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AN

ESSAY

ONTHE

Sinking FUND.

Wherein the NATURE thereof is fully explained; and the RIGHT of the Publick to that FUND afferted and maintained.



LONDON:

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(Price One Shilling.)

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T is not to be doubted, but that all who are fincerely attach'd to our present happy Constitution, will agree with me in the following Points, viz.

That the Legislative Power is lodg'd in King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament affembled,

who may alter, repeal, or enact fuch Laws as may appear to them most consistent with the Welfare of the Community.

That all Acts arising from a Majority of both Houses with the Royal Sanction, become obligatory on the Subject, and ought to be looked on as the Sense of the Nation. A dislorer and an exact and a

That while Bills are depending in either House, Liberty of Argument for, or against such Bills, is allowed; when they pass into Laws, their Quality is altered, and that they are framed for

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the Advantage of the Publick ought neither to be

doubted or disputed.

Whoever throws such Reslections on the Acts of the Legislature as plainly tend to weaken their Authority, let his Profession be otherwise ever so specious, is fo far an Enemy to the present Government.

That 'tis no less maliciously absurd to charge a Minister or Ministers with what Inconveniencies may follow on any Act of Parliament, than it is inconfistent with the Duty of a good Subject to take upon him to determine what is, or is not, proper to be done for the publick Utility; for under a Practice contrary to the first Affertion, is concealed a base Reflection on the Majority of both Houses, as denying the Second has in it a strong Tendency to affront our Laws, and both strike at the Root

of our present Constitution.

Against these Positions the Influence of the Court over the Electors of the Representatives of the People in Parliament always has been, and will be urged, and made a plausible Pretence, by a disaffected Party, to fly in the Face of the Government, and the principal Argument used to draw the weak and untkinking Part of the Nation into a Belief, that most of our Laws have been of late calculated for enlarging the Prerogative of the Crown, and retrenching the Liberty of the Subject, and passed by a Majority of both Houses entirely at the Devotion of the Ministry; so that according to these Men, the Sentiments of the People are best known by a Minority, while a Plurality of Voices does only represent those in the present Administration, and consequently our Legislature becomes vested in the King and Ministry in a construct to verseld

It is from this political Doctrine we have the in-to vidious Distinction of Court and Country Parties kept 441

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kept up by our modern Patriots to engage the People to think that these two Interests are incompatible, or, to be more plain, that the Liberties of the People can never be secure while the Kingtenjoys any Prerogatives or things ig need of the

These, and such like Inconsistencies in Politicks. have been maintain'd and propagated by a monstrous: Faction of Men of heterogeneous Principles under the Name of Liberty, to destroy a Government which is the only Support of Liberty: We may be fufficiently convinced by fatal Experience, how much the Abettors of an indefeasible bereditary Right to the Crown of these Realms have valued this inestimable Happiness; and the Troubles of 1641 will; ever be remembred, to shew the World how vilely it has been abused by the Advocates for a Democracy; both being flagrant Instances of what they really mean by opposing a Government fettled upon the Principles of the late Revolution.

The Insults offered to our Constitution by this motley Tribe, are grown to such a Height, that our Acts of Parliament are censured, and brought to the Test of private Judgment in Defiance of common Sense, and the received Maxims of good Post licy sythus, raising on continuing Taxes on the Subject is called Oppression; the Disposition of the Money granted for the annual Exigencies of the Government, an Embezzlement of the publick Treafure; the least Step taken for improving the Reveal nues of the Crown, van Attempt on the Peoples Liberties; and the Application of the Sinking Fund to any other Uses besides discharging of national Debts contracted before Christmas 1716, is lookid on as a Breach of publick Faith and Credit, 800. 11 110.11

Ichave often thought, that the least Noticel taken of such base Invectives, i might be deemed avi Sort of Deference paid to the Wisdom of our pre-

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filent Contempt of all they write against our Legislature, was the best Treatment they deserved; but not knowing how far the Minds of Multitudes may have been prepared to receive wrong Impressions from Writings drawn up with the same Art and Shew of Popularity, as not long ago gave Occasion for an Insult on the House of Commons, I chused to assist in exposing the salse Glosses put on some of our Laws, that it may be seen what low Shifts they are put to for gaining their Ends.

Among the many Grievances alledged to be confequent on several Acts of our Legislature, those that have attended such of them as relate to the Sinking Fund are none of the least: I am verily persuaded, had there been a Design sormed to move a Fundamental of our Constitution, a louder Exclamation could not have followed than what has been raised upon the late Application of this Fund, though at the same Time there is no more Reason for this Clamour, than what is grounded on a labour'd Misrepresentation of the Nature of that Fund, and the Right of its Appropriation, which I doubt not will appear evident from what shall follow.

I am so sensible that Prejudice is an Enemy to right Reason, that the plainest Demonstration is lost upon all who are under such an Insluence, and therefore I have the same little Regard for them, as I have for the Denyers of sirst Principles; neither can I hope that the Justice of our Laws will ever be acknowledged by Men, who through Principle or Interest are equally Enemies to our Constitution; but that the artful Endeavours of these Men to gain upon the Credility of the Ignorant, may be frustration teds. I am to submit my self to call others whose Minds are not by assid by such like Insluences.

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Before I enter upon the Discussion of what relates to the Sinking Fund, I think it incumbent on me to premise, that the Sense of Parliament concerning the same, has been set in so clear a Light by an abler. Hand, that little more can be added to discover the Fallacy of Arguments made use of by our Enemies to support their unreasonable Charge against the Government: However, as this Author in dealing with fuch, has been obliged to dispense with the strict Rules of methodical Reasoning, my Design is, to digest all that can be said on this Subject into a Form, which may, ('tis presumed) more readily engage the Reader's Attention and Assent to what is here offered, that I may be under no Necessity of following our Adversaries through the several Irregularities of Argument and Periods of incoherent Thoughts which shew themselves in most of their Writings. Total Constitution of the Constitution of the

I hope it will be granted that all Acts of Parliament passed since, are of equal Authority with those before the Year 1721; however necessary this Concession may be to my present Purpose, it may yet look a little odd, I should make any Doubt of it; but when we consider in what Manner the Legislature has been treated fince that Year, our Surprize will vanish; for I am persuaded, was a Stranger serioufly to peruse the many Libels that have been published against the Government since that Time, he would easily perceive that their Authors (by scandalous and groundless Suspicions of the Integrity of a Majority in the House of Commons) aim at Nothing less than leading the World to imagine, that the Asts of our Legislature in these different Periods of Time, do not equally conduce to the publick Good, and by an unfair Consequence tacitly suppose them less binding on the Subject.

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In the Profecution of my prefent Defign, I intend to advance nothing but what is warranted by Parliament, and all Inferences will appear to be naturally deduced from what Observations shall be justly made on the several Acts relating to this Fund; and in the Management of the whole, I propose,

if. To give a plain Description of the Sinking Fund drawn from the Act of Parliament which eftablishes it, by shewing the constituent Parts thereof, the Uses to which they were appropriated, and the End the Government had principally in View by

fuch an Appropriation.

10 2 dly, To prove that the Legislature may, when they fee proper, apply this Fund for answering publick Services different from those for which it was first appointed, without Breach of publick Faith or Credit, and that the several late Applications thereof to such Services cannot be deemed any Encroachment on the Right of the publick Creditors to this Fund. And, First : Xagagaba Aggaray

adly, I shall examine several Articles called Anmual, and touch upon others call'd Gross Sums, said to belong to the Sinking Fund, and to be at different Times taken from thence to answer other Occasions, that the World may judge of the Candour of some Authors, and what Foundation their Calculations have in Truth,

I. By an Act of Parliament in the 3d of the late King, Cap. 7. and Sect. 37. the Sinking Fund is established in these Words, viz. "That all the Monies to arife from time to time, as well of, or for the faid Excess or Surplus by virtue of the faid AET made for redeeming the Funds of the Governor and " Company of the Bank of England, and of, or for the s faid Excess or Surplus by virtue of the said Act made for redeeming the Funds of the said Governor and " Company

(9) " Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to "the South-Seas, and other Parts of America, and so for encouraging the Fishery; as also, of, and for the

" faid Excess or Surplus of the said Duties and Reve"nues by this Act appropriated as aforesaid, and the
"said overplus Monies of the said general yearly Fund

by this Act established or intended to be established as

aforefaid, shall be appropriated, reserved and employed to and for the discharging the Principal and "Interest of such national Debts and Incumbrances as

were incurred before the 25th of December 1716,

" and are declared to be national Debts, and are provided ce for by Act of Parliament in such Manner and Form

as shall be directed or appointed by any future Act or Acts of Parliament to be discharged therewith.

or out of the same, and to and for none other Use, Intent or Purpose whatsoever.

From this Act it is to be observed, that the Surplusses

of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and general Funds do make what is commonly called the Sinking Fund, that is, a Fund appropriated to fink or discharge the National. Debts contracted before Christmas 1716, and for no other Purpose whatsoever. Or to be more particular, whatever the Duties comprehended in the aforefaid three Funds do produce more than what is sufficient to answer the annual Interest of such Debts and other annual Incumbrances charged on such Funds by Acts of Parliament. Such Excesses or Overplus; Monies, are by this Act made a Fund, only for paying off the principal Sums of the faid National Debts, fo that the Principal and Interest of publick Debts contracted as aforesaid, are to be satisfied out of the yearly Incomes from the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds.

And here I shall take Notice of the National Debts being divided into Redeemable and Irredeemable: Under the first Denomination are comprehen-

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ded all such principal Sums as have at several times been contracted or borrowed by the Government, attended with Interest payable out of the Produce of particular Duties or Taxes appropriated for that Purpose, until such principal Sums so borrowed be redeemed or paid off by Parliament; after Redemption of which, the Incomes by these Duties attend the Disposition of that Authority, and such of these Debts only, as were contracted before Christmas

1716, the Sinking Fund was to discharge.

The publick Debts under the other Head are of a different Nature, being certain Annuities which the Government had at several Times granted to sundry, Persons to be paid them, out of Duties set apart for that Purpose, for such Time and Terms of Years as were agreed on, and particularly express'd in the Orders made out or Securities given to fuch Annuitants: In Consideration whereof, the Government received several Sums of Money as their Purchase, in Proportion, and according to the different Rates and Terms of Years so stipulated as aforesaid; on the Expiration of which all Payments cease, and the Government's Securities for the Payment of fuch Annuities in the Possession of such Purchasers are void.

As here, there are no principal Sums to be paid off, and that the Legislature cannot without the Consent of these Purchasers alter the Quality of their Debts; the several Duties appointed to satisfy such Annuities must continue to be a Fund not only to answer what of these Debts are now subsisting until. the Expiration of their respective Terms of Years, but likewise the Interest of all those principal Sums which were allowed by the Government to those Annuitants who had subscribed their Properties in these Debts into the Capital of the South-Sea Com-

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pany, until such principal Sums given for their Re-Purchase shall be redeemed by Parliament.

But in order to have a clearer and more distinct Notion of this Sinking Fund, it will be necessary to explain the Nature of the aforesaid three Funds, and shew the particular Duties of which they are composed; and this shall be done in the briefest Manner.

The Aggregate Fund was established by an Act of Parliament in the first of the late Reign, cap. 12. intitled, An Act for enlarging the Fund of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, &c. By this, and another Act in the gd of the faid Reign, Cap. 8. intitled, An Act for redeeming severel Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, pursuant to former Provisions of Redemption, &c. the following Duties or Taxes are brought under the Head of this Fund, viz.

"Duty on Houses.

"Two Thirds Subfidy of Tonnage and Poundage, from the 7th of March, 1711.

"Duties on Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Spices and Pictures, Drugs and White Callicoes, from the 23d of June, 1714.

" One Half of another Subfidy of Tonnage and Poundage, from the 31st of July, 1714.

"Surplus of the other Half Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage over and above 80000 l, per Ann. Annuities, granted for 96 Years from the 31st of July, 1712.

" One Half Subfidy on Wine and Merchandize

from the aforesaid Time.

" Additional Duties on French Wines, Goods, and Merchandize, from the 29th of September, 1715.

" Plantation Duties from the said Time,

66 Duty on Hops, from the 31st of July, 1715.

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Surplusses of Revenues in Annuity Acts, 4to, Tiens 15 to 15 & 6to Anna, to be computed from the 29th of September, 1715.

Surplus of Five Sevenths Excise over and above or yus paying 100,000 l. per Ann. for the original Tinic aforefaid. While the Bank, computing from the

-med Difto of Two Sevenths Excise above what is fufficient to fatisfy Annuities on Lives, from OA athe aforelaid Pinier bound staying

Surplus of the Civil Lift Revenues, from Michaelmas 1715, during his late Majesty's Sampany of The Mark of Englandi Devely

All publick Monies not appropriated from Michaelmas 1715. of the source of the Company of the Borne of England,

The Money arising from the Produce of the aforesaid Articles was, by the last mentioned Act, appointed to answer an annual Interest at 5 l. per Cent. payable to the Bank of England for Exchequer -Bills delivered up by them to be cancell'd, and for fuch as remain'd uncancel'd to be circulated by that Company until they should be redeemed by Parliament, and likewise to satisfy other yearly Payments fet forth in this and the Acts of the 5th and 6th of the late King, for this End, the foresaid Duties or Impositions were made perpetual. And by the above-named Acts in the rift of that Reign, Cap. of 22 Sect. 23. And in the 3d of the faid Reign, Cap. 8. Sect. 24. the Quarterly or Yearly Surplusses of this Aggregate Fund attended the Difposition of Parliament , which is, that if at the End of any of those Terms, a Balance of Money should remain over and above what was sufficient to pay off all the annual Incumbrances with which this Fund was liable to be charged by the aforesaid Acts, such overplus. Money was to remain in the green in the sign of the second

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Exchequer, until the Pleasure of the Legislature as bout the Disposition thereof should be known.

It was also provided in Sect. 24. of Cap. 12. ins the 1st Year, and in Sect. (26, of Cap. 8, in the ad Year of the late King, that in Case the aforesaid Duties did not within any one Year produce so much as should be sufficient to answer the annual Sums chargeable on this Fund, such Deficiency or Deficiencies at any Time to happening, should be made good out of the first Aids granted by Parliament, which were

But before I leave this Branch of the Sinking Fund, I see it very proper to enlarge a little on the last Article thereof, which takes in all publick Monies not appropriated from Michaelmas, 1715, by the 13th Sect of the aforesaid Act in the 1st of the late Reign, in these Words, viz. 66 That all other publick Monies which from and after Michaelmas 1715. Shall come and be brought into the said Ret ceipt of Exchequer, not being appropriated, or appointed to any Use or Uses, by any Act on Acts of Par-" liament made or to be made, and not being Monies " arising from any Branch or Branches of Revenue, " appointed or to be appointed for the Service of bis " Majesty's Civil Government, or the Expences there-" unto belonging, shall likewife be set apart, issued, " and applied, to and for the Uses and Services in and " by this present Ast declared and intended; and to no other Use or Purpose whatsoever.

The Meaning of which I take to be this, That when any Duty or Duties are redeemed, i. e. when the principal Sums are discharged, the Interest whereof is payable out of such Duties; or, whatever remains of the yearly Produce of these Duties more than what is sufficient to answer such Interest and other annual Charges thereon, coming into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1715, and not immediately set apart for other publick Uses by any Act of Table of helight classes and of the world being Park

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Parliament then and at that Time subsisting, but attending the Disposition thereof, such publick Monies arising from the Produce of Duties so redeemed, or from the Surplusses of Duties remaining over and above what fatisfies their annual Incumbrances, and brought into the Exchequer after the aforesaid Time, are, by this Act, to be carried to the Aggregate Fund and made Parts thereof, until the Legislature shall by any future Act from Michaelmas 1715. appropriate the same to other publick Uses; except as in that Section is excepted; and the Proviso in Sect. 14. for making good out of fuch unappropriated Monies the yearly Deficiencies that should happen to make up the annual Fund of 116573 l. 12 s. for discharging Principal and Interest of the Lottery 1714. From whence it follows,

any Money arising and brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1715. from the Redemption of Duties or Surplusses of other Duties, if there was then any Act for appropriating such Monies to another Use.

adly, That such publick Monies, arising as afore-faid, cannot be brought any longer into the Aggregate Fund, than the Parliament thinks it proper, after Michaelmas 1715. to apply the same to other Purposes.

3dly, That the several Sums brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas aforesaid, and arising from any Taxes or Duties not appropriated by any Law then in being, do not absolutely belong to the Aggregate Fund, but are only carried to that Account pro interim, until the Preliament shall dispose of them otherwise, by any positive Act in that Behalf. And

4thly, That as by this Act the Aggregate Fund may be every Year confiderably augmented, so we cannot interpret the same to be repealed, or any way altered, when the Legislature applies to other

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Purposes any of the unappropriated Monies brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1715. Because the Act only regards such Monies as not being appropriated, and in no other Respect whatever, for the Minute it is appointed to answer other Ends, it ceases to be within the Meaning of this Act, which leaves it in the Power of any future Parliaments to make Use of such Monies, by applying it otherwise for the Good of the Publick.

The several other Duties above recited, are, by the Acts of the 1st and 3d of the late King, made absolutely and without any Exception, Parts of the Aggregate Fund, and therefore the Application of fuch Duties to other Services of the Government, would be a direct Breach of these two Acts, and tend to weaken the Security of fuch of the publick Creditors before Christmas 1716. as have this Fund to depend on for discharging the annual Interest of these their Debts till redeemed by Parliament, unless, for their Satisfaction, a Provision should be made equivalent to what Duties, might, with their Consent, be alienated therefrom; but the Advantages accruing to this Fund by unappropriated Monies are precarious, depending entirely on the Discretion of the Legislature, who may, when they see fit, apply fuch Monies to other Exigencies of the Government without doing the least Injustice to any of the publick Creditors interested and concerned in the Aggregate Fund, or deviating from the true Sense of the aforesaid Act, expressed in these Words; All other publick Monies which from and after Michaelmas 1715. Shall come and be brought into the said Receipt of Emchequer, not being appropriated or appointed to any Use or Uses by any Act or Acts of Parliament made or to be made, Est.

After I have faid this, it must be always supported, that the Produce of the Duties in the Aggregate Fund, with what unappropriated Money may be carried thereto, amount to more than what is suf-

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ficient to answer all annual Incumbrances chargeable thereon by Act of Parliament De For should it be foreseen that these Duties, with such unapproprited Moneys, should fall short of fatisfying such yearly Incumbrances, or that any Deficiency in that Respect should happen by deducting this Money from the faid Funds I cannot fay it might be thought prudent to make use of the same for or ther Services, because as all vyearly Deficiencies happening in this Fund are to be made good out of the Aids granted in Parliament, fuch a Deduction would fo far increase the annual Service of the Government, and ordered but the state of

We now fee from the Acts of Parliament what this Aggregate Fund is, the Articles composing the fame, the Uses to which they are more immediately apply'd, and in Case the Monies arising from these Articles are not at any Time fufficient to answer fuch Uses, how these Desiciencies are to be made good, and if otherwise, that the Quarterly or Yearly furplus Money, after such annual Services were anfwered, attended the Disposition of Parliament.

The South-Sea Company's Fund takes in the following Duties or Impositions, viz.

Impost on Wine and Vinegar.

... Ditto on Tobacco. pood select dank

Ditto on East: India Goods. Such spiles and the

- Additional Impositions on fundry Merchandizes. G. Duty on Salt.

. Problé

Citto on Candles.

Ditto on Apprentices.

- The Nature of these Duties is fully set forth in the several Acts of Parliament referred to, in an Act of the 8th of Queen Anne, Cap. 13. They were made perpetual in the 9th of the faid Reign, Cap. 21. for answering an Annuity of 6 per Cent. atten-Sanis that the control of the contro (17)

ding the Capital of the South Sea Company on its first Establishment, and 8000 l. per Ann. allowed that Society for Charges of Management.

In the 1st Year of the late Reign, Cap. 21. this Company's Capital came to be Ten Millions, and the faid Duties were appropriated to fatisfy the annual Interest thereof at 6 per Cent. with the 8000 %. per Ann. for Management, till such Time as the faid Capital and all Arrears of the faid Interest and Charges of Management should be redeemed and

paid off by Parliament. But in the Act of the 3d of the faid Reigh, Cap. o. Sect 1. The South Sea Company, in regard the common Rate of Interest for Money was much lessened, accepted from Midsummer 1718. an annual Interest of 5 per Cent. on the said Ten Millions, with the 80001. per Ann. for Management, and for securing to them their Interest, and the faid annual Sum for Management till Redemption of the faid Capital by Parliament, the aforelaid Duties and Impositions are, by Sect. 3d. and 10th, made perpetual. And in Sect. 12. it is enacted. That if the Money arising at the Exchequer from the aforesaid Duties is not sufficient at the End of any one Quarter to compleat the Payment which shall be then due, as well for or on the faid yearly Fund of 500,000 l. (being 5 per Cent. on the faid Capital) and the faid yearly Sum of 8000 l. (befides what Arrearages may be then due on the former yearly Interest of 6 per Cent. and the said 8000 l.) then the Deficiency of any fuch Quarter shall be made good out of the overplus Monies of any subsequent Quarter, or out of the General Fund, &c.

And in Sect. 14. it is enacted, That if there be any excess or surplus Money brought into the Exchequer at the End of any Quarter over and above the Money remaining there to discharge the said yearly (18)

yearly Sum of 500,000 l. and 8000 l. and other Charges mentioned in that Section, such overplus Monies shall attend the Disposition of Parliament, and be applied according to Act or Acts of Parliament in that Behalf, and not otherwise.

The General Fund arises from the Produce of the following Duties, viz. va o is reorded from the second of the second of

"Duty on Coals fince the 8th of March, 1710.

"Duty on Goods exported fince ditto.

"Ditto on Candles since the 25th of March, 1711. - Control of the State of Stat

"Ditto on Hides.

"Ditto on Paper, Cards, and Dice.

700 l. per Week Letter Money.

Duty on Rock Salt.

Ditto on Hackney Coaches and Chairs.

"Ditto on Soap.

"Ditto on Pamphlets and Stamp'd Paper.

"Ditto on Wire and Starch.

"Additional Duties on Hides, Starch, and Drugs.

" A Moiety of the Duty on Coffee.

" Ditto of the Duty on Tea.

" 39855 l. 15 s. 7 d. 1 5th. taken out of 3700 l. per Week out of the Hereditary Excise for Bankers Annuities.

From the Act in the 3d of the late Reign, Cap. 7. which establishes this general Fund we learn, that, by the feveral Acts of the 9th of Queen Anne, Cap. 6. and 23. and in the 10th of the said Reign, Cap. 19. and 26. the above Duties or Subsidies were granted for raising an annual Sum of 657,676 l. for Thirty two Years from the Times therein mentioned, for or towards paying off in that Time the principal Sum of four Lotteries, amounting to 9,214,500 l. with Interest at 6 per Cent. in Consideration of the Sum of 7,100,000 l. advanced by the Contributors.

And that the Hereditary Excise was from the 26th of December, 1705. (by an Act of the 12th of Wm. (TO)

the 3d.) chargeable for ever with an annual Sum of 39855 l. 15 s. 7 d. 1 5th. being 3 per Cent. on the principal Sum of 1,328,526 l. due to several Par tentees granted by Letters Patents from Charles the Second, which annual Sum was to cease and determine on paying to the said Patentees the Moiety of the faid Principal, amounting to 664,263 l. for that the above annual Sum of 39855 l. 15 s. 7 d. 1 5th. (and one of the Articles of this General: Fund) attending the aforefaid principal Sum of 1,328,526 l. is equal to 6 per Cent. payable on the faid Moiety of 664,263 l. till Redemption thereof by Parliament.

By the faid Act of the ad of the late King it alfo appears, that from the Produce of the aforesaid Duties, the faid principal Sum of 9,214,500 %. due on the four Lotteries, was reduced and reckoned on the 4th of March, 1716, to be 8,762,625 l. or thereabouts, which with the Sum of 664,262 l. due to the several Patentees, as aforesaid, makes the total Principal to be about 9,426,888 l. then due and unsatisfied, with Interest at 6 per Cent. payable thereon. In the how and single it which get the home

But as it is said in the aforesaid Act, the Interest of Money was then much lessened; the Government did there give it in the Choice of the Proprietors of the aforesaid principal Sums, either to be paid off, or to accept of Annuities for the same at 5 per. Cent. until fuch principal Sums should be redeemed by Parliament.

For the Security of those Proprietors who were willing to accept of fuch Annuties, the aforesaid Duties were made perpetual, but subject to Redemption; and all the Money arising therefrom being in the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1717, and what should come into the same from that Time was appropriated for answering the said yearly Sum of 657,676 l.

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(appointed to discharge the Principal and Interest of Lottery Orders) which with the annual Charge of 398551. 15s. 7d. 1 5th. on the Hereditary Excile, and 27317 l. 11 s. 3 d. (reckoned to be the annual Surplus of the Duties for the first Lottery in the 9th of the late Queen, over and above fatisfying the Annuity attending the Principal of the faid Lottery, and by that Act appointed towards discharging the same) amount in all to 724,849 1. 6 s. 10 d. 1 5th. and is made the yearly general Fund from Michaelmas 1717. for ever, redeemable nevertheless by Parliament, to answer the several Annuities chargeable on the same by this Act.

And in Case the aforesaid Duties or Articles do not within any one Year bring in the faid Sum of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. 1 5th. It is provided, that every fuch Deficiency, shall be supplied or made good out of the first Aids granted by Parliament after fuch Deficiency happens, and be, from Time to Time transferred thereto as foon as the same shall be granted. The average the street in the street of

. And that there might be a sufficient Provision made for fuch Proprietors of faid Lottery Orders or Annuities on the Hereditary Excise, as desired their respective principal Sums, (with what Arrears of Interest should then remain due thereon) to be paid off in neady Money, the South-Sea Company became obliged by another Act of the faid Seffion, (Cap. 9. Sect. 4.) to advance Two Millions, or so much thereof as in this Case should be wanted, and to be allowed 5 per Cent. for such Sum advanced, payable out of the aforefaid Company's Fund.

The Bank was also (by Act, Cap. 8, of the said Sellion) to furnish for the faid, and other Purposes therein mentioned, 2,500,000 l. or any Sum, Part thereof, as should be called for by the Treasury, and to be allowed for such Sum or Sums 5 per Cent. (2I)

Interest chargeable on the Duties composing the Aga gregate Fund.

But left the Sums to be so advanced by these Societies should not be sufficient to answer all Demands that might be made by such Proprietors as chose ready Money, it was enacted, That the Treasury should have Power to receive Loans at the Exchequer for such further Sums as might be needful for the Purposes aforesaid, to bear Interest at # per Cent. payable out of the faid general yearly Fund of 724,849 l. 6 s. 10 d. 1 5th. and that the faid Rate of Interest should attend the several Sums fo to be advanced by the faid Companies, or the Monies arising by Loans at the Exchequer for answering the Uses before-mentioned, until they should be redeemed or paid off by Parliament?

The 36th Section of the Act we are now upon having recapitulated what had been faid in Cap. 8. and 9. of the faid Session, relating to the Disposition of the quarterly Excesses or Surplusses of the Aggregate and South Sea Company's Funds, by Authority of Parliament, enacts also, That the Excess or Surplus arising at the End of any Quarter, over and above what shall be sufficient to make good the said general yearly Fund of 724,8491.6s. 10d. 1 5th. and of so much of the said General Fund as shall quarterly remain in the Exchequer, over and above all the Monies then due or payable to discharge the several Annuities and other annual Payments directed by this Act to be fatisfied out of the same, such Excess, Surplus or overplus Money, shall likewise attend the Disposition of Parliament, and be applied according to Act or Acts of Parliament, and not otherwise. 4542 and the set of the yelder the same

And then these three Surplusses of the Aggregate, South Sea, and General Funds, being thus applicable to what publick Uses the Legislature saw most (22)

most proper, are by a declaratory Act in the sollowing Sect. 37. appropriated for discharging the Principal and Interest of such National Debts and Incumbrances as were contracted before Christmas, 1716, and to no other Purpose whatsoever; which Act constitutes the Sinking Fund before observed, and recited.

I have now gone through and explained (in the very Words almost of Acts of Parliament) the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds, by enumerating the several Articles of Duties, &c. of which they are composed, and giving a short Detail of the particular Services for which the South-Sea and General Funds were more immediately appointed, referring (for Brevity's Sake) for a fuller Account of, the annual Sums then chargeable on the Aggregate. Fund to the Acts in that Behalf. I have also shewn how the Money, that might be wanting to answer the feveral annual Incumbrances on these three Funds; must be made good; and that the surplus Moneys, remaining over and above fatisfying fuch Incumbrances, attended the Disposition of Parliament; which Surplusses, came afterwards to be appropriated for the fole Discharge of the publick Debts contracted as aforesaid, and began from Michaelmas 1717, to be computed and applied for that Purpose.

By all this it appears, that the feveral Duties, Impositions, or Revenues, &c. brought under the Head of the Aggregate Fund, by Act of the 1st. and 3d. of the late Reign, Cap. 8. and 12. and those coming under that of the South-Sea Company's. Fund by Act in the 3d. of the said Reign, Cap. 9. as also the several Duties, &c. making up the General Fund by Act in that Year, Cap. 7. were made perpetual, to answer the Interest of the said National Debts, until the Principal of such Debts should be redeemed by Parliament; and likewise to discharge

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Acts mentioned, all which annual Incumbrances being first paid and satisfied out of the aforesaid three Funds, whatever all, or any of them produced more, such overplus Money was to be disposed of as the Legislature thought sit, and was accordingly appropriated by the Act establishing the Sinking Fund. When therefore I have Occasion to speak of the publick Creditors, or Taxes, I must, and do confine my self to the Proprietors of redeemable Debts contracted, and the Taxes lying on the Subject before, or at Christmas, 1716.

I come how to consider what End the Government did at that Time propose by paying off the said publick Creditors, or how the Discharge of such National Debts became so much the Concern of the Legislature. For our Satisfaction in this Point, we must be referred to the two first Sections of Cap. 8. and 9. in the 3d. Year of the late King, where we find these Words: "We your Majesty's most dutiful" and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, being desirous to ease the present Burthen of National Debts and Incumbrances, and in due Time the heavy Taxes lying upon this Kingdom, so far as it is consistent with Homour, Justice, and Equity, &c.

From which 'tis evident, that these Creditors were to be paid off, in order to ease the Subjects in general of the heavy Taxes then and at that Time lying upon them; and as the Government was sensible these Duties could never be taken off till such time the Incumbrances of Interest attending the National Debts with which they were loaded, could be removed, and that any such Removal was impracticable without paying off or discharging their respective principal Sums, it was therefore judged proper to appropriate the annual Surplusses of the afforesaid

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foresaid three Funds (then attending the Disposition of Parliament) towards the gradual Discharge of such Capital Sums, that the Nation in general might in due time reap the Benefit of this Sinking Fund; for the Views of the Legislature were not confined to the procuring only the Conveniency of a particular Number of his Majesty's Subjects, they were more extensive, and the Appropriation of these Surplusses no otherwise regarded the Advantage of these Creeditors, than that by discharging their Debts the Good of the Community would be very much promoted in the Repeal of these said heavy Taxes, so far as should be consistent with Honour, Justice, and Equity.

II. What I proposed in the next Place, was, to prove that the Legislature may, when they see proper, apply the Sinking Fund for answering publick Services different from those sor which it was first appointed, without Breach of Faith or publick Credit; and that the several late Applications thereof to such Services, cannot be deemed any Encroachment on the Right of the publick Creditors to this Fund.

In Opposition to this, our Adversaries endeavour to maintain, That the Creditors of the Publick have such an absolute Right to the Surplusses of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds, towards the gradual Discharge of their capital Debts (by the Act in the 3d of the late Reign, Cap. 7. Sect. 37. before recited) as puts it out of the Power of any suture Parliament to apply such Surplusses to any other publick Services, without doing a manifest Injustice to these Creditors; and from thence would conclude, that all such Applications are to be looked on as so many Instances of the Breach of publick Faith and Gredit.

This is the Language of these Men, and such is the Opinion they conceive of the Legislature; but

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the following Confiderations, will, tis prefumed; set this Affair in a clear Light, and shew, that these their Affertions are inconfissent with the Sense of Parliaments, and can never be published for gaining the Assent of reasonable Men, however they may be imposed on the ignorant, and find Credit with those under the Power of Prejudice.

very sensible of the many heavy Taxes lying on the Kingdom, which had been raised for discharging the several high Rates of Interest payable on large Sums of Money borrowed to support an expensive War, out of such Duties till the capital Sums could be redeemed by Parliament; and being also desirous that these Impositions, Taxes, or Duties, should be in Time taken off and repealed, that the Nation might be eased of that Burthen, saw it for this Purpose absolutely necessary to find out Ways and Means for paying off the principal Sums so borrowed, without which the Duties appropriated to answer this annual Interest could not be removed.

In pursuance of this just and honourable Design, the Discharge of the Debts before Christmas 1716. became their first and more immediate Care, that the Taxes at that Time engaged to pay the annual Interest of these Debts, might in due Time be re-

When the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds were established, it was reckoned that the Produce of the Duties composing these Funds would amount to more than what would be sufficient to answer the annual Sums charged on them by Parliament; and therefore it was enacted, that all such Surplusses or overplus Monies coming into the Exchequer, should remain there, till such Time they should be disposed of by that Authority.

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And as the Government had always the Repeal of the Taxes in View, and finding the Circumstances of the Nation at that Time savouring their Design, did in the Year 1717. Set apart or appropriated these Excesses or overplus Monies, and made them a Sinking Fund for discharging the principal Sums contracted or borrowed before, and on the Credit of the Taxes substisting at Christmas, 1716, in such Manner as any future Parliament should direct, and for no other Use or Purpose whatsoever: But all this was to be done for the Benefit of the Publick, and not the publick Creditors only, that the whole Kingdom might, in Process of Time, be relieved from the Burthen of these Taxes.

From whence I would observe, that since the Repeal of these Duties for a general Benefit, was the chief and principal End proposed, then the Appropriation of the said Excesses or Surplusses for the Discharge of these Debts must be the Means made Use of by the Government as absolutely necessary for obtaining this End; and therefore the publick Creditors can have no other Title or Right to these Surplusses by the appropriating Ast, than that they must be paid their capital Debts before the Taxes which are now loaded with the Interest of these Debts, can be taken off.

It likewise follows, that, as it is always in the Power of the Legislature to prosecute or suspend the Prosecution of their first Design of removing the Taxes, so these Excesses or Surplusses, which were made subservient to this Design, must also be at their Disposal, and can be no longer applied to the Discharge of the National Debts, than it is thought necessary for the publick Good that these Taxes be repealed at all Events.

Again, If the publick Creditors have no other Title to the Sinking Fund (as is very plain they have not)

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not) than what a determined Resolution of the Parliament in the Year 1717, to remove the heavy Taxes off the Nation could give them, and if afterwards, it was found inconvenient that this Resolution could be kept up and continued, the Consequence is, that they could have then no Right to have their principal Debts paid off by these Surplusses, and therefore the Government applied them to other Services.

But that the several Gradations of this Argument may be the better understood, we must always diffinguish between the particular Advantage of the Proprietors of these Debts, and the Good of the whole Community; between the Discharge of the Capital Sum due to them, and the taking off the Taxes which such Debtshad brought on the whole Nation, and we shall find that the Government was under no other Necessity of paying off these Debts, than that their Discharge contributed to the general Good of the Kingdom; for had not that been the Consequence, these Surplusses might have been at first appropriated to other publick Services.

The Sum of all is this, that the Parliament having resolved, in the Year 1717, to ease the Kingdom of the heavy Taxes, which an expensive War had brought upon it, did, for accomplishing that End, appropriate the Surplusses of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds for paying off the Debts which had been contracted before Christmas 1716. on the Credit of such Taxes; but the more urgent Circumstances of the Nation since that Time, having obliged the Legislature to suspend the Prosecution of this Design, these Surplusses have been made use of for answering other publick Services; and as these Creditors had no other Title to such Surplusses for the Discharge of their principal Debts, than what did arise from their being the necessary

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Means for obtaining the aforefaid End, it follows. that their Right to these Surplusses does in Course cease, and in such a Case, they may be (as they have been) applied to other Exigencies of the Government, without doing the least Injustice to the faid Creditors.

adly, I have already observed, that the Duties in the Acts of the 3d of the late Reign, Cap. 7, 8, and o, are declared perpetual for fecuring to the publick Creditors the Annuities payable on the several capital Sums, therein particularly specified, till they should be redeemed by Parliament; from thence it is obvious, that the Power of Redemption becomes, and is vested in the Legislature, who is to pay off fuch principal Sums, when they are able, and think fit; and as they are under no Limitation of Time for discharging these Debts, the Creditors cannot, at their Pleasure, demand their Principals; but till fuch Time they are discharged, the Duties appointed to fatisfy their annual Interest, are to continue to be levied on the Subject; the Rate of which Interest being once settled between the Publick and them, is not liable to be reduced without their Consent, or a Tender of their Principal, which they are obliged to accept, in case of Non-compliance with fuch Reduction of Interest as may be proposed to them by the Government.

What I would infer from all this is, that if by the Appropriation of the Surplusses of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds, to the Uses in the Act of the 3d. of the late King, Cap. 7. and Sect. 37. the publick Creditors have a Right to demand them in Discharge of their Debts, then the aforefaid Power of Redemption is infringed, and the Legislature not at Liberty to redeem such Debts when they judge proper, because these Surplusses, being (according to this Supposition) the Property of the Creditors,

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Creditors, they are to be annually applied for their

Use and Benefit only.

If the Legislature, before the Appointment of the Sinking Fund, was at Liberty to pay off the publick Debts, when they could, and judged it most consistent with the publick Utility, it would then be absurd to imagine, that the Appropriation of these Surplusses should alter the Nature of these Debts, by destroying this Power of Redemption lodged in Parliament, so as to give the Creditors a Right to demand such Surplusses as they came annually into the Exchequer, unless it can any way appear, that on their agreeing to the Changes made in their Property (with regard to Principal and Interest) fince the Year 1717, their Right to these Surplusses was ever infifted on, or made a conditional Encouragement for coming into any fuch Agreement.

3dly, Our Opponents must allow, that the constituent Parts of the Sinking Fund attended the Disposition of Parliament before they were appropriated, or made fuch a Fund; and that (being the Property of the Publick) they were to be directed by that Authority in their Application to National Services: Now the Act which fets them apart only for difcharging the Debts contracted before Christmas 1716, can be no more than the Exercise of the Power the Legislature had in their Disposition; and as it was at that Time believed they could not be better employed than for paying off such Debts. that the Kingdom might in Time be eased of the heavy Taxes, they were appropriated accordingly; but no Man will from thence fay, that the Exercise of a Power to dispose of his Property is giving it up; or that, by this Act, the Right to a Disposition of these Surplusses, before vested in the Legislature, was made void, and the Property in them thereby transferred from the Publick to the publick Creditors: This fure can never be allowed in a Cafe

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where the Government is under no other Obligation to provide for such Services, than what appears to

them confistent with the publick Good.

I must therefore conclude, that the Ast establishing the Sinking Fund, as it cannot destroy, or in the least weaken the Power of Redemption lodged in the Legislature, so neither does the Appropriation thereof give the publick Creditors any absolute Right to receive the Surplusses composing the said Fund,

in Discharge of their principal Debts.

4thly, When it is afferted, that by the Act establishing the Sinking Fund these Surplusses became the Property of the publick Creditors, and confequently that the Application of them to any other Uses besides the discharging their Debts, is doing Injustice to such Creditors, it must also be said, that, for maintaining publick Faith, this Act becomes obligatory on future Parliaments, who are only to direct which of these Debts contracted as aforesaid. are from Time to Time to be discharged out of the annual Produce of this Sinking Fund; that is, any fucceeding Parliament may employ the annual Surplusses, but it must be for the Discharge of some or other of the Debts, contracted before Christmas 1716, and for no other publick Services; or, in other Words, the Legislature is, in Justice, obliged to apply the Sinking Fund for paying off these Debts only, but not confined to discharge with the Produce thereof, any one Article of Juch Debts preserable to another.

If the Act before us is to be thus understood, then the Sanction of any future Parliament for confirming the Right of these Creditors to the Sinking Fund, must be unnecessary and superstuous; because this Act (as has been before observed) is supposed to be in itself sufficient to authorize all and every the several Applications that should be, and were after-

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wards made of this Fund for the Satisfaction of the Creditors; yet we find, for Instance, by an Act of the 5th of the faid Reign, Cap. 3. Sect. 66. these Surplusses again appropriated and re-enacted in the very Words of that in the 3d of the said Reign, Cap. 7, and Sect. 37. which first established it. This one Instance, among others, plainly shews, that the Legislature was at Liberty either to have continued the Appropriation of these Surplusses for the Uses in the first Act; or to have employed them otherwise, previous to this re enacting Clause: But finding that the Circumstances of the Nation would still give them an Opportunity of using the Means for obtaining the End first proposed of relieving the Subjects from those heavy Impositions, did again enact their Appropriation for discharging the publick Debts; which implies, that the Sinking Fund was the Property of the Publick, and that the Parliament was then under no Obligation to be determin'd in the Application thereof by a former Act.

5thly, Let us also consider, that in the Act of the 5th of the late Reign, Cap. 3. Sect. 1. the Parliament expresses their Desire that the Subjects might be eased of the Burthen of the National Debts and Incumbrances as fast as is consistent with Honour and Justice, and that the same be lessened as far as conveniently may be. But we are not from these Words to infer, that any the least Application of the Sinking Fund to other Purposes which may postpone the discharging these Debts, is unjust and dishonourable, and that the Creditors have an undoubted Right to demand the annual Produce of these Surplusses in Discharge of such Debts. The Meaning of which can only be, that the Legislature believed themselves obliged, in pursuance of the Act made in the 3d. of that Reign, to employ the Sinking Fund for difcharging the National Debts, that the Burthen of

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Taxes might, in Process of Time, be taken off the Subject, as fast as was consistent with the common Good, and not otherwise; for if other Exigencies of the Government required, the Legislature was at Liberty to suspend the Application of these Surplusses to the Purposes of their first Intention, for answering

other more urgent Necessities.

This appears very plain from the Words, and that the same be lessened as far as conveniently may be; which implies that this Application for discharging the Debts, can be no longer just and bonourable, than it is convenient, i. e. Compatible with the Advantage of the Nation; and that the Circumstances thereof would fornetimes make a constant and continual Application of the Sinking Fund for the Satisfaction of the Creditors, more inconvenient and detrimental to the Publick, than the employing them for other Services; and therefore future Parliaments would, in such Cases, find themselves under a Necessity of making use of them accordingly; and the Repeal of the heavy Taxes would be so long postponed, as the Means for attaining that End were made subservient to other more nevessary Purposes.

When all these Things are maturely considered, we cannot be at all surprized, that the publick Creditors never insisted on receiving the annual Produce of the Sinking Fund as their Right, by Virtue of the Act for its first Establishment, and that we do not find the Application of this Fund for the Discharge of their Debts only, was ever made such an Article or Condition, to be provisionally complied with by the Government, on their agreeing to the several Reductions of Interest payable on their principal Debts, or to the Alterations that have been made in their Security for Repayment of such capital Sums, as that the least Use made of such Surpluses for other Occasions should be interpreted a Breach

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of Faith, or an Act of Injustice done to these publick Creditors.

I shall not however pretend to draw from this, any other Consequence than, that if the Sinking Fund had been the sole Property of these Creditors, it is more than probable some Notice would have been taken of this their Right, when they consented to the several Changes made in their Properties since this Fund was first appropriated: But it was sound they rather chose to receive the Interest, than be paid off the Principal of their Debts, though it must be allowed, that the Advantage accruing to the Publick from the Discharge of their Debts, ought to be the more regarded, the more unwilling the Greditors appear to be in receiving their Principal.

Our Adversaries do not only affirm, That any Application of the Sinking Fund to other Services, is a Breach of Faith with the publick Creditors, but would likewise have us believe that publick Credit suffers by such Proceedings of the Legislature; so that according to them, the Credit of the Nation cannot be supported unless the total Produce of the Duties contained in the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Fund be employed for discharging as well the Principal as the Interest of the Debts contracted before Christmas, 1716, and for such Purposes only.

I have already endeavoured to evince, that the Sinking Fund Att cannot be interpreted in a Sense which can give the Creditors any Right to demand these Surplusses in Discharge of their Debts, and confequently the Use made of them for other Occasions of the Government can be no Breach of Faith, nor does publick Credit depend on employing them for the Services in that Act mentioned.

The Gredit or Faith of the Nation must, I conceive, be established on a strict Regard to the Conditions stipulated between the Publick and their Creditions

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ditors when their Debts were first contracted, the just Observance whereof will always support national Credit, and leave no Room for the most factious to make a reasonable Complaint.

Let us now examine and fee whether the national Credit will suffer, or flourish less, by making Use of this Sinking Fund for Services different from those of its first Institution, which by these Men is called robbing a sacred Treasure; and in order to this, I am obliged to recapitulate Part of what I have before

faid on another Point.

ment.

The greatest Part of the Debts on their being first incurred, were attended with Interest payable out of certain Duties imposed on the Subject and made perpetual until they should be redeemed by Parliament; which Interest was, with the Consent of the Proprietors of such Debts, to be reduced to 5 per Cent. immediately before the Sinking Fund was enacted; the other Creditors being Proprietors of Lottery Orders, &c. did at the same Time accept of the like Interest payable on their several capital Sums, till redeemed as aforesaid, out of the same Duties which had been before appropriated to make good certain annual Sums for discharging, in a limited Time, the Principal and Interest of these Debts, which Duties were also made perpetual, that the Property of these Creditors might be more secure than when it was fettled on temporary Funds.

By these Means all the Creditors before Christmas 1716, had an indisputable Right and Title to the Produce of these Duties for answering their annual Interest until the Legislature should pay off their Principal; but whatever they brought in more than fuch Interest, and above other Sums with which they were annually incumbred, was the Property of the Publick, and attended the Disposition of Parlia-

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When the Sinking Fund was appointed, all these Duties were brought under the three Denominations of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds, to distinguish, tis supposed, which were to answer the Interest payable on capital Sums due to the Bank of England, the South-Sea Company, and the Proprietors of Lottery Orders, and those on the Hereditary Excise, who were then the chief Creditors of the Government; and it being computed that these three Funds would produce more than was sufficient to pay such Creditors their annual Interest. &c. it was therefore judged for the publick Good, that such overplus Monies should be employed towards discharging principal Sums, that the Nation in Time might be eased of those beavy Duties which were in the mean time answerable for the Interest, and from thence we had the Sinking Fund.

The Case being thus fairly stated, I desire to know how far publick Credit is concerned therein? What Effect can the Application of these Surplusses for paying off the Debts, or employing them for other Services, have on the Credit or Faith of the Nation? Can it be supposed that it will fall by the one, and rife by the other, when these Debts were contracted before the Sinking Fund was appointed? Does the Establish ment thereof alter their Quality, or destroy the Power vested in the Legislature to pay them off when they are able and think fit? No, certainly. The Debts of the Nation ought doubtless, to be discharged, as far as conveniently may be, for the Good of the Subject in general, but then the Legislature is under no indispensible Obligation to apply the Sinking Fund for that Purpose; and therefore publick Credit is not concerned in the Disposition thereof further than it is con-

venient for the common Good.

I will allow, should the Government take any Steps tending to weaken the Security of the Creditors, by alienating the Funds appropriated to pay \mathbf{E}_{2} their their Interest, which might occasion a Failure in the regular Payment of the same; or should any Artempt be made to reduce such Interest without their Consent, or tendering them their Principal; as these are Fundamentals of publick Credit, the Destruction thereof must be the natural Consequence of such Proceedings: But fince the Government cannot be charged with these Practices, What have the publick Creditors to do with the Property of the Publick? They are, and must be, paid the Interest of their capital Debts, until the Parliament can, and do find it proper to reduce them; and this Interest is all the Property they can claim in the Duties subsisting. The Jurplus Monies, or what they produce more than their annual Incumbrances, belong to the Government, which they may employ for such Uses as appear to them most conducive to the publick Utility: From all which I infer, that publick Credit being entirely independent on any Legislative Act for appropriating these Surplusses, may and will still be preserved, whether they be applied for discharging the national Debts as aforesaid, or to other publick Services.

After what has been faid, our modern Patriots can never furely bring Popularity, or a zealous Concern for the Good of the Kingdom, or the publick Creditors, in Excuse for so notorious a Misconstruction of our Laws, when 'tis well known they must be astuated by another Principle, and that the advancing fuch Notions tend more to diffurb the Quiet, than promote the Advantage of the Proprietors of our Debts.

They must be very sensible (whether they will own it or not) that the State of the Nation has lately made it necessary to grant annual Supplies over and above what was judged expedient to be raifed by the Taxes usually appropriated for the current

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Service, and that it was thereupon thought more eligible to apply the Means proposed to ease the Nation of the Taxes at and before Christmas 1716, for answering fuch Supplies; that is, the Legislature rather chose to make Use of the Sinking Fund for satisfying such Emergencies of the Government, than either to load the Landed Interest, or raise new Taxes on the Subject for these Purposes; and all this has been, and may again be done without either Breach of Faith. Prejudice to publick Credit, or to the Right

of the publick Creditors.

But these Men finding the Parliament has, under fuch Circumstances, made this prudent Use of the publick Property, and that they may be occasionally obliged to apply the Sinking Fund for the more urgent Occasions of the Nation, are provoked to Clamour, and under a popular Pretence of defending a Right which the publick Creditors could never challenge or dream of, conceal their Views of distressing the Government, in Hopes, at least, of reducing them to the disagreeable Necessity of raising new Taxes, or augmenting those already levied on the Subject for answering all such Emergencies.

It is from this Disappointment, they are forced to have Recourse to all the mean Arts of Sophistry and Chicane in Support of what they affert, and by a loofe Inconsistency of Argument, and a more unfair Deduction of certain Conclusions from doubtful Premisses, lead their ignorant and heedless Adherents into Error, and a low Opinion of the Le-

gislature.

These Practices are the more unnatural and disingenuous, as they contradict the fecret Sentiments of their own Minds; for they must be convinced that the Sinking Fund is the sole Property of the Publick, and therefore with Justice and Honour applicable to fuch Services as may be thought most (38)

or the Benefit of the Publick; but as the late Applications of this Fund have frustrated their Defigns, and made the Augmentation of Taxes unnecessary, this Right is by no Means to be acknowledged, although at the same Time, they loudly complain of the Burthen of Taxes already imposed: So that however mysterious this Conduct appears, it is plain to a Demonstration, that their Complaints cannot proceed from any Regard for the publick Welfare, otherwise they would never have exclaimed against the Methods taken to prevent the Increase of that Burthen; and 'tis no less evident, that additional Impositions are what they wish for, as the most natural Cause of Discontent, and Uneafiness among the People, which they imagine might give them a better Chance and fairer Opportunity of forming Schemes destructive of the Constitution.

III. I come now to examine feveral Articles called Annual, and look into others called Gross Sums, said to belong to the Sinking Fund, and to have been at different Times taken from thence to

fatisfy other publick Occasions.

What has been writ on this Head by the Author hinted at in the Beginning of this Essay, is, I am sensible, sufficient to expose the false Calculations of our Adversaries, and make any farther Enlargement supersuous; yet 'tis possible their Computations may still appear more chimerical in the Method I shall examine them; and therefore must be excused if I am obliged to repeat for my present Purpose some of the Proceedings of the Legislature relating to these Affairs, already taken Notice of by the same Hand.

As I have already made it appear that the Sinking Fund is the fole Property of the Publick, and not the publick Creditors, and that the same may with (39)

Fusice and Honour be employed for answering extraordinary Emergencies of the Government different from the Services of its first Appropriation, it cannot be thought, that in the profecuting what I am now upon, my Intention is to dispute the Deduction of any Sum from the Sinking Fund, which is properly a Part thereof, for answering such other urgent Services; my Design is only to evince, that the several Articles, (the Total whereof is by a fictious Valuation swell'd into an immense Sum) alledged by them to belong to the Sinking Fund, cannot be reckoned essential Parts thereof; nor can the Deduction of any of these Sums from any of the three Branches of the Sinking Fund prove them to be such.

Among the annual Sums taken from this Fund, I suppose they include those which have arisen from the Produce of certain Duties brought for some time annually into the Aggregate Fund, and afterwards made use of by the Government for satisfying other publick Occasions; but after we have enquired how the Incomes by these Duties came at first into this Fund, we shall be able to judge whether or not the Sinking Fund has any Title to such their annual

Produce.

Of these Sums the Duty on Coals for building Fifty New Churches, is reckoned one; which being stated at 70000 l: per Ann. and then valued by them at 25 Years Purchase, makes 1,750,000 l. which is said to have been taken from the Sinking Fund for the current Service of the Year 1728: What Reasons they may have for this Assertion, I could never learn, nor indeed do they bring any solid Argument to maintain that, or any Articles of the like Nature they would palm on the World for Truths; so that we are put to the Necessaty of proving Negatives, to prevent the bad

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Impressions these Mens dogmatical Writing's may have on credulous Minds.

It must then be observed, that by an Act of the 9th of the late Queen, Cap. 22. Sect. 1. the Duties on Coals and Culm were granted from the 14th of May, 1716, to the 28th of September 1724, i. e. from the 14th of May, 1716, to the 29th of September, 1716, at Two Shillings per Chaldron or Ton; and from the 29th of September, 1716, to the 28th of September, 1724, at Three Shillings per Chaldron or Ton, on all Coals and Culm brought into the Port of London, or the River of Thames, within the Liberty of the faid City; and the Money arising by such Duties or Loans, to be taken at the Exchequer at 6 per Cent. on the Credit of the same, was to be applied for building Fifty New Churches, &c. which Duty of Three Shillings per Chaldron was afterwards, by an Act in the Lift. of the late King, Cap. 23. Sect. 1. continued from the 28th of September, 1724, to the 29th of September. 1725, for Maintenance of the Ministers of the said New Churches.

In the Act of the 5th of the said Reign, Cap. 9. Sect. 1. it appears there had been then raised and issued considerable Sums of Money out of the said Duties, or Money lent on their Credit for the aforesaid Purposes; and it being sound necessary to enlarge the Time granted for such Duties, they were surther continued to Lady-day, 1751, and the yearly Sum of 21000 l. for 32 Years from Lady-day, 1719, was made a Fund and Security for answering the Principal and Interest of 360,000 l. to be raised at such Time, and in such Proportions at a Time, as should be wanted; and Loans at 4 per Cent. were to be received at the Exchequer on the Credit, and payable out of the said 21000 l.

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for such Sums as the Commissioners appointed for that

Purpose should think sit.

There was also raised on this Duty continued for 32 Years as aforesaid, 528,320 l. 1 s. 9 d. to make good the Supply for the Year 1719, whereof 5050051. was to be raised by a Lottery, and a yearly Fund of 30559 l. 14 s. payable out of these Duties for the faid Time, was appointed to discharge the Principal and Interest of 500,000 l. being the Amount of the Benefit Tickets of that Lottery, and the remaining 5995 l. was allowed for Charges attending the Management thereof. The further Sum of 223251. is. 9 d. to compleat the aforesaid 528,320 l. i s. 9 d. for the Supply, was to be paid out of the Monies arising at the End of every Quarter from Ladyday, 1719, over and above what was sufficient to answer the aforesaid annual Sums of 21000 l. and 30559 l. 14 s.

And then it is enacted, That all the Surplus, Excess, or overplus Monies, arising by the said Duties at the End of every Quarter during the said 32 Years, after the aforesaid Sums, and necessary Charges for executing the said Act are discharged, or sufficient Money set apart for those Purposes, should be referved for the Disposition of Parliament, and not be disposed of to any Use or Purpose whatsoever but by Authority of the same, and according to such future Act or Acts of Parliaments as should be made and

passed for the Disposition thereof.

The South-Sea Company, by an Act in the 6th of the late Reign, had a Power to take into their Capital, among other redeemable Debts of the Publick, this Lottery of 500,000 l. at 4 per Cent. per Annum Interest, and the said Impositions were made perpetual, until that principal Sum, or so much thereof as should be subscribed into the said Company, might be redeemed by Parliament; and as no-

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thing less than a Perpetuity of these Duties could secure to them the Payment of the whole or any Part of the said 500,000 l. to be subscribed, so they could in the mean while receive only their 4 per Cent. per Annum on the same till it should be paid off.

In pursuance of which Act, we find in another of the 13th of the said Reign, that 434,605 l. Part of the faid 500,000 l. was taken into the Capital of that Company, and the Residue thereof paid off and discharged; consequently they became intitled to an Annuity of 173841. 4 s. being 4 per Cent. Interest payable on that Sum, till it should be redeemed by Parliament; by which the annual Fund of 30559 l. 14 s. charged for 32 Years on the faid Duties for Payment of Principal and Interest of the said 500,000 l. ceased and determined; and then these Duties became only incumbred with the annual Fund of 21000 l. for discharging the Principal and Interest of 360,000 l. appointed for the Churches, and the Annuity of 173841. 4s. attending the faid 434,605 l. payable to the South Sea Company, and with Part of the additional Allowance for Charges of Management, in respect of that Sum subscribed as aforesaid.

And as by the Clause in the Act of the 5th of the late Reign, all overplus Monies were to attend the Disposition of Parliament, we find by the said Act of the 13th of that Reign, these overplus Monies disposed of, and from Michaelmas, 1726, made a Fund, for raising by Loans or Exchequer Bills 370,000 l. at 4 per Cent. for the Service of the Year 1727, and that they were to satisfy the Principal and Interest of the said Sum; which Loans or Exchequer Bills being paid off and cancelled, these Surpluses were again to attend the Disposition of Parliament.

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In an Act of the 1st of the present Reign, Cap. 8. the Bank of England consented to advance 1,750,000 l. for the Purchase of an Annuity of 70,000 l. redeemable by Parliament, chargeable on the said Duties and Impositions, to commence from Midsummer, 1728, which Purchase Money was to discharge all Incumbrances on the said Duties to that Time, and the Remainder to go towards the Supply of the said Year; and if the said Impositions to be so freed from all Charges, did not from Midsummer, 1728, produce the yearly Sum of 70,000 l. all Desiciencies were to be made good out of the Aids granted by Parliament, or out of the Sinking Fund; and all Monies arising over and above the 70,000 l, to attend the Disposition of the said

Authority.

By the faid AET it appears, that feveral Sums had been raised at the Exchequer in Part of the said 360,000 l. for the Churches, payable with Interest at 4 per Cent. out of the said annual Fund of 21000/. of which Loans 90,000 l. remained then undischarged over and above what was in the Exchequer sufficient to fatisfy the fame, and that there was to be raised the further Sum of 103,149 l. to compleat the 360,000 l. There was also the annual Sum of 17384 l. 4 s. payable out of the faid Impositions attending the Sum of 434,605 l. subscribed into the South-Sea Company, and 388,800 l. raised, by Act of the 13th of the last Reign, on the Surplusses of the faid Duties in Exchequer Bills then uncancelled; all which principal Sums amounting to 966,545 l. being the Incumbrances then unfatisfied and chargeable on the faid Duties, were paid out of the 1,750,000 l. advanced by the Bank for the Purchase of the aforesaid Annuity, and now payable out of the Duty on Coals, till Redemption thereof by Parliament; so the remaining Sum of 783,455l. was all

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that went towards the current Service of the Year 1728; and upon this Alteration the 103,140 l. was placed to the Aggregate Fund, to be occasionally issued from thence for the Use of the said Churches.

From this State of the Duty on Coals for building Churches, it is very certain, the total Produce thereof, reckoned at 70,000 l. per Ann. never did belong to the Sinking Fund; for as it had been appropriated to different Purpoles before that Fund was established, so we do not find it among any of the Articles composing these three Branches from whence the Sinking Fund arises; neither has the total Purchase Money of the Annuity of 70,000 l. chargeable on this Duty, been applied for the Service of the Year 1728, and therefore the filtitious Sum of 1,750,000 l. said to be taken out of the Sinking Fund for the Service

of that Year, comes to nothing.

But I apprehend, they would mean, the Surplusses of this Duty on Coals, which by being carried (it may be) for some Time to the Aggregate Fund, made an Addition to the Sinking Fund; and that now the Bank has purchased this Annuity on Coals, the same must, on this Bargain, be so much lessened; all this is granted: I cannot however with them conclude, that these Surplusses are any of the constituent Parts of the Sinking Fund, considered as Parts of the Produce of fuch a particular Duty, but must be brought to the Aggregate Fund as unappropriated Money, and no otherwise, and are no longer Parts of that Fund, than the Legislature sees proper to appropriate them for other publick Services; for no Duties, nor Surplusses of Duties can properly be reckoned to belong to, or be Articles of the Aggregate Fund, but fuch as are particularly fpecified and confirmed in the Acts of the 1st and 3d Years of the late Reign, Cap. 12, 8, as before obferved.

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I shall not infist longer on this Point, having already enlarged on that Article of the Aggregate Fund, expressed in the general Terms of all publick Monies not appropriated from Michaelmas 1715, &c. and therefore desire to be referred thereto with Regard to this and all other Sums which are or may be brought to the said Fund under that Denomination.

I should not have, after this, taken Notice of the Surplusses of the Lottery Funds, 1714, reckoned at 50,000 l. per Ann. and said to be taken from the Sinking Fund to raise 1,250,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1729, had it not been alledged that the faid Fund has suffered in some other Respects by this Lottery, which I shall therefore state as briefly,

as possible.

By an Act of the 12th of Queen Anne, Cap. 9. several Duties therein mentioned were granted for 32 Years, from the 2d of August, 1714, and out of the Monies arising therefrom, an annual Sum of 105,000 l. was made a Fund for paying off the principal Sum of 1,876,400 l. with Interest at 4 per Cent. per Ann. in 32 Years from Michaelmas 1714. for raising 1,400,000 l. by a Lottery, the yearly Deficiencies in this annual Sum to be made good out of the first Aids granted in Parliament after such Deficiencies happen, or out of any publick Monies then in the Exchequer unappropriated, and whatever these Duties produced more than the said annual Sum of 105,000 l. was to attend the Disposition of Parliament; and if the said Principal and Interest, with other Charges payable by that Act, should be discharged before the Expiration of the said 32 Years, or Money sufficient reserved in the Exchequer for the same, then all the said Duties, and the Monies arising by them, should from thence(46)

thenceforth be disposed of by Parliament for the Use of the Publick.

We find from an Act of the 1st of the last Reign, Cap. 2. that pursuant to that of the late Queen, before mentioned, several Contributions had been made towards this Lottery, and it was found necessary for raising the Remainder of 1,400,000 l, to enlarge the Time for the Contributors, and augment the yearly Fund from 105,000 l. to 116,573 l. 12 s. for the said 32 Years, in order to pay off the said Principal of 1,876, 400 l. with Interest at 4 per Cent. on the Fortunate, and 5 per Cent. on the Unfortunate Tickets, and the same Provisions for annual Desiciencies in this new Fund, as in that of 105,000 l.

But as the unappropriated Monies were, by the last cited Act, more immediately appointed to answer the Desiciencies of this annual Fund of 116,573 l. 12 s. And that by another Act in the same Session, Cap. 12. Sect. 13. all such Monies coming into the Exchequer after Michaelmas, 1715, were to be brought to the Aggregate, and consequently into the Sinking Fund, there is a particular Exception made in Sect. 14. (as also in an Act of the 3d of the said Reign, Cap. 8. Sect. 54.) in Favour of this Fund, out of the said unappropriated Money, which was a sufficient Authority to charge all such Desiciencies on the Aggregate Fund, in Case the Total of such Money might have been carried to the same.

By the famous South-Sea Act in 1720, Cap. 4. The Duties for this Lottery (contained in Cap. 9. in the 12th of the late Queen) were made perpetual, and there we find, that before the 22d of March, 1719, the principal Sum of 168,390 l. Part of the faid 1,876,400 l. had been paid out of the faid yearly Fund, so that there remained then

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undischarged 1,708,010 l. of which, by Virtue of that Act, 1,403,970 l. was subscribed into the Capital of that Company, and towards paying off the remaining 304,040 l. unsubscribed, the Sum of 95640 l. was paid out of the Sinking Fund, and the rest out of the Produce of the said Duties.

Since the subscribing several of the national Debts into the South-Sea Company, there has been paid in Part of their Capital Four Millions and an half, and according to a Computation of the proportionable Abatements that are made on the several Branches thereof in respect to the Four Millions and half discharged, the said Sum of 1,403,970 l. stands reduced to 1,251, 225 l. 11 s. 4 d. 1 half, at Michaelmas, 1733, attended from that Time with an annual Sum of 50625 l. 5 s. 8 d. for Interest at 4 per Cent. and Charges of Management, payable to that Company out of the faid Duties; and if we may be governed by an Estimate made of their Produce from Michaelmas 1721, to Michaelmas 1728, they will amount to about 107,111 l. per Ann. and consequently, the annual Surplusses from Michaelmas 1733, will be 564861. &c. But whatever these Surplusses may have amounted to annually, it is certain, as they have been carried from Michaelmas 1721, to Midsummer 1729, to the Aggregate Fund, their Total must in that Time far exceed the aforesaid Sum deducted from the Sinking Fund towards fatisfying such Proprietors in this Lottery as did not subscribe their Orders into the Capital of the said Society.

In Pursuance of an Act in the present Reign, cap. 3. the Bank advanced for the Service of the Year 1729, 1,250,000 l. being the Purchase Money of an Annuity of 50000 l. payable from Midsummer in that said Year to that Company out of the Surplusses, till redeemed by Parliament, with a Proviso

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for making good all Deficiencies in the faid Annuity, and the overplus Money to be disposed of by the same Authority; and this 1,250,000 l. is the Sum complained of, and faid to have been unjustly

taken from the Sinking Fund.

I shall not spend Time in drawing Inferences from what has been faid, but leave the Reader to judge whether or not the Sinking Fund has been in the least diminished by this Lottery? Or rather, whether it has not received confiderable Advantage thereby! I have only to add what in Effect I have before repeated, that the Surplusses of these Duties have been carried to the Aggregate Fund as unappropriated Money, and therefore it was always in the Power of the Parliament to apply them to other Services without encroaching on the Sinking Fund, pursuant to the aforesaid Act of the 1st of the late Reign, Cap. 12. and Sect. 13. which gives the Aggregate Fund a Right to " all publick Mo-" nies which from and after Michaelmas 1715, shall be brought into the Exchequer, not being appropri-" ated to any Use or Uses." But from the Words following in the faid Section, " by any Act or Acts " of Parliament made or to be made," the Publick has no lessa Right to dispose of this Money as they think fit, by which the Benefit accruing to the Sinking Fund in this Respect, so far depends on the Pleasure of the Legislature, as the Title of the Aggregate Fund to these Surplusses ceases when they are appropriated.

A little Reflection on what follows will likewise shew, that there can be no Reason for bringing 38000 l. per Ann. (Part of the East India Company's Fund) on which 1,200,000 l. was raised for the Service of the Year 1731, as an Article belong. ing to, and taken from the Sinking Fund.

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From an Act in the 10th Year of the late Queen we learn, that there was due from the Government to the East India Company the principal Sum of 3,200,000 l. attended with an annual Interest of 160,000 1. (being at the Rate of 5 per Cent.) payable out of the additional Duties on Salt, stampt Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, which Principal could not be redeemed, nor such Interest reduced, till upon three Years Notice after Lady-day, 1732.

We also find from an Act in the 3d of the present Reign, Cap. 14. that the faid Company was willing to accept, from Michaelmas 1730, an Interest at 4 per Gent. on their faid Capital Sum, being 128,000 l. in lieu of the 160,000 l. per Ann. and to advance, on several Considerations, 200,000 L. (without Interest or an Addition to their Capital) towards the Supply of the Year 1730, which faid Annuity of 128,000 l. was made payable out of the faid Duties until another Provision should, with their Consent, be appointed to answer the fame, and until the Principal should be paid off, as therein mentioned.

An Act in the faid Session of Parliament, Cap, 20. repeals the Duties on Salt, i. e. not only the additional Duties on home made and foreign Salt, (Part of the East India Company's Fund for an-Iwering the Annuity payable on their said Capital, and imposed by the 9th and 10th of William IH.) but also the 1 s. per Bushel on home made Salt, by the 5th and 6th of William and Mary, which had been, among other Duties, appointed to fatisfy the annual Sum, and Charges of Management attending the South Sea Company's original Capital of Ten Millions: All which faid Duties on Salt were to cease and determine at Christmas 1730, and there only remained of the East India Company's Fund ina**g**ad yang tigatar dang d<mark>ala</mark>

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unrepeal'd, the said Duties on stampt Vellum, &c.

valued at 38000 l. per Ann.

From thence it was that the reduced Annuity of 128,000 l. became charged on, and payable to that Society out of, the Aggregate Fund, from Michaelmas 1730, till redeemed by Parliament; and confequently, the said Duties on Salt, stampt Vellum, &c. were not only from that Time discharged from their then subsisting Annuity of 160,000 l. but also from the aforesaid reduced Annuity of 128,000 l. and every Part thereof, and were "deemed a Sa-" ving to the Publick by such Reduction, and were to go and be applied to such Uses and for such Purposes" as by any other Ast of that Session of Parliament, or any suture Ast or Asts of Parliament, should be from Time to Time directed or appointed concerning the same, as in Sect. 23. of the said Act.

The unrepealed additional Duties on ftampt Vellum, &c. were by an Act of the 4th of this Reign, Cap. 9. made a Fund for raising 1,200,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1731, with an annual Sum of 38000 l. payable on the same out of these Duties from Midsummer in the said Year, till redeemed by Parliament, viz. 400,000 l. to be raised by Annuities at 3 1 half per Cent. and 800,000 l. by a Lottery at 3 per Cent. with a Provision for any Desiciencies in the said annual Sum, and that all Overpluses should attend the Disposition of Parliament.

I have more than once observed, that no Duties nor Surplusses of Duties can be properly said to belong to the Aggregate Fund, but such as are particularly express'd and contained in the Asts of the 1st and 3d of the late Reign, relating to that Fund, and then all other Advantages it may receive, must arise either from the Produce of Duties or Surplusses of Duties which may happen to be unappropriated

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from Michaelmas 1715. Now as the Surpluffes of the East India Company's Fund are not specified among the Articles constituting the Aggregate Fund, but may have been carried to the fame as unappropriated Money, and should we allow for the same Reason, the total Produce of these additional Duties on stampt Vellum, &c. to have also been brought to that Fund, from the Time the said Annuity of the East India Company was reduced, until it was made a Fund for railing 1,200,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1731. I say, should all this be granted, we cannot from thence infer, that either the Surplusses, or total Produce of such Duties could be reckoned the Property of the Sinking Fund, because the Legislature has a Right to dispose of them as unappropriated Monies; and consequently, the 38000 1. said to arise annually from these Duties on stampt Vellum, &c. cannot be reckoned an essential Part thereof.

Another Article complained of, and said to have been taken unjustly from the Sinking Fund, is the Duty on Salt repealed, reckoned at 185,000 l, which being revived for three Years only, (for paying off the Principal and Interest of 500,000 l. raised there, on for the Service of the Year 1732.) is valued by them at 25 Years Purchase, to make up their grand sictitious Total,

I must own my self at a Loss to know the Reafon why, on the Reduction of the East India Company's Fund, the Duties upon Salt repealed were never insisted on as Parts of the Sinking Fund, till they came to be revived for the Supply of the aforesaid Year; unless it may be that the Subject having received the Benefit of such a Repeal, there was no Room for complaining of that Injustice done to the Sinking Fund, but now they are revived and laid again on the Nation, and made a Fund for the cur(52)

rent Service thereof, that Fund comes, it seems, to have a Title to these Duties.

The Truth is, these Men affect to deliver themfelves on this, and all other Points fo superficially. that 'tis often difficult to know what they really mean: However, if it is very certain that the Sinking Fund never had any Right to the Produce of these Duties, then it cannot be faid that either on their Repeal or Revival, their annual Produce (reckoned by them at 185,000 l.) was taken from the Sinking Fund as its Property; but that the faid Fund had no such Right is obvious, because the East India Company's Annuity before its Reduction, was payable out of these very additional Duties on Salt imposed by the oth and 10th of William III. and the Duties on flampt Vellum, &c. as has been before obferved, and then the Sinking Fund could only receive the surplus unappropriated Money, which may have at Times happened over and above the faid Annuity, by virtue of the aforesaid Act in that Behalf, which, nevertheless, the Parliament had a Right to dispose of for other publick Uses: Now if the Sinking Fund could have a Title to no more than these Surplusses, it could lose nothing besides a Chance of receiving such an Advantage, had that Annuity continued payable out of these Duties; and whether they had all been repealed, or may be applied to other Services, the Sinking Fund can in this Case suffer no greater Loss; yet this does not proceed from an Injustice done to that Fund, but from a Right the Legislature has in the Disposition of these Surplusses.

Although I cannot allow the Duties on Salt and stampt Vellum, &c. to be Parts of the Sinking Fund, taken from thence for the Services of the Years 1731 and 1732; I must however own, that this Alteration being made in the East India Company's Fund,

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by discharging the said Duties from the reduced Ana nuity attending that Company's Capital, an annual Incumbrance of 128,000 l. was brought upon the Aggregate Fund; but the Amount of all this can only be, that the Government thought it more conducive to the publick Good to make use of their Property in the Sinking Fund for answering the East India Company's Annuity, in order to raise a Sum for the Service of the Year 17914 on Part of their former Fund, and to revive the other Part of the Sum for the Supply of the Year 1732. I fay they chose rather to provide for these Years in that Manner, than impose new Taxes on the Subject, and fuch Deductions may (on the like Emergencies) again be made from the Sinking Fund, without Breach of Faith; or any Injustice done to the publick Creditors, as has been already providuat large; and this Annuity of 128,000 l. charged on the Aggregate Fund, is all, I suppose, they mean, when they say, That the Salt Duties, valued by them at 185,000 ds annually, and the Duties on stampt Vellum, &c. at 38000 l. in the whole 223,000 l. per Ann. have been taken from the Sinking Fund for the current Services of these Years, and according to their Computation must be 95000 l. per Ann. more than what is charged on the Aggregate Fund; which difingenuous Computation is not to be allowed more than that of the exorbitant Value put on the Duties on Salt revived for three Years; and Lam inclined to think these and such like Errors do rather proceed from moditated Design of imposing on a heedless Multitude, than Inadvertency or Ignorance.

Having now examined the feveral Articles which they fay did belong to the Sinking Fund, and to have been taken from thence for the Service of feveral Years; I would have it observed; that all that is grounded on a palpable Misconstruction of the

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Act which appoints the unappropriated Money after Michaelmas, 1715, to be carried to the Aggregate. Fund, and which, according to them, cannot be applied to any other Uses without an Injustice to the Sinking Fund.

From what I have said on the Aggregate Fund, it is very manifest, that all the Sums brought thereto are not equally the Property thereof; the Duties and Surplusses of Duties distinctly named in the Asts. of the 1st and 3d of the late Reign establishing that Fund, as they are a Security for fatisfying the Interest of fundry publick Debts until they are redeemed by Parliament, and charged with other annual Incumbrances in these Acts mentioned to which they are more immediately applied, so none of them can be made to answer other publick Occasions without encroaching thereon; but whatever Sums are, or may be brought to this Fund, being the Produce of Surplusses of Duties not particularly specified in the said Acts, such Articles must be unappropriated Monies, which the Legislature has a Right to apply as they please.

It is from a studied Neglect (I believe) of making this Distinction in the Articles of the Aggregate Fund, that these Men take Occasion to complain of several Sums being unjustly taken from the Sinking Fund, and from an erroneous Position only, that all the Money brought into the Aggregate Fund is the absolute Property thereof, they inser, that the Right of the Sinking Fund is infringed by the least Deduction made from it; this Consequence, I own, is very natural, could they make good the Antecedent; but until they can single out one of those Duties or Surplusses of Duties enumerated in the aforesaid Acts which establish the Aggregate Fund, that has been taken from thence to serve other Purposes, by which the due Payment of Interest on the national Debts

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has been made precarious, I can never allow such an Inference, nor that a Deduction of unappropriated Money to answer any Emergencies of the Government is an Encroachment on the Sinking Fund.

We are not only told by the Faction, that the Sinking Fund has been robbed to make good the exorbitant Supplies of some Years past, but that the Civil Lists of his late and present Majesties have also shared in several Sums of this Plunder.

Much might be said on the evil Tendency of this Charge, and the *Principles* from which such seditious Resections proceed; all this, however, I shall pass, and endeavour to shew the Falsity of what in this Respect, they also advance.

Among these Articles is that of 36266 l. being the Amount of annual Pensions granted by his Majesty's Predecessors, which is said to have been deducted out of several Branches of the Civil List Revenues, when it ought to have been paid out of the annual Sum of 700,000 l. granted to his late Majesty for his Civil Government; and as the Aggregate Fund was intitled to the annual Surplusses of the said 700,000 l. so by deducting the yearly Sum of 36200 l. out of these Revenues, the Surplusses became so much less, and in course an annual Loss of that Value to the Sinking Fund, which being also reckoned at 25 Years Purchase, makes the Sum and Substance of this Complaint.

For avoiding Cavil, and that we may the better judge of the Reasons for this Complaint, I intend to keep close to the several Acts of Parliament relating to this Head.

The annual Sums making up the 36200 l. for Pensions, are charged on the following Civil List Revenues, viz.

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Excife, to deliber of the Revenue, 17700

On the General Post-Office Revenue, 17700

On the Fines for Writs of Entry

and Covenant in the Alienation 3000

By an Act in the 1st of the late King, Cap. 12

the several Revenues which were granted for the Civil List of the late Queen were continued to his late Majesty during his Life; and the Weekly Sum of 37001, payable from Christmas 1705, for ever, out of the Hereditary and Temporary Excise, by an Act in the 2d of Queen Anne, Cap. 31 for answering se-

of the Hereditary and Temporary Excise, by an Act in the 2d of Queen Anne, Capizi for answering several annual Sums therein mentioned, is here confirmed; as is likewise the Weekly Sum of 700 l. charged for 32 Years from Michaelmas 1711, by an Act in the 9th of the late Queen, on the Revenue of the Rost-Office.

And the annual Sum of 35000 l. payable out of

And the annual Sum of 35000 l. payable out of the Hereditary and Temporary Excise from Michaelmas 1719, for 32 Years, by Virtue of her Majesty's Letters Patent made and grounded on an Act in the 12th Year of her Reign, is also continued; and then in the 7th Section immediately following, the Words are, " Saving always to every Person or Persons, Boso dies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Success " fors, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, other than to our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succes-66 fors, all fuch Rights, Titles, Estates, Customs, Inter-"rests, Claims, and Demands whatsoever, of, in, or to, or out of the Revenues, Hereditaments, and other the Premisses aforesaid, or any of them, as they or any of them had, or ought to have had at the making of this AEt, as fully, and to all Intents and Purposes, " as if this AEt had never been made; any thing here-" in contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

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In another Act of the faid 1st Year of the late Reign (which establishes the Aggregate Fund) Cap. 12. it is faid, "We your Majesty's most dutiful and * loyal Subjects the Commons of Great Britain in Parse liament affembled, being justly sensible of the inestima-5. ble Bleffings, which your Subjects do enjoy under your 15 Majesty's auspicious Government, and the good Prosse pett of continuing these Blessings to your said Subjects ss and their Posterities under your Majesty and your 16 Royal Offspring; are desirous that a sufficient Provifion may be settled by the most easy and effectual "Ways and Means for enabling your Majesty to support the Dignity of the Grown, and to make an boso nourable Provision for your Royal Family, and have * therefore resolved, that there be granted to your Ma-55 jesty, during your Life, an additional Revenue of 120,000 l. per Ann. which, together with the Net 55 Produce of the Branches settled for Uses of your Ma-* jesty's Givil Government by the late Act of Parlias ment in that Behalf, may make up the clear yearly 55 Sum of 700,0001. for the Service of your Majesty's 66 Houshold and Family, and other your necessary Exec pences and Occasions.

This 120,000 l. per Ann. is by the aforesaid Actimade payable quarterly out of the Aggregate Fund from Michaelmas 1715, and in case these Revenues should, with that Sum, produce from the said Time more than 700,000 l. yearly, during his Majesty's Life, such overplus Money was to be carried to, and made Part of the Aggregate Fund, and all Desiciencies to be made good out of the next Aids granted in Parliament, as in Sect. 25 and 26 of the said Cap. 12.

The Order in which the feveral Sections in the a-foresaid Act of the 1st of the late Reign. Cap. 1. are placed, seems plainly to intimate the Deductions that are to be made out of the Civil List Revenues before his Majesty could receive the Benefit of their Produce: For, after the Revenues granted for the Civil

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List of Queen Anne are continued by the said Acts to his Majesty during his Life, and that the weekly and annual Sums, which were chargeable on thefe Revenues for publick Uses, by the several Acts of her Reign, are confirmed; the very next Section 7. is a saving Clause in Favour of all Persons interested in these Civil List Duties for securing the Properties they had in their Produce; which must take in the annual Pensions granted by his Majesty's Predecesfors, that were likewise to be deducted out of the said Revenues, and the Remainder to go towards his Civil Government.

Let us again consider, that all these Deductions were authorized by Parliament before the fettling any certain annual Sum for the Civil List of that Reign. The 700,000 l. per Ann. was appointed in the 2d Session of the 1st Year of the said Reign, as aforesaid, and consequently these Pensions could not be reckoned Part of the annual Sum granted to his Majesty by that Act: When the Charge of these weekly and annual Sums on these Revenues was continued, there was no particular Sum named for the annual Service of his Majesty's Houshold and Family; it cannot then be supposed that this annual Sum of 36200 l. chargeable on the said Revenues by Virtue of the saving Clause, was to be deducted out of the 700,000l.per Ann. afterwards ascertain'd and granted.

I own, had this Clause immediately followed upon enacting that annual Sum for his Majesty's Use, some Room would have been left for a Dispute; and it might have been a Question, Whether these Penfions were to be annually charged on the 700,000 l. or otherwise on the Civil List Revenues, but since the Claims and Demands of all Persons on them were faved, before a certain annual Sum for the Civil Government was fixed and enacted, I think it plain, that the 36200 l. per Ann. cannot be reckoned Part of the fame.

Besides.

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Besides, I should think, the Words of the Act before recited would put this Point out of all Doubt, when the Commons fay, "They have therefore resolved,

"That there be granted to your Majesty during your " Life, an additional Revenue of 120,000 l. per Ann.

" which together with the net Produce of the Branches

" settled for Uses of your Majesty's Civil Government

" by the late Ast of Parliament in that Behalf, may " make up the clear yearly Sum of 700,000 l. for the

Service of your Majesty's Houshold and Family, and

" other your necessary Expences and Occasions.

Now if there is 36200 l. for Pensions, to be annually taken out of the 700,000 l. then his Majesty was to have only in clear Money 663,800 l. per Ann. and is it not more than probable, that had this been the Meaning of the Act, it would have been explained by a subsequent Proviso for deducting these Pensions accordingly, but that the Sense of the Legislature herein had been already express'd in the preceding Act.

The latter Part of the 4th Section in an Act of the 7th of the late Reign, Cap. 27. puts this in a clear Light, and explains this faving Clause which relates to the Interest of all Persons in these Civil List Revenues; for when they were by that Act to be charged with 500,000 l. for paying off his Majesty's Debts, with Interest at 5 per Cent. until the said Principal should be redeemed by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, it is provided, that nothing in that Act should prejudice, alter, or make void any Dispositions, Appropriations, &c. which had been made by former Acts of Parliament out of any Branches of the faid Revenues; and then the Words are, "and 46 the said last mentioned Pensions and Annuities Shall

" remain due, and shall be paid, but shall not be " deemed or reckoned to be Part of the said yearly

66 Sum of 700,000 l. during his Majesty's Life. But these last Words, say they, are a new Act in H 2 Pre-

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Prejudice of the Sinking Fund, that takes out of the Civil Lift Revenues the aforesaid annual Sums for Pensions, which before that Time had been charged. on the annual Sum of 700,000 l. and bring, tis supposed, the Practice of the Exchequer in stating this Account accordingly, to make good their Affertion: Be that as it will, we learn from the Proceedings afterwards in Parliament, that this Method of forming the Account of his Majesty's Civil List was disapproved, as being contrary to the Intent and Meaning of the aforesaid saying Clause, and therefore the Words of the faid 4th Section of Cap. 27. in the 7th of the late Reign, are no more than an Explication of that Clause; and his Majesty's 700,000 l. per Ann. is accordingly very justly difcharged from this annual Incumbrance, and these Pensions made payable out of the Civil List Duties by Virtue of the same.

But if these Exchequer Accounts are insisted on to prove that his late Majesty's Civil List ought to have been always charged with fuch Pensions, and would from thence conclude, that when the fame was eased of that annual Incumbrance, the Sinking Fund became so much a Loser, I shall leave it to be determined by the World, whether the Parliament or the Officers of the Revenue, are the best Interpreters of Acts of Parliament; if the first, then the Civil List had suffered an annual Loss of 362001, from Michaelmas 1715, to Midsummer 1721. But if any are so weak to think the Method in which these Civil List Accounts had been drawn up for a few Years at the Exchequer, was sufficient to justify a continued Deduction of these annual Pensions out of his late Majesty's 700,000 l. per Ann. against the Sense of the Legislature, then and even in this Case, the Sinking Fund must have only lost the annual Sum of 36200 l, from Midsummer 1721, to (we'll

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fay) Midsummer 1727, being 6 Years, and valued by these Accomptants at 25 Years Purchase.

Anuther Instance they give us of any Injury done the Publick fince the Year 1721, in Favour of the present Royal Family, is, that an annual Sum of 100,000 l, has been taken from the Sinking Fund to make his present Majesty's Civil List 800,000 1: per Ann. and valued at 2,500,0001. I wonder much they did not add 3,000,000 1. as the Purchase of 120,000 l. said also to be deducted from the said Fund for the Civil List; I am sure, the Reasons for making this Sum, as well as the other, an Article of their grand Total, are equal, but this Omission shall be rather imputed to their great Modesty than Inad-

However, what they mean, I suppose, is, that there being 100,000 l. granted to his present Majesty, more than what was allowed the late King, this annual Addition must be satisfied out of the Civil List Revenues, and therefore the Sinking Fund is thereby fo much diminished; for, say they, had the present Civil List been equal, and on the same Footing with the last, then the Aggregate Fund, and consequently the Sinking Fund, would have received the Advantage of the Surplusses which makes this 100,000 l. Admit all-this; but I deny it can from thence be inferred, that there is 100,000 l. per Ann. unjustly taken from the Sinking Fund for the Use of his present Majesty's Housbold and Family.

For it must be consider'd, that the Aggregate Fund can have no other Right to any Part of the Civil List Revenues, than what is expressed in the Act of the 1st Year of the late King, Cap. 12. Sect. 25. and is in these Words: " Provided that if the Revenues se settled or appointed for the Service of his Majesty's 66 Housbold, and of the Honour and Dignity of his " Crown, by the late Act of Parliament of the ist Year

of his Majesty's Reign, together with the said ad-

66 ditional

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ditional Revenue of 120,000 l. per Ann. intended by this Act to be supplied, as aforesaid, shall from " Michaelmas 1715, at any Time during his Masi jesty's Life, produce in clear Money more than the vearly Sum of 700,000 l. that then the Overplus of " such Produce (being more than the Yearly Sum of

" 700,000 l.) shall go to, and be deemed and taken to be Part of the General or Aggregate Fund by this

" Att intended to be established for the several Purposes

" aforesaid. &c.

From this 'tis evident, that the Produce of the Civil List Revenues over and above the yearly Sum of 700,000 l. granted to his late Majesty, was to be carried to, and made Part of the Aggregate Fund only during his Majesty's Life; and if the Title of that Fund to these Surplusses, or any Part of such Revenues cealed and determined on the late King's Demise, they could make no Part of the Sinking Fund in this Reign, nor is that Fund now in the least concerned in them, but being in the Power of the Legislature from the happy Accession of bis prefent Majesty to the Throne, they were wisely settled for the Service of his Housbold and Family, without accounting for the Overplus, or Prejudice to the Sinking Fund.

Therefore it must be no less malicious than false, to fay that 100,000 l. was annually taken from the Sinking Fund to make up his present Majesty's Civil List 800,000 l. per Ann. and to value this Sum, (with others before mentioned of the same short Continuance) at 25 Years Purchase, for making it two Millions and an half, is what a Novice in Fir

gures would not be guilty of.

There remains one annual Sum more faid to be taken from the Sinking Fund for the Benefit of the Civil List, which is 16400 l. 8 s. being Part of the 35000 l. per Ann. charged by an Act in the 12th of the late Queen, on the Hereditary and Temporary Excise.

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Excise, as aforesaid, for answering the Principal and

Interest of the Civil List, Lottery 1713.

The Circumstances relating to this Article have been so clearly stated, and the Right of his Majesty's Civil List to this Sum so very plainly proved by eminent Council at Law, on an Application made to them by the Commissioners of the Treasury for their Opinion in that Respect, that it would be superfluous in me to enlarge on this Head; I shall therefore recommend the Perusal of a Copy of such Opinion, (published in a * Pamphlet some time ago) to those who want to be satisfied with the Reasons given for bringing this Sum to the Civil List.

I should not think my self obliged to give any thing else they write a particular Examination, befides what is contained in their Account of Grievances relating to the Civil List of his late and present Majesty, did not I find among their CREDENDA the aforesaid 120,000 1. taken out of the Sinking Fund (according to them) to compleat the Civil Lift of the late Reign, and continued to his present Majesty. And fince this is swallowed down by their Followers as an IPSE DIXIT, I shall very briefly shew from Acts of Parliament how agreeable this Affertion is

to Truth.

It cannot be denied, that before the Establishment of the Sinking Fund, there were several Sums annually chargeable on the Aggregate Fund for Interest of National Debts, &c. as by the Act of the Ist of the late Reign Cap. 12. are fully set forth, which annual Incumbrances were to be satisfied, before it could be known what remained as an Overplus on the ballancing that Account; among these annual Sums payable out of this Fund, was the 120,000 l. towards bis late Majesty's Civil Govern-

^{*} Vide Some Considerations concerning the Publick Funds, the Publick Revenues, and the Annual Supplies, from p. 71. to 76.

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any Article of Interest payable out of it to the Creditors of the Nation; and the several Surplusses of this Fund, being with those of the South Sea and General Funds appointed by an Act of the 3d of that Reign, Cap. 7. to discharge the Principal of the National Debts contracted before Christmas 1716, were called the Sinking Fund.

From whence it follows, that the 120,000 l. charged annually on the Aggregate Fund in the 1st Year, could not be Part of the Sinking Fund established in the 3d Year of the late Reign, no more than any of these annual Incumbrances on the Aggregate Fund, can be said to be taken out of the

Surplusses thereof.

All the annual Sums charged on the Aggregate Fund by Parliament, are to be paid first out of the Produce of the Duties composing it, before the Ballance of a Surplus can be made; now as this 120,000 l. is among these annual Sums, it is in Course satisfied, and cannot properly be a Part of that Overplus, and consequently not of the Sinking Fund.

It may, perhaps, be urged, that had not the 120,000 l. been made payable out of the Aggregate Fund, the Sinking Fund, when it came afterwards to be established, would have received that annual Advantage. But it must be likewise observed, that had the Produce of these Civil List Revenues, at any Time fallen short of 700,000 l. per Ann. all such Deficiencies must have been made good out of the next Aids granted in Parliament; as on the other Hand, whatever these Revenues, with the 120,000l. produced more than the 700,000 l. annually, fuch Overplus was to be brought to the Aggregate Fund during his late Majesty's Life; so let it be stated either Way, it comes out the fame Thing to the Publick: The Question will then turn on this Point, Which

Which was most eligible? to have satisfied such Deficiencies, out of the Aggregate Fund, or out of the annual current Service? or in other Words; Whether it was not
more prudent to provide for these Desiciencies out of
the Duties already subsisting, than by increasing the
annual Charges of the Government, be obliged perhaps
to have raised new Funds for answering the same? And
I think a little Resection may convince any one; that
this Question was determined for the Advantage of the
Nation, as well as the Conveniency of his late Majesty,
in preventing such a Charge on the current Service.

As I always made a Difference between the Duties, which by Act of Parliament are particularly expressed to be Parts of the Aggregate Fund, and those Articles carried casually to the same as unappropriated Money, I have endeavoured to maintain, that the Application of this unappropriated Money to any other publick Services, was no Encroachment on the Sinking Fund; and tis on this just Distinction I have formed Arguments to prove, that the annual Sums made use of for the current Service of the several Years aforesaid, have not been unjustly taken from thence, as our Adversaries affirm: and the Civil List Revenues are also acquitted of receiving the least Benefit from that Fund.

It is now prefumed to be very evident from what has been offer'd, that none of the Articles of their annual Total, which they fay have been taken from the Aggregate Fund, are the Property thereof; and therefore the Amount of the Valuation of such a Sum alledged to be deducted from the Sinking Fund, stands for Nothing.

But should we allow such Sums to be the absolute Property of the Aggregate Fund, and to have been taken from it in that Sense, what can be the Consequence of this fictitious Value with all its Errors? Is it to be concluded, because 495,600 l. per Ann. is valued at 25 Years Purchase, that therefore 12,390,000 l. has been taken from the Sinking Fund? or will any Man draw this Reality from a Supposition? Besides, I would fain know how 25

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Years comes to be the Standard of this Estimate? And if they are allowed to measure their Grievances by Estimation, it is a little furprizing they did not raise it to 30 Years Purchase, and made it 14,868,000 l, or have not we better Reason to insist on its being valued much below 20 Years?

They cannot furely be fo ignorant of the Forms of Arguing, to draw a Conclusion no way relating to the Premisses; for let their Valuation be stated syllogistically, it must run thus: If it is thought reasonable to value 495,600 l. at 25 Years Purchase, it will be worth 12,390,000 l. but it is thought reasonable to value it at that Rate, therefore it is worth so much: But that therefore this Sum is actually taken from the Sinking Fund is not the Conclusion, being foreign to the two precedent

Propositions.

Suppose again, that the Product arising on the Multiplication of any Article which may have been taken from the Aggregate Fund, should be reckoned a real Loss to the Sinking Fund; why, by the same Rule, may not the Multiplication of Sums arising from any, or all the Duties now carried to the Aggregate Fund, by any particular Number, be reckoned a real Addition to the same Fund? But where, in the mean while, is the Loss or Advantage attending that Fund by this Refinement on Figures? in Nubibus, or rather in the Heads of these Computants, and are (to use the Schoolmens Words) mere ENTIA RATIONIS.

To what Purpose then is this Estimate? Does it make their annual Sum really more than 495,600 l.? And if not, 'tis very plain, that Truth is what they have least in View, and that a fair Way of Reasoning will not answer their Ends; they deal, it is observed much in Estimates, because under them, the Fallacy of their Argument is best conceal'd,; by this Artifice, Shadows are turned into Substances, the least Ground for Complaint is magnified, and Grievances created, that thereby Hopes may be conceived of making the People in time weary.

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of his present Majesty, and the Constitution, as they would

have them of his present Ministry.

I would have, in the next Place, gone upon a particular Examination of fundry Gross Sums, said by these Men to have been also deducted from the said Fund, had not the afore-mentioned Pampblet made fuch a Work, in a great Measure unnecessary; the Author having in few Words plainly shewn the Falsity of their Affertion with Regard to three of these Sums, particularly that of Two Millions alledged to have been given to the South-Sea Company in the Year 1733; but it would be too tedious to run through the many things to be previously known for fatisfying those who may be unacquainted with the several Acts of Parliament on this Point, in the just Reasons brought by the said Author for denying this Article, which I shall therefore pass.

And although it is allowed there was a Sum taken from the Sinking Fund for the Navy Debt, they might however as well have made it any Sum above, when they; bring no Proofs for calling it 290,900/. and that there was 500,000 l. likewise deducted from that Fund for the Service of the Year 1733, is not disputed, no more than the Consequence of all this can be look'd on as in-

consistent with publick Faith, &cc.

The Substance of what has been here writ on the Subject of this Essay, is (we think) comprehended in

the following Paragraphs, viz.

That under the Denominations of the Aggregate, South-Sea, and General Funds, are brought several Duties and Surplusses of Duties, the Produce of which was appointed to fatisfy the Interest of fundry National Debts contracted before Christmas 1716, till they are redeemed by Parliament, and likewise other annual Incumbrances more particularly chargeable on the Aggregate Fund.

That the Surplusses of these three Funds, or the Sums arifing from them, over and above what may be fuffi-

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cient to answer the said aunual Interest, &c. are what is called the Sinking Fund, which by an Act in the 3d of the late Reign, Cap. 7. was first appropriated to discharge the Principal of National Debts contracted as aforesaid, and for no other Use or Purpose whatsoever.

But yet the chief Design of the Government in the Establishment of this Fund, was to ease the Nation of the Taxes then lying on it; that as the publick Debts were contracted on the Credit of the Duties contained in the aforesaid three Funds appointed to satisfy the Interest of the same till Redemption by Parliament; so by the gradual Discharge of such Debts, these Taxes or Duties were, and are to be repealed, and the Subjects in due Time relieved from that Burthen.

From whence it is, that the Sinking Fund becomes the necessary Means for accomplishing and obtaining this Design and End, without which these capital Debts cannot be paid off, nor consequently the Taxes removed: And albeit the Legislature has made this Provision for the general Good, it cannot however be supposed that the Property thereof is lodged any where but in that Body as the best Judge, whether it may be always expedient to apply this Fund for the Purposes of its first Institution, or sometimes to suspend such an Application, by making it answer other Emergencies of the Government.

The several Duties belonging to the said three Funds having been made a Security for Payment of the Interest of these Debts till redeemed by Parliament, the Faith of the Nation is thereby engaged for the due Execution of the several Acts in that Behalf; yet since they were contracted upon that Security previous to the Appropriation of the Sinking Fund, publick Credit cannot be made precarious by its being made subservient to other National Occasions.

That Article of the Aggregate Fund which takes in all unappropriated Money from Michaelmas 1715, as it is subject to the Disposition of Parliament, cannot be properly

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properly reckoned a constituent Part thereof, nor of exqual Security with other Duties in that Fund mentioned, for answering the several annual Incumbrances chargeable thereon: And as the Act which brings this ansappropriated Money to the Aggregate Fund, does not take from the Legislature the Power of appropriating such Duties for answering other publick Services; so the Application of any Money which may have been carried to this Fund under such a Denomination, cannot be interpreted an Encroachment on the Sinking Fund, or the Right of the publick Creditors.

Upon this Confideration it has been made appear, that most or all the annual Sums said by our Adversaries to have been taken from, never did belong to, the Sinking Fund, and in Course the Valuation of their Total to make that large Sum of 12,390,000 l. is a Chimera, and no more than a delusive Amusement, dressed up to please their fond Followers, who are so weak to depend on the Veracity of their Leaders.

Let us now compare the Writings (not to fay the Practices) of these turbulent Men with the Positions laid down in the Beginning of this Discourse, and I shall then submit it to an impartial Decision, whether they are not by Principle avowed Enemies of our Constitution? Or if they would be thought true Patriots, and Friends to the present Establishment, whether on duly weighing the Arguments made use of to make good the foregoing Heads, they can have then any Room for raising so great a Clamour about the Disposition of the Sinking Fund? when the Proceedings of the Legislature in that Respect, appear to have been always consistent with it self, and no less just, prudent, and bonourable with Regard to the publick Creditors, than they have been to the Publick.

I cannot now help observing, that their Writings on this and other Subjects of the like Nature, are, for the most Part, obscure and concise, where Perspicuity and Enlargement are necessary, their Arguments loose and

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incoherent, where close Reasoning is required; yet an artful Shew of Demonstration discovers itself in some of their Periods, to oblige such of their Adherents as may not take Matters merely on their own Authority; Propositions are delivered as felf evident, that from them, Consequences may be drawn to justify their rude and licentious Infults on our Laws; and as for those who may not be among the Number of implicit Believers, much Sophistry is used to convince their Reason (byassed, no Doubt, in Favour of another Establishment, or perhaps under the Power of private Resentment and Discontent) that the Legislature contradicts it felf, and is therefore not to be regarded: And I think a little Retrospection into what has been faid, will furnish us with one or two flagrant Instances of these unfair Practices with Regard to our prefent Subject.

They affert, with great Assurance, that the Sinking Fund is the sole Property of the Publick Creditors, which must be believed as an indisputable Truth. From thence Breach of publick Faith, Ruin of publick Credit, Sc. must be the natural Consequences attending the least Application of this Fund to other Purposes, while the antecedent Proposition, so far as I can find, is only gratis dictum, and for undeniable Reasons not

to be allowed.

Another Instance is, their saying, that because several Sums have been at different Times taken from the Aggregate Fund for answering other Purposes; therefore the Sinking Fund has been so much diminished in its Property: We allow several Sums to have been deducted from that Fund to answer these Services, but the Inserence is salse, because it has been evinced, that these Articles were never the absolute Property of the Aggregate Fund, consequently not of the Sinking Fund: Thus, the First Instance shews what is to be believed by some, as the Second is an agreeable Imposition on the Reason of others of their

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their Friends and Dependants: By these and such like Methods, an inveterate Enmity to our Constitution is somented, while Numbers of well-meaning People may be insensibly drawn from their Duty and Al-

legiance to their present Sovereign.

I freely acknowledge, 'tis to the Perplexity of their Stile in several Places, that I must impute the Obligation I am under to the Author before pointed at, for leading me into the Meaning of some of their, Complaints against our Legislature, in Behalf of the publick Creditors; and however unnecessary and superfluous, the dwelling so long on these Matters, may be thought by some; others, perhaps, are of Opinion, that too much cannot be faid for placing every thing in fuch a Light, as can make the Infincerity and false Reasoning of these Men (who, it may be, have fuccessfully practised on Credulity and Ignorance) most conspicuous; and here I would hope that Repetitions will be equally excusable, as they are unavoidable, especially fince I have, in delivering my Thoughts concerning the Sinking Fund, endeavoured to adapt my felf to every Capacity.

It cannot surely concern me to follow these censorious Enquirers through their many sudden and immethodical Transactions from one Head to another; this would be an endless Task, and no Way answerable to my Design; for as I sound them trisling in Arguments, I chose rather to make a plain State of the Case, and evince what I have laid down by just Inserences from Acts of Parliament, than consound the Matter in Dispute, with a tedious Consutation of several Errors in Fact, as well as in Reasoning, irregularly scatter'd among their Writings on the present Point; and since this National Topick has been discussed by other Mediums, and in a Method different from any besides, it cannot be supposed I should take Notice of what Objections may have lately been made to such

Writings

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Writings as justify the Application of the Sinking Fund to any publick Emergencies in another Method.

Neither is it, from this Confideration, to be expected, that these Sheets should be a full and direct Answer to every thing they would bring in Defence of their Opinion about this Fund; I think it sufficient to have maintain'd that the fame is the fole Property of the Publick, in Contradiction to what they, without any Form of Argument deduced from the Acts of our Legislature, affert; and to say more, seems to me unnecessary, until they can on better Grounds assure the World, that Truth and the publick Good only, are what they fincerely aim at and have at Heart; but as it is too apparent they do not act from those generous Motives, their Writings are justly to be stiled Libels; and I am inclin'd to believe that their Authors will never be brought to Reason and a Sense of their Duty by any the most elaborate Productions of a private Pen.

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