legislature has been thus careful to prevent the Publick's being injured, either by Mistake or Fraud, in so small a Matter as the Duty of a Pound of Tea or Coffee, it is not to be imagined, they will be less circumspect in securing the just and due Application of the whole Revenues of the Kingdom; of which the Nation has no other Satisfaction or Assurance, than from the Accounts of the Sinking Fund.

Corruptions in other Offices, which have been formerly thought to deserve publick Examination, are yet Trifles in comparison of Abuses here, which strike at the very Being of the Constitution; and we have been at a very vain Expence of Blood and Treasure, if these Funds, which have hitherto been looked upon as no small Bulwark

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of our Sasety, should by our fatal Neglect to guard them from the rapacious Hands of any future Ministers, become the Means of the Destruction of those Liberties, whilst they are a glorious, though expensive, Monument of our Zeal

to preserve them.

But I hope all Apprehensions of this Kind will soon be removed, and the Kingdom will receive the most sensible and convincing Proofs, that we are in earnest in our Resolutions to pay off the National Debt, by constantly applying the Produce of the Sinking Fund, towards the Difcharge of that Part of the Debt, which is more generally known than the Exchequer Bills, to the Cancelling whereof it hath been hitherto applied; but as I presume they are now all paid off, I may conclude for the very strong Reasons given by the Author of the Essay, that this Money will not be employed to any other Use, and whatever now remains in the Exchequer, can no way be of greater Service; for it will scarce be denied that even five hundred thousand Pounds applied in this manner, will do more towards the Support of the publick Credit under any Difficulties, than any Thing that has been done for this Purpose since the Time of contracting the Debt; and this A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 79

may be no unseasonable Prop to that lofty Edifice of Merit and Fame, which has been built upon it, and which every Well-wisher to his Country heartily desires may prove to be on a solid

and lasting Foundation.

I shall now put an End to what I proposed to say upon this Subject, which will afford many other Reflections, neither proper nor necessary for me to insist upon. I know it would be a very vain Addition to the Trouble I have already given the Reader, to imagine any Professions I can make will obtain the least Indulgence from him farther than he thinks these Papers deserve, I do however assure him that I have taken the best Care I can to prevent any Mistakes; yet as the most careful may err in a Multitude of Figures, I hope he will have the Candor to believe that I have not willingly committed any; for I have no other Expectation of Favour or Credit, but from a strict Observation of Truth, and I shall be very glad, if in the purfuit of it, I may have avoided giving any Oftence.

But as I have been very plain in expressing my Opinion in some Things, which are not agreeable to the Way of thinking that I under-

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stand is at present countenanced and encouraged, I have not the folly to think to escape the usual Treatment of mercenary Malice upon these Occasions; and I assure them, that they may exert their utmost Talent of Railing, without any Contradiction. I shall however have the Charity to give them one Caution, viz. That they do not, out of their great Zeal to abuse these Papers, forget their Duty to his Majesty; for the Royal Declaration and Authority will fully justify the warmest Concern I have shewn for the Payment of the National Debt. But if this should not be a sufficient Protection, as I write neither for Praise nor Reward, but to satisfy one of the strongest and most laudable Inclinations as well as one of the highest Obligations of human Nature, Love and Duty to my Country, which I am not in Circumstances to serve any other Way, I shall be contented.

Æquissimo animo ad honestum consilium per mediam infamiam tendere. Nemo mihi videtur pluris æstimare virtutem, nemo illi esse magis devotus, quam qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet. Sen.

A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 81

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self, so I hope no Reproaches on the same Account, will ever discourage any of my fellow Subjects, from making use of that Liberty, which they are born to as English-men, whenever they think it necessary for the Good of their Country; for we can neither expect nor deserve that this Blessing should long continue amongst ourselves, or descend as an Inheritance to our Children, if we are either afraid or ashamed to appear in the Defence of it; it is this, and this only, which gives any Man a Title to be ranked amongst Those, who are, or desire to be, thought Lovers of it; and not the adhering to vain and empty Names, when the Pretenders of them have manifestly departed from those Principles, which first gave them their Esteem and Respect amongst their fellow Labourers in this glorious Cause; and nothing but the extreamest Vanity can make them hope for the Continuance of the Same Regard from them, when they appear to be influenced by those Principles, and pursue those Practices, which have in all Ages been constantly opposed by the Assertors of Liberty, and Lovers of their Country; who cannot fail to look upon fuch Men, as more dangerous, than the avowed Pa-

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trons of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power; which will not change its Nature, nor become less grievous, if it should be brought upon us by those, who once joined with us in Opposing it.

But it is our own Fault if we are deceived by them, or misled by those, who, for their Interest, have blindly given up their Understanding and Consciences to their Directions; for we have seen such different Behaviour of Persons in different Circumstances of their Lives, and the most zealous Followers of all Parties have so frequently been sacrificed to the least personal Pique, or private View of their LEADERS, that I hope my Country-men will no longer be amused with these Idle and Mischievous Contentions, set on foot, and encouraged with no other Design, but to divert them from attending to Things of real Concern to the Publick, and have been hitherto the only Pretence for continuing upon us the great Expences and Dangers of maintaining so numerous and unusual a Standing Army in time of Peace. It is therefore high Time for us to be convinced of our past Errors, and put an End to these destructive Animosities, and, without distinction, unite in pursuing the true Interest of our Country, and in supporting, upon all Occasions, such Measures. A State of the Publick Debts, &c. 83 as plainly tend to promote the Trade and Wealth, and to preserve the Liberties of these Kingdoms, in Opposition to all Endeavours to entail upon us a Succession of endless Debts, attended with their natural and necessary Consequences, Poverty, and Slavery.

R NARAMANA MARAMANANA

APPENDIX.

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An ACCOUNT of the NATIONAL DEBTS, which have been made towards the Discharge of the said

No I. Debtor.

| To the Principal Money advanced to the Publick, for the Purchase of Annuities, Granted by several Acts of Parliament, in the Reigns of King William and Queen Anne for you Years To Director for Apprintice for Lives, with the Advantage of 2 | 9,859,617 | | * · · · · |
|---|------------|----|-----------|
| To Ditto, for Annuities for Lives, with the Advantage of Survivorship | 108,100 | 00 | 00 |
| To Ditto, for Annuities on 2 and 3 Lives | 192,152 | ૦૯ | 03 |
| To Ditto, for Annuities at the Rate of 9 per Cent. for 32 Years, from September 29. 1710. | 900,000 | 00 | CO |
| To the Principal Sum advanced upon the Lottery, payable in 32 Years from the faid September 29. 1710. | 1,500,000 | 00 | 09 |
| To fatisfy the full Sum of 1,328,526 12 lent by several Bankers to K. Charles II. \$ 664,263 00 00 | | | |
| To Principal. Money remaining unpaid of, the Class and 10 l. Lotteries payable in 32 4,192,040 00 00 Years from September 29.1711. | · | | |
| To Ditto remaining of 2 like Lotteries 34,570,585 00 00 payable in 32 Years from Sept. 29 1712. | 9,426,888 | OÒ | |
| To Ditto of the Civil List Lottery, payable in 32 Years from September 29. 1713. | 599,190 | 00 | 00 |
| To Ditto of the Lottery, payable in 32 Years from Septem-3 ber 29. 1714. | 1,812,100 | 00 | CO |
| To the principal Money advanced 1 mo. Geo. for Annuities at 5 per Cent. payable at the Bank of England, which by Mistake is put down short 10000 l, in the first Exchequer Accounts, but is rectify'd in all the succeeding Accounts | 1,079,000 | 00 | 00 |
| To the Bank of England, for Money advanced on their Original Fund | | | |
| To Ditto, for Cancelling Exch. Bills 3,775,027 17 101 | 5,375,027 | 17 | 101 |
| Carried forward | 30,852,075 | ĮĮ | ز 22 |

as they stood, December 24. 1716. with all Payments Debts, to the Twenty-fourth of December, 1725. viz.

Creditor.

Nº I.

By Principal Money paid in Part of the Lottery 1714. by Produce of the faid Fund before the Subscription into the South-Sea Company

By Principal Money paid out of the Produce of the Fund of Lot. 1714. in part of the Sum not subscribed to the S.S. Com. 208,400 00 00

By Ditto paid in full of Ditto out of the finking Fund 95,640 00 00

By Principal Money paid out of the Produce of the Fund for Lottery 1713. in full of the Sum remaining unsubscribed to the South-Sea Company

Lotteries 1713, and 1714. paid off _____ 542,330 60 00

By Lottery Annuities Unsubscribed to the South-Sea Com-

By Bank Annuities at 5 per Cent. Unsubscribed, paid out 3 235,297 18 04

Carried 1,982,414 01 085

An ACCOUNT of the NATIONAL DEBTS, which have been made towards the Discharge of the said

No I. Debtor. Brought forward - 30,852,075 II 02! To the East-India Com. for the Money advanced by them 3,200,000 00 00 To the South-Sea Company for Money advanced at several ? 10,000,000 00 00 times by them To Exchequer Bills remaining Uncancelled 2,561,025 00 00 Total Sum 46,613,100 11 02; To the foregoing Total must be added the following Sums, which, though adjusted since, were for Services performed before December 24. 1716. viz. Deficiency of Grants, 1716. _____ 509,127 05 06 To pay Bills of Exchange on Ac-24,195 18 01 count of the Expedition to Canada Deficiency on the Duty on Candles - 346,793 07 10 Ditto, on low Wines _____ 66,812 09 02 Ed. Clent Esq; for an Army Debent. lost 585 07 01 947,514 07 08 2,152,927 00 074 To Army Debentures -To Debentures for Sufferers at Nevis ! 141,093 15 014 and St. Christophers To the Equivalent due to the King-248,550 00 09 dom of North Britain To a Deficiency of the Duty on 12,480 0901 Hops, Anno 1711. To Ditto on the East-India Company's 191,028 16 061 Fund for several Years, computed to Michaelmas 1719 3,693,594 09 092 To the Navy Debt & 1,043,336 19 094 to 31 Dec. 1716. To an Encrease of) the faid Debt fince this Ac. as appears by the 2 Sums on the o-> 290,902 16 031 ther fide, which have been paid in discharge thereof 51,640,934 17 01

as they stood December 24. 1716. with all Payments Debts, to the Twenty-fourth of December 1725, viz. No I. Creditor. Brought forward ____ 1,982,414 or 081 By Exchequer Bills paid out of the finking Fund _____ 2,561,025 00 00 By a Deficiency in the Duty on Hops, An. 1711. paid out 12,480.09 01 of Ditto By Do of the East-India Fund, Ditto 191,028 16 062 By Navy Debt in Part of faid Debt to Dec. 31. 1716. by Annuities at 4 per Cent. per Act > 334,239 16 011 3° Georgii, for Redeeming 4 Lotteries By Ditto in further Part of faid Debt by \ 1,000,000 00 00 Excheq. Bills out of the finking Fund 1,334,239 IG OIA 6,081,188 03 054 Balance is the Debt provided for or incurred before Decemb. 45,559,746 13 08 31. 1716. which remains unsatisfied 51,640,934 17 014

A State of the National Debt, as it stood Decemb. 24 1725. in the Sums which have been Paid in Part thereof, and the Alterations made in the No II. Debtor. To the Bank of England _____ 5,375,027 17 101 To Ditto for Part of the S. Sea Capital 4,000,000 00 00 transferr'd to them - 9,375,027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ To the East-India Company ---3,200,000 00 00 To the S. S. Comp. for their Cap. Stock) as now augmented by Subscriptions pur-/ 16,901,241 17 00 fuant to Acts of Parl. of 5. & 6. Georgii To South-Sea Annuities _____ 16,901,241 17 00 - 33,802,483 14 00 To the following Capital Sums payable at the Excheq. which were not subscrib'd to the S. Sea Comp. viz. Annuities for 99 Years ———— 1,837,533 00 09 Annuities with Benefit of Survivorship 108,100 00 00 Annuities on 2 and 3 Lives —____ 192,152 06 03 2,137,785 07 00 Annuities at 9 per Cent. for 32 Years 161,108 06 08 Annuities on Lottery 1710. Ditto 111,512 04 05 1 272,620 11 014 Part of 110,312 17 04 for Navy Annuities 2,510 00 00 Part of 947,514 07 08 Tallies of Sol. 3 Geo. 198,958 08 03 P.of 1,603,987 08 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ y Army Debent. cer-1719 as by 6. Geo. More fince — 548,939 12 $06\frac{1}{4}$ --- 942,134 of 11³ Annuities on the Plate Act. 6. Geo 312,000 00 00 Nevis Debentures ---141,093 15 014 New Churches ————— 380,787 00 00 Part of 500,000 l. for 1st. Lot 1719. — 58,300 00 00 Part of 500,000 % for 2d. Lot. 1719 -65,395 00 00 2,101,178 10 04 To Exc. Bills lent the S. Sea Comp. = 1,000,000 00 00 To Ditto pursuant to Act 8. Geo. 1,000,000 00 00 towards the Navy Debt To Ditto pursuant to Act 9. Geo. to ? 1,000,000 00. 00 redeem Annuities 3,000,000 00 00 1,000,000 00 00 To the Civil Lift Debt. Equivalent due to the Kingdom of North-Britain ----248,550 00 09 The Debt of the Navy at Decemb. 1725 1,255,491 09 04 56,393,137 10 05

which is included the Debt contracted fince Dec. 24. 1716. with National Debts by the Subscriptions to the South-Sea Company, &c. Nº II. Creditor. By the Principal Sum remaining unpaid of the Debt due Decemb. 24. 1716. as appears by the foregoing 45,559,746 13 08 Account By the following Sums paid off at the Exchequer viz. Navy Annuities _____ 1st Lottery, 1719. ______ 58,300 00 00 2d Lottery, 1719. — 65,395 00 00 Loans on Coals for New Churches about 285,152 00 00 411,357 00 00 By Excheq. Bills supposed to be Cancell'd out of the Money raised for this Purpose, in the Year 1719. by a Lot-> 500,000 00 00 tery on the Sinking Fund, tho' it does not appear in any Account By Do out of Money repaid by the S. S. C. 1,000,000 00 00 By Ditto out of the Sinking Fund — 610,341 17 094 2,110,341 17 094 By Balance remaining upon the Account of the Sinking Fund ? at Michaelmas 1725. applicable to this Service 547,654 03 10 48,629,099 15 031 Balance is the Debt increased fince December 1716. over? and above all Payments out of the Sinking Fund, &c. 56,393,137 10 052

A View of that Part of the NATIONAL DEBT plyed towards the Payment of it, out of the Produce of the respective the Reduction of Interest, with the State of it as it would have stood South-Sea Scheme.

| N° III. | Debtor. |
|--|-------------------------------|
| To the Bank of England | 5,375,027 I7 IQ1 |
| To the East-India Company | - |
| To the South-See Company | 10,000,000 00 00 |
| To Exchequer Bills Uncancell'd, 1715 - | 2,561,025 00 00 |
| To 4 Lotteries of the 9th and 10th of Bankers Debt. viz. | the Queen and |
| 10 l. Lottery, 1711. | - 1,928,570 00 00 |
| Class Lottery, 1711 | - 2,602,200 00 00 |
| 10 l. Lottery, 1712. | - 2,341,740 00 00 |
| Class Lottery, 1712. | - 2,341,990 00 00 |
| Bankers Debt ———————— | |
| | 9,878,763 00 00 |
| To Civil List Lottery, 1713. | |
| To Lottery, 1714. viz. | |
| Blanks ——— | - 1,157,360 oo oo |
| Prizes — | - 719,040 00 00 |
| | 1,876,400 00 00 |
| To q per Cent. Annuities imo Georgii | 1,079,000 00 00 |
| Carr | ied forward 34,603,225 17 10½ |

called Redeemable, with the Sums which might have been ap-Funds, appropriated by Parliament for this Service, and the Savings by at Michaelmas 1726, in Caseno Alteration had been made in it by the

Nº III.

Creditor.

By the Produce of 270,999 l.7s. per Annum, appropriated to the paying off, and cancelling principal Exchequer Bills from 2,980,992 17 00 Michaelmas 1715, to Michaelmas 1726. 11 Years.

By Interest saved upon Two Millions of Exchequer Bills, cancelled by the Bank at Christmas 1717, for which they received an Annuity of 51. per Cent. the Expence before being 71. 4s. per Cent. but reckoning only a saving of 40,000 per Annum, for 834 Years, to Michaelmas 1726, is

By a Saving on the Remainder of the principal Exchequer Bills, being 2,561,025, the Charge where of was reduced from 7 l. 4 s. to about 4 l. 10 s. per Cent. which at least makes a Saving of 2 l. 10 s. per Cent. or 64,025 l. 12 s. 6 d. per Annum, which for the same time is

560,224 04 042

By 100,000 per Annum, on reducing the Interest on the South- Sea Company's Original Stock of Ten Millions from 6 to 5 per Cent. at Midsummer 1718, for $8\frac{1}{4}$ Years to said Michaelmas 1726.

825,000 00 00

By 17,750 l. 9s. 7d. ½ per Annum, on reducing the Interest of 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. ½ from 6 l. to 5 l. per Cent. for the same time, being an Allowance to the Bank of England for Exchequer Bills, which they formerly cancelled.

146,441 09 05

Carried forward

4,862,658 10 09;

A View of that part of the NATIONAL DEBT, applied towards the Payment of it, out of the Produce of the re. Savings by the Reduction of Interest, with the State of it as it would in it by the South-Sea Scheme.

Nº III.

Debtor.

Brought forward

34,603,225 17 10

To feveral Sums incurred for Services performed before the 24 of Dec. 1716, altho, adjusted and provided for fince that time as by Particulars in the foregoing Account

To the Navy Debt as it stood in Dec. 1716. 1,334,239 16 014
39,631,060 03 091

The Debt called Irredeemable.

 called Redeemable, with the Sums which might have been spective Funds, appropriated by Parliament for this Service, and the have stood at Michaelmas 1726, in Case no Alteration had been made

Nº III.

Creditor.

Brought forward

4,862,658 10 09

By the following Sums which would have been paid off at Michaelmas 1726, in part of the Principal Money advanced on the Lotteries under-mentioned out of the respective Funds, appropriated to each Lottery, viz.

| Two Two | Lotteries Lottery | 1712. | Security Sec | 1,588,117 1,603,537 160,941 449,932 | 13 | 00 |
|------------|----------------------|-------|--|--|----|----|
| 1 , | | | | 8,665,187 | 08 | 09 |
| | | | | | | |

Redeemable Debt which would have remained unsatisfied at Michaelmas 1726.

30,965,872 15 004

39,631,060 03 094

An ACCOUNT of the Yearly Sum, which at Michaelmas 1726, would have been applicable to the Discharge of the redeemable Debts, in Case no Alteration had been made in them by the South-Sea Subscription, viz.

No IV.

| | Per Annum. |
|--|---------------|
| The Sum appropriated to the paying off and cancelling prin- cipal Exchequer Bills by Acts of the 7th and 12th of Queen Anne. | 270,999 07 00 |
| Interest saved upon Two Millions of Exchequer Bills cancelled by the Bank at Christmas 1717, for which they received an Annuity of five per Cent. the Expence provided for before, being Seven Pounds Four Shillings per Cent. but reckoning the Saving only at two per Cent. is | 40,000 00 00 |
| Interest saved on the Remainder of Excheq. Bills being 2,561,0251. the Charge whereof was reduced from Seven Pounds Four Shillings per Cent. to about Four Pounds Ten Shillings per Cent. or | 64,025 12 06 |
| Interest saved on reducing the South-Sea Original Capital of Ten Millions from Six to Five per Cent. at Midsummer 1718. | 100,000 00 00 |
| Interest saved on reducing the Interest from Six to Five per Cent. at the same time on 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10d. ½ Exchequer Bills, formerly cancelled by the Bank. | 17,750 09 07 |
| Lotteries 1711, at Michaelmas 1717, when they were reduced from 61. to 51. per Cent. had 112,508 07 00 for their finking Fund the Sum of | |
| Which at Michaelmas 1726, would have been encreased by the Interest of 1,240,580 10 00 62,029 00 06 which that Fund had cancelled | |
| | 174,537 07 06 |
| Carried forward | 667,312 16 07 |

No IV.

| Brought forward | 667,312 16 07 |
|--|---------------|
| Lotteries 1712, at Michaelmas 1717 117,316 10 00 | |
| Increased by the Interest of 1,293,597 18 00 which would have been paid off at Michael- 64,679 18 00 | |
| Lottery 1713. Sinking Fund 9,679 12 00 | 181,996 08 00 |
| Interest on 160,945 03 00 which would have been paid off at Michaelmas 1726. | 16,117 05 00 |
| Lottery 1714 Per Annum 116,573 12 00 | .: |
| Now in the South-Sea At 5 l. per Cent. 43,262 10 00 | |
| At 4 l. per Cent. 21,548 16 00 | , |
| 64,811 06 00 | 51,762 06 00 |

Total 917,188 15 07

A VIEW of the Revenues, Taxes, and Duties which were subsisting the 5th of November 1688.

Con inuance.

A Subfidy of Tonnage and Poundage upon Merchandizes exported and imported, granted by several A &s of Parliament, during the Lives of King Charles the second, and King James the second, and by divers subsequent A &s further continued from time to time for several Purposes, and since

For Ever.

An Excise on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors of 15 d. a Barrel, granted for the Lives of King Charles II. King James II. King For his Majesty's Life. William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and his present Majesty,

Another 15 d. a Barrel, called the Hereditary Excise, granted to King Charles II. his Heirs and Successors

For Ever.

An additional Revenue of 2 s. upon every Fire-Hearth, &c.) granted King Charles II. his Heirs and Successors, taken away by Act of the first of William and Mary, from Lady-Day 1689.

The Revenues of the Post-Office, granted 12° Charles II.

For Ever.

Befides these Revenues, several small Branches and Casualties were Annually arising to the Crown, which cannot be enumerated, some of which are now appropriated during his Majesty's Life, towards the Charge of the Civil Government, and the rest for the Debts of the Nation.

For Ever.

An Imposition upon Wines and Vinegar, granted King James II. from 24 June 1685, to 25 June 1693, towards a Supply for the Repairs of the Navy, Stores for the Navy Ordinance, &c.

Expired.

An Imposition upon Tobacco and Sugar, for the same time for a further Supply for the Services above-mentioned, and Payment of the Debt due to King *Charles* the Second's Servants and Family, and other weighty and important Occasions.

Expired.

An Imposition on French Linens, East-India Linens, wrought Silks and Stuffs, and Brandies, for 5 Years, from July 1685, for suppressing the Rebellion of the late Duke of Monmouth, and other his Majesty's extraordinary Occasions.

Expired. .

These were all the Publick Revenues payable on the 5th of November 1688. And by two Acts Imo William and Mary, were authorized to be collected till the 25th of November 1690, whilst the better settling thereof was under the consideration of that Parliament.

An Abstract of the Additional Revenues, Taxes, Impositions and Duties, which have been granted over and above those before-mentioned, with the Continuance thereof, viz.

Additional Customs.

Continuance.

A further Subfidy of Tonnage and Poundage upon all Goods and Merchandizes imported, from the first of August 1714, towards making up a Yearly Sum of 700,000 l. for the Civil List, List.

Another like Subfidy of Tonnage and Poundage upon all Goods and Merchandizes Imported, which goes by the Name of $\frac{1}{3}$ d. Subfidy, and $\frac{1}{3}$ ds. Subfidy.

For Ever.

Additional Impositions upon all East-India Goods, and several? other Goods and Merchandizes imported after 25 Decemb. 1690.

For Ever.

Additional Impositions upon Wines, Vinegar, and Tobacco, from 23 June 1693.

For Ever.

Certain Additional Impositions upon several Goods and Merchandizes imported and exported from the 1st of March 1692.

For Ever.

Several Additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and Spices; and also a Duty of 20 l. per Cent. ad valorem, upon all Pictures imported after the 1st of May 1695.

For Ever.

New

New Additional Duties (which double the Additional Duties) before) upon Coffee, Tea, Spices and Pictures from the 1st of February 1704.

For Ever.

For Ever.

For Ever.

For Ever.

For Ever.

Additional Duties (over and above all other Duties payable for the same at the Custom-House) viz.

Upon all White Callicoes imported after the 1 February 1704, 15 l. per Cent. ad valorem.

Upon all China and Japan Earthen-Ware, Ditto 12 per Cent. ad valorem.

Upon all Drugs (except Dying Drugs) rated in the Book of Rates, Ditto 10 per Cent. ad valorem.

And upon all unrated Drugs (except Dying Drugs) 4 per Cent. ad valorem.

New Duties upon Coffee, Tea and Drugs (over and above all other Customs, Subfidies and Duties payable for the same) viz.

For every Pound of Coffee imported from 16 June 1712. 0 1 07

For every Pound of Tea imported by East-India

Company, Ditto

0 2 0

For Ditto imported from any other Places than the *Indies*,
Ditto

And for all kinds of Drugs (except as in the Act is excepted) 20 l. per Cent. ad valorem.

An Additional Duty of 15 per Cent. ad valorem, upon all Muslins imported from 25 March 1700, over and above all Customs, Subsidies, Impositions and Duties, before payable for the same.

An Additional Duty of 25 l. per Cent. ad valorem, upon all French Goods imported from 28 February 1696. Also for every Tun of French Wines 25 l. Single Brandy 30 l. Double Brandy 60 l. and for every Tun of French Vinegar 15 l. over and above all other Impositions, Duties, and Charges thereupon.

New Duties (over and above all other Duties, and Additional Duties before payable for the same)

Upon every Pound of Pepper imported after the 6th 1. s. d.)
of February 1709.
Upon every 100 Pound Weight of Raisins imported
as aforesaid

For all Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, and Mace, the double of what they paid before,

And for every Pound of Snuff imported, not of the Produce of the British Plantations

For Ever.

White Woollen-Cloth.

Five Shillings for every White Woollen-Cloth exported, was granted and appropriated from 8 March 1710, for 32 Years, and fince continued

For Ever.

Additional Excise,

Upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, viz.

An Additional 9 d. a Barrel (so called) was granted for three Years from 24 July 1689; a double Excise, or 3 s. 3 d. a Barrel Additional from 17 November, continued 2 Years, since which the Additional Duties have not exceeded 2 s. 6 d. a Barrel, that is to say, 3 nine-pences, and one 3 d. which are all granted

For Ever.

Low Wines

Divers and fundry Duties have been laid upon Low-Wines from 24 December 1690, and after many long Grants thereof are now continued

For Ever.

Cá

Sweets.

Sweets.

The Duty on these Liquors was at first 12 s. a Barrel from 25 March 1696, about 2 Years after 12 s. a Barrel more was laid thereon; and from 24 March 1700, the Duty was raised 11. 16 s. a Barrel, which is since continued

For Ever.

Victuallers.

Certain Duties are made Payable to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by all Victuallers, and Retailers of Beer and Ale, within the Cities of London and Westminster, and within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, from 24 June 1726,

For Ever.

Salt

Divers Duties have been laid upon Salt imported, and home-made, from 25 March 1694, they amount now to 65. 8 d. a Bushel on Foreign, and 35.4 d. on home-made Salt, and are granted

For Evera

And upon Rock-Salt exported to Ireland, 9s. a Tun, from 11 June 1711, since continued

For Ever.

Post-Office.

By a new Act for Establishing a General Post-Office, throughout all the Dominions of Great-Britain, from the first of June 1711, the Duties on the Carriage of Letters and Packets, &c. were almost doubled, and a Sum of 700 l. a Week appropriated out of the whole Produce for 32 Years, and since that time the same has been continued

For Ever

Coals.

Several Duties have been laid upon Coals fince 29 September 1695, they now amount to 5 s. a Chaldron for all Coals carryed Coast-wife, and 3 s. a Chaldron more for all Coals imported into the Port of London, making 8 s. a Chaldron there, all which Duties are granted

For Ever.

And the Duties for Coals exported in Foreign Bottoms 175. British 65. a Chaldron

For Ever.

Candles.

A Duty of 4 d. was laid upon every Pound weight of Wax-Candles, and a Half-penny a Pound upon Tallow, or any other Candles imported or home-made from 1st May 1710.

And a like farther Duty of 4 d. and a Half-penny from 25

For Ever.

March 1711, all which Duties have been fince granted

Soap.

on imported Soap, and i d. a Pound upon home-madeSoap, from 25 March 1711, hath now continuance

For Ever,

An Additional Duty of 1 d. a Pound on Soap imported, and $\frac{1}{2}$ q. a Pound upon home-made Soap,

from 2 August 1714, continued

For Ever.

Starch

Coals

Starch

| 2 d. a Pound on all Starch imported, and 1 d. a Pound upon granted from 1 August 1712, fince cont Starch made in Great- | inued For Ever. |
|---|------------------|
| Britain, | |
| An Additional Duty of 2 d. a Pound upon imported, and granted from 2 August 1714, since con 1 d. a Pound upon home-made Starch, | tinued For Ever. |
| Stamp-Duties upon Vellum, Parchment, and Pand upon Cards and Dice, and upon Pamp Almanacks, &c. fix feveral Grants, viz. | aper, hlets, |
| The First commenced from 28 June 1694, for a Ter Four Years, but is fince continued | For Ever. |
| The Second commenced from 1 August 1698, granted East-India Company | |
| The Third commenced from 1 August 1711, for a Lot fince continued | tery, For Ever. |
| The Fourth commenced from 1 August 1712, for a Lo fince continued | ttery, For Ever. |
| The Fifth commenced from 1 August 1712, for ar Lottery, fince continued | nother For Ever. |
| The Sixth commenced from 2 August 1714, for another tery, since continued | Lot- For Ever. |
| en e | New |

New Duties on Paper, Vellum, and Parchment, by three Grants.

The 1st. 20 per Cent. advalorem, upon all Paper, Granted from Past-board, Vellum, and Parchment, made in 1 March 1696, England; 25 per Cent. upon all that should be for 2 Years. imported,

Expired.

2. Various Rates and Duties, as well upon home-made as imported Paper, Past-boards, Mild-boards, Scale-boards &c., were granted from 24 June 1712, for 32 Years, fince

For Ever.

3. Additional Duties were laid on the said Paper, &c. from 2 }
August 1714, for 32 Years, since

For Ever.

Duties on Striped Linens, &c. by two Grants.

The 1st. 15 per Cent. advalorem upon all imported Chequered and Stript Linen, and upon all Linens Printed, Painted, Stained, or Dyed in Granted from any Foreign Parts, over and above all other Customs, Subsidies, and Duties payable for the same, And upon all Silks, Callicoes, Linens and Stuffs, and since con-

For Ever.

And upon all Silks, Callicoes, Linens and Stuffs, and fince con-Printed, Stained, Painted or Dyed in Great-Britain, several other Duties in the Act mentioned,

2. Another 15 per Cent. ad valorem, was laid upon the said imported Striped Linens, &c. and divers Additional Duties upon the abovesaid Printed Silks, for 32 Years, Callicoe, Linens and Stuffs; and also upon all Paper Painted or Stained, to serve for Hangings, tinued

For Ever-

Gilt and Silver Wire.

A Duty of 12 d. an Ounce for Gilt-Wire, and from 1 July 9 d. an Ounce for Silver-Wire imported; and 1712, for 32 Years, fince Silver-Wire home-made, Years, fince continued

For Ever

Leather.

Leather.

A Duty of 15 per Cent. ad valorem, was laid upon all Leather imported or made in England (over and above all Customs, Subfidies, or other Duties before payable for any such Leather) for three Years, from 20 April 1697.

Expired.

A Duty of 12 d. for every 100 Pound Weight of Leather exported, was laid for thirty-two Years, from 8 March 1719, fince continued

For Ever.

Hides, &c. two Grants.

Divers Duties were laid upon Hides and Skins Tanned, Tawed, or Dressed, and upon Vellum and Parchment imported over and above all other Duties before payable for the same, and other Years, since Duties on the said Commodities dressed in Continued Great-Britain,

For Ever.

Additional Duties were laid upon Hides, and the other Wares above-mentioned, from 1 August 1712, for thirty-two Years, fince continued

For Ever.

Window Taxes, two Grants.

The First was of several Duties, which continued from 25 March 1696, for seven Years, fince continued

For Ever.

The other Grant was of higher Duties, commencing from 29 3
September 1710, for thirty-two Years, fince continued

For Ever.

Hackney-

Hackney-Coaches, Stage-Coaches, and Hackney-Chairs.

700 Hackney-Coaches were Licenced from 24 June 16:4, for twenty-one Years, at a Fine of 50 l. each, and 4 l. per Annum Rent.

And all Stage-Coaches were to be Licenced for one Year from faid 24 June, at 8 l. per Annum each.

800 Hackney-Chairs were Licenced from 24 June 1711, for thirty-two Years, at 51. a Week Rent.

200 Hackney-Chairs were Licenced from Ditto for thirty-two Years, at 10 s. per Annum Rent.

100 Ditto more, from 24 June 1712, for thirty-one Years, at same Rent.

100 Ditto more, from 24 June 1726, for seventeen Years, at same Rent.

Clerks and Apprentices.

A Tax of 6 d. in the Pound upon all Money Granted for 5 given with Apprentices, &c. of 50 l. and under; Years from 1 and 1 s. in the Pound for all Money fo given May 1710, above,

For Ever.

Duties on Hops.

3 d. for every Pound Weight of Hops im-) for 4 Years ported, and 1 d. a Pound upon all of British from 1 June Growth.

For Ever.

Hawkers

Hawkers, Pedlars, and Petty-Chapmen.

Each was to Pay for a Licence 41 for one Year, from 24 June 1697, to 24 June 1698, and 41 more for every Horse, Als, Mule, or Beast of burthen, he, or she should travel with; these Duties have since been continued

For Ever.

Glass-Wares, Stone and Earthen-Wares, and Tobacco-Pipes.

Divers Duties were laid on these Commodities, some from the 29th of September 1695, and others from 17 May 1696, and were all granted for ever; but have since been taken away by two Acts of Parliament in that behalf, and in Lieu thereof Duties laid on

Whale-Finns and Scotch Linen, viz.

For every Pound Weight of Whale Finns imported by l. s. d. the Greenland Company, &c.

For Ditto imported by Foreigners.

006

For every 120 Ells of Scotch Twill, and

0 10 0

For every 120 Ells of Scotch Ticking.

068

All these Duties were granted at first from 10 July 1698, for eight Years, then to 1 August 1710. Note, The Union discharged the Duty on Scotch Linen; but the Duties on Whale-Finns are continued

For Ever-

Marriages, Births, and Burials; Batchelors, and Widows.

Divers Duties were laid thereupon respectively from 1 May 1695, to 1 August 1706.

Expired.

Wrought

Wrought Plate.

A Duty of 6 d. an Ounce is laid on all wrought Plate imported (over and above all other Duties) and 6 d. an Ounce upon all Silver Plate made in Great-Britain from 1 June 1720.

For Ever.

Forfeited Estates.

An Act passed (with the Land-Tax, pro Anno 1700,) for reassuming, and the Sale of the forseited Estates in Ireland.

And two Acts have passed in this Reign, for enquiring into and Sale of the forseited Estates in Great-Britain and Ireland.

Papists.

A Tax for raising 100,000 l. upon them in the Year, from 25
March 1723.

Land Taxes commencing 25 March 1689.

of Twelve-pence in the Pound. 2 Additional Aids of Twelve-pence in the Pound. To Aids of Two Shillings in the Pound. 3 of Two Shillings in the Pound. 4 of Four Shillings in the Pound, with a Capitation, and divers other Subfidies attending three of them.

Poll

Dd

Poll Taxes.

These were one in the Year 1689. Review thereof, and an Additional Poll in 1690. Another Poll in the Year 1690. A Quarterly Poll in 1692. An Act for Review of the said Quarterly Poll in 1693. Another Quarterly Poll in the Year 1694, and the last Quarterly Poll in the Year 1698.

Malt Taxes.

The first was granted from 20 April 1697, to 20 July 1699, the next from 9 March 1701, to 24 June 1703, fince which there have been 24 Annual Malt-Taxes, the last of which will end on 24 June 1727.

Note, All the foregoing Revenues, Additional Revenues, Impositions and Duties that are granted for ever, or during his Majesty's Life, are appropriated for the Debts of the Nation, and the Civil List; that the same Revenues which were enjoyed by the late Queen, at the time of her Demise, were immediately settled upon his Majesty for his Life, for the Charges of the Civil Government. But it appearing that those Revenues had not produced 600,000 l. per Annum one Year with another, in her late Majesty's Reign, (occasioned chiefly by the falling short of the Customs during the long War) another Act passed in first Year of the King, for settling a farther Revenue of 123,000 l. per Annum upon his Majesty for Life, to commence from Michaelmas 1715; this Additional Revenue did not then produce a new Tax, but was charged upon the Bank's Aggregate Fund, for Exchequer Bills, with a Clause in the Act, (p. 3 7) that if the Revenues fettled for this Civil List, together with the said Additional Revenue of 120,000 l. per Annum, should from Michaelmas 1715, at any time during his Majesty's Life, produce in clear Money more than 700,000 l. a Year, then the overplus of such produce should go to, and be taken to be, part of the general or Aggregate Fund established for the Purposes in that Act. From hence 'tis plain, that for want of finding out a new Fund, the Nation has ever fince paid so much Annual Interest for that 120,000 l. per Annum, as it would have discharged of the Publick Debts. What follows are Additional Taxes that have been farther granted for Debts incurred by the Treasury over and beyond 700,000,1. per Annum, for the Civil List, viz.

Taxes for the Civil List above 700,000 l. per Annum.

Raised upon the two Corporations of Insurances,

300,000 00 00

By a Tax of 6d. in the Pound upon all Payments from the Crown (except as in the Act excepted) which commenced from 21 August 1721, there was at first raised by Annuities at 5 l pers. Cent. redeemable.

500,000 00 00

Afterwards there was 1,000,000 l. raised thereupon at 3 l. per Cent. in Exchequer Bills, out of which the first 500,000 l. was paid off, and left only a new Charge or Debt of

500,000 00 00

Then by another Act (mentioning, that the publick Service required that the Exchequer Bills, remaining undischarged of the said Millions, then amounting to 990,000 l. should without delay be cancelled) the said Tax of 6 d in the Pound is continued to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and made a Fund for 30,000 l. per Annum, from 24 June 1726, for raising an entire new Million, by Way of Lottery, in Lieu of the 990,000 in Exchequer Bills cancelled, which makes an Increase of Debt or Charge on the said six penny Tax of

10,000 00 00

Note, That by an Act of the 10th Geo. the Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, are turned into inland Duties, and collected by way of Excise, in which Act much greater and more extensive Powers are given to the Officers of the Revenue, to enter into and search the Houses of the Subject, than were ever granted in any former Act of Parliament; and the Liberty sormerly given to the Officers of the Revenue, to look into the House of any Subject to number the Hearths in it, only, was looked upon as so great a Grievance, that it was thought a sufficient Reason for taking away that Duty upon the Restoration of our Liberties, at the Revolution, as appears at large in the Preamble of the Bill passed 1° William and Mary, Chap. 10. where 'tis said to be a Badge of Slavery upon the whole People, exposing every Man's House to be entered into and searched at Pleasure, by Persons unknown to him.

This

This is the best Account which the leisure I have had has allowed Me to make from the perusal of the many and voluminous Acts of Parliament upon this Subject; and if there be any Mistakes or Omissions, it is hoped the Reader will forgive them; and, as he discovers any of them, communicate them to the Publick as freely as I have done.

Phelieve whoever casts his Eye over this long List of the several Taxes which the People at present pay, will readily allow that my Computation has been extreamly modest, when I have supposed Three Hundred Pounds a Year to be paid in Taxes by every one who spends one Thousand Pounds per Annum; for if I had said that the half of every Gentleman's Estates goes to the Support of the Publick, I should perhaps not have over-rated it; so that whoever fancies, like the Author of the Essay, that the People of Great-Britain can easily bear farther Duties, &c. they may, if they please, communicate their Thoughts to the Ministers, (to whom, this Author says (pag. 47.) the Care of providing the necessary Supplies does belong) how they may recompence their Services I cannot say, but I know what would be the Reward every honest Freeholder in Great-Britain would think they deserve.

FINIS