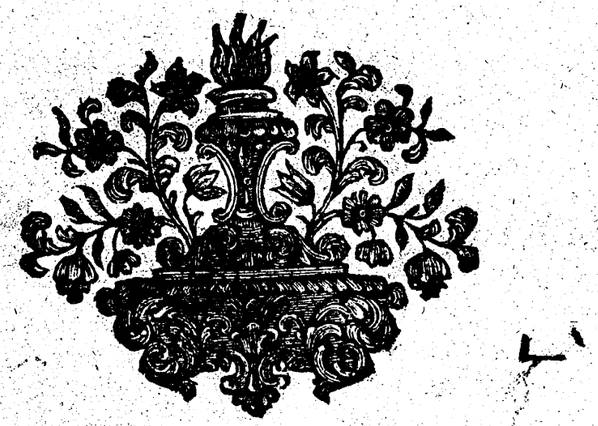
THE TAXES Not GRIEVOUS, And therefore not a REASON FOR AN Unsafe PEACE.



LONDON:
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THE

Taxes not Grievous, &c.

THE universal Talk of Peace, makes the Man be esteem'd stupid that any longer doubts that a Negotiation is on Foot.

Her MAJESTY's admirable Wisdom, and Her zealous Affection to Her People, have been so Conspicuous in a Ten Years Experience of the most Happy Government that ever People were bless'd with; that there is no room for the least Doubt, while Her MAJESTY sits on the Throne, that any Treaty can be Proceeded in, that brings not with it a perfect Security, and a durable Peace to the Nation. Nor that a Piece will be Delay'd a Day longer than it can be had with Honour.

BUT because 'tis so very much in Mens Mouths, That the Taxes are already so grievous,

ous, and the Means of raiſing more, ſo exhauſted, that Peace muſt be had upon the beſt Terms we can: I will take the Liberty to ſhew the Falſhood of this Aſſertion. Which I undertake for theſe Two Reaſons;

I. If this Doctrine be believ'd by our Enemy Abroad, it muſt neceſſarily make him the Stiffer in his Terms.

II. The Belief of this will make the People at Home the more Reſty and Impatient, if Her Majesty be oblig'd to break off the Negotiation.

Let us therefore Enquire, How and wherein theſe Taxes are ſo burdenſome, and who they are that are afflicted by them. In which Enquiry, I doubt not in the plaineſt manner to Evince, That not only none among us are any ways afflicted by the Taxes; but alſo, That the War has produc'd an addition of great and laſting Advantages to the People of this Nation, with reſpect to Wealth; over and above Liberty and a Security in our Properties.

First then, Let us ſee, who they are that have Cauſe to Grumble at the Taxes. And that a full Enquiry may be made, we will Conſider the whole Body of the People in theſe Six Claſſes:

1. The

1. The Landed Men. 2. Clergy. 3. Merchants. 4. Manufacturers. 5. Shopkeepers. And, 6. Farmers.

I. The Landed Men have indeed ſuffer'd by the long continuance of 4*s.* in the Pound Rent. But it muſt be Remember'd, That this high Rate goes not through the Kingdom. The Mid-land Counties round about *London*, commonly call'd the Aſſociated Counties, may indeed Pay ſo much; but the more remote diminiſh gradually, ſo as to Pay in the moſt diſtant not much above One Shilling. And to the Complaints of theſe Gentlemen of the Aſſociated Counties, the Northern and Weſtern Men Anſwer, That you are near the very great Market of *London*, which gives you conſtant ready Money, and a good Price for your Corn and Cattel: Whereas, *ſay they*, we for want of that Convenience, are fain to Lett our Land in ſmall Farms, and take what we can get for our Rent. Whether this Argument be true or not, does not concern me, and is only put in by the by, in anſwer to the common Clamour on that Account. What concerns my Argument, is notorious Fact; namely, That 'tis not half the Lands in the Kingdom that Pay 4*s.* in the Pound; and that, perhaps, if it were reduc'd to an Average, not 2*s.* in the Pound Rent is paid in the whole. But to even the Gentlemen that Pay the

the full 4 *s.* 'tis easy to answer, That the Land is theirs for ever, and it belongs to them to Defend it. 'Tis well known, Ours is not a Quarrel of Ambition or Humour; but a Contest in Defence of all the Property and all the Liberty the Nation possesses. And if this War had not been carry'd on, God knows who had possess'd these Lands at this time. However, as hard as the Tax seems, there is scarce any Man that Pays it, but actually has, or might if he would, have improv'd his Land so as to raise the Rent of it near upon as much as the Tax amounts to. For 'tis well known, the extraordinary Exportation of Corn by reason of the War, has given room for the Improvement of Tillage extreamly. Wherefore, before these Gentlemens Complaints are listned to, it ought to be Enquir'd, Whether these Improvements are not actually made, or if the want of 'em be not owing to Lazyness or Ill-Husbandry. And withal, let it be consider'd, That even without Improvement, the Corn that did grow hath yielded a much greater Price since the War, and by reason of the great Armies in *Flanders* and *Spain*, than it could possibly have done if the War had not been.

II. The Clergy: These Gentlemen have indeed just cause of Complaint; For they being but Tenants for Life, ought not to be put upon

upon the same Foot in Taxations with Hereditary Freeholders. And if they are Tax'd any where to the full, I think the Commissioners and Assessors are much to blame, since Neighbours Fare has all along been held just in the Taxations; and how they can exert a Power of receding from the Rigour of the Law in favour of the Layety without exercising it towards the Clergy too, I cannot see.

III. The Merchants: These Gentlemen may have also Cause to think the War burdensome; and the Taxes laid on Imported Goods to Pay the Charge of it, grievous. For, they say, 1. We are exceedingly restrain'd in our Trade, and our Voyages are tedious and precarious. 2. The Duties to be paid are so large, that now-a-days it requires double the Stock to carry on the same Trade as formerly. And, 3. That the Duty perishes with the Commodity either in Hand or in our Books, whereby our Loss is exceedingly increas'd. To this it is Answer'd in the Common Voice: If the Trade be Restrain'd, and the Losses many, the Price of the Commoditie that comes in safe, is so inlarg'd in the Market, as to make amends for it; That the Duty is always consider'd with Interest in the Sale of the Commodity; and as for Perishing, it is what they were always liable to. I cannot say these Answers

Anſwers are powerful enough; but they are ſuch as ſatisfy the Country Gentlemen, who are the People that impoſe thoſe Duties, and ſo muſt paſs.

IV. The Mechanicks or Manufacturers: Theſe may ſomewhat ſuffer in the Duties and Exciſes; thoſe upon Coals and Candles muſt affect the Manufacturers, who are oblig'd to make long Day's-work in the Winter-time, and whoſe Work is perform'd by Fire: Thoſe upon Leather, Salt, *&c.* affect ſome Manufacturers, and all that have large Families; but a Refund is allow'd in the Price of the Commodity, where Leather is part of the Compoſition, or Coals us'd in making it. And it muſt be allow'd, that the Conſumption of theſe two Commodities, together with Salt, Pepper, Fruit, *&c.* in the Family, is not enough to make the Duty very Chargeable. Nay, even the great one of all, the ſeveral Exciſes on Liquors and the materials of which they are made, is not a grievous Tax upon the lower People, who are the chief Conſumers of that Commodity; for it muſt be remember'd, That the Two-penny Pot of Ale before theſe Additional Exciſes were laid on, was not much above a fourth part bigger than the Three-half-penny Pot is now-a-days. And as for the Three-pence *per* Barrel Addition upon Small-Beer, it is too inconſiderable to

to be mention'd as burdenſome. The Window-Tax, upon thoſe Manufacturers who are forc'd to have large Houſes for the room neceſſary in their Trade, may be call'd a Grief by Ill-natur'd Men: But they may be put in mind, That the Chimney-Money before the War began, was a much larger Tax upon them. In ſhort, I cannot ſee that the Manufacturers are liable to Taxes that are grievous, or ſuch as they cannot bear without hurting their Families.

But what this Order of Men have more to complain of, is, The want of Trade, and thereby the want of Work, by reaſon of the War. How juſt Cauſe there is for this Complaint, I dare not pretend to judge; Popular Cry, and the Number of Poor ſeem to juſtify it. But perhaps this Complaint will be found unjuſt if it be duely conſider'd; 1. That divers Manufactures are greatly increas'd by the making Utenſils for the Service of the War. And, 2. That divers new Manufactures are introduc'd into the Nation, and others vaſtly improv'd and increas'd, ſince, and by reaſon of the War. Thus great Quantities of Fine Glaſs, Hatts, Paper, Linen, Wrought-

 Silks

Silks, and divers other Home made Commodities, are now us'd here, and Exported hence, that before the War us'd to be all brought from Foreign Countries. Besides, that the great Vent of our Manufactures in *Portugal*, which is become a mighty Article of Profit to the Nation, is wholly owing to the War. I say, when these are duely consider'd; it will, I believe, be found, That in the main, near upon, if not quite as many Hands are now Imploy'd in Manufactures as there were before the War began. And that the Reason of the Poor falling upon the Publick for Maintenance, must be the unskilfulness of those Wretches in turning their Hands from the Imployments they were brought up to, to others that are now in Vogue.

I hope, it will now be granted, That the Taxes are not so burdensome upon the Manufacturers as to create Compassion enough to make us over-hasty in Finishing the War.

V. Shopkeepers: These to be sure must suffer by the War, on several Accounts, *viz.* The Gentry abating in their Expences by reason of the Taxes they

they Pay, much abates the Shopkeepers Trade. The Money that People put into the Publick Funds, makes 'em neglect to Pay Tradesmen, and forbear Buying what they would otherwise. The high Duties upon Commodities increases the Shopkeepers Stock, without increasing proportionably his Profit. And the Duty perishing with the Goods, so much the more increases his Loss. Yet, notwithstanding all this, it may be observ'd, That Shopkeepers flourish, their Shops are better furnish'd and make greater show than ever: And therefore either their Industry is greater, or their Trade is better than formerly. And upon the whole, it will hardly be allow'd, that the Taxes hurt them so much as to occasion a too hasty Peace for their Relief.

But it is objected, That the great Number of Bankrupts is a crying Calamity, and owing to the War. To this 'tis Answer'd, That if the War be concern'd in the Bankrupcies, 'tis but obliquely; for the Losses at Sea is the reason of very few of them. The true Cause of the many Bankrupts, is the Hardiness and Temerity of Unskilful Traders, who make too much haste to be Rich. The

 Wealthy

Wealthy Merchants, who us'd to carry on Foreign Trade, have since the War with-held their Hand that way, and have rather contented themselves with a lesser Profit with safety in the Publick Funds. This leaving a Chasm in Trade, others undertook to fill the place, who enter'd with small Stock, no Skill, and perhaps much Knavery; and if they soon run themselves a-ground, it is not much to be wonder'd at.

VI. *Lastly*, THE Farmers: These have been so entirely excus'd from Taxes all this while, except those on Malt and Hops may be said to be theirs, wherein too they are refunded in the Sale of the Commodity; and on the other-hand their Corn has born so much better a Price during this War, than they can hope it shall when the Armies are remov'd from *Flanders*, that it cannot be suppos'd they are anxious for Peace.

I hope, what I have said will be allow'd to Evince, That these Orders only have any just Cause to Complain of the War: namely, the LANDED MEN, the CLERGY, and the MERCHANTS.

To

To the first, it must be said, That it very ill becomes them to appear impatient under a War so Just and so Successful as this is, at a Time when our Victories have brought our Armies into the Enemy's Country; and when by erecting the *South*-Sea Company, we are going to give a mortal Stab to the last Resource our Enemy has. Alas! If by too much Haste a Peace be made which leaves our Enemy any possibility of Affronting us a few Years hence, 'tis these Gentlemen that will most severely feel the Effects of it; their Land is unremovable, and that Part that now Pays the largest Taxes, will be that which will most Feel an Enemy's Plunder.

Secondly, To the Clergy I can offer no Excuse; but must in common Justice joyn with them in Complaint. 'Tis hard, that so Learned a Body of Men, who in their Excellent Writings and Preachings deserve so well of the Nation, should be the only Men us'd hardly in Taxation. Are not First-fruits, Broad-Seals, Faculties, *&c.* at entring upon a Living, enough, but Four Pound Stamps must be added? Are not Tenths, and the

great

great deficiency in Tythes ſufficient, but that Four Shillings in the Pound muſt be added, even altho' their Eſtates are ſo far from being Hereditary, that a Son is not allow'd to ſucceed his Father, altho' voluntarily Preſented by the Patron, without a Royal Licenſe? In ſhort, We ſeem to have been provoking the Clergy to Diſgrace themſelves by ſhewing that they are but Men, and ſubject to Paſſions, and then Rail at them for being ſo. And if this has at laſt brought an Evil upon us, we muſt e'en thank ourſelves.

To the Merchants I can only ſay, That we ought to be ſorry that the Publick Occaſions have led us to lay ſuch heavy Duties at the Cuſtom-Houſe, which we are ſenſible will always cramp Trade, and beat out of Uſe divers Commodities whereon good Profit was made. And we muſt at the ſame time make the Merchants this honeſt Complement, That as much as they ſuffer by the War, they are leaſt Clamorous for Peace; which I take to be the effect of their good Judgments. They know well, That if a Treaty be Concluded which leaves the Enemy the leaſt Power of Breaking, it will not be

a

a Peace; for tho' Commerce be thereby Open'd, they muſt Trade, as the *Iſraelites* Built, with Swords in their Hands.

I deſire now, any Man of Judgment or Thought to ſay, Whether the Taxes are ſo Grievous as to cauſe an immature Peace?

To Proceed now to the SECOND Head I propos'd; namely, That this War has produc'd great and laſting Advantages to the People over and above Liberty, and a Security of our Properties.

THE Advantages I propound to Speak to, ſhall be confin'd to the Article of Wealth; as being that which moſt generally affects: For to talk to the Common People of the great Honour our Nation will gain by a Happy Iſſue of this War, is to ſpeak to little purpoſe. Neither will they be much affected by being told, That the Publick Stock is mightily increas'd, I mean, our Navy Royal, our Artillery, Armorys, *&c.* by this War. Nor will they be made ſenſible of the Advantage the Nation has receiv'd by the War, in Breeding up ſuch a Number of Brave Officers; and Teaching us the Military Art to Perfecti-

on,

on. To Proceed therefore to the Matter of Wealth.

I. The New Manufactures, and the very great Improvement and Increase of others, during this War-time; and which is entirely owing to the War, which deny'd access to those Commodities from Abroad, will continue for ever, and be so much Addition to the Imployment of our own Hands.

II. The Improvement of Agriculture, that has been made since the War, will be a durable Benefit to us after it; for Corn being hereby produc'd in greater Quantities, will always be much more Exported than formerly: And *Holland* is a Market at our Door which will always Buy off as much as you will be willing to Sell, at an equal Price with that fetch'd from the *Baltick*.

III. The *New-found-Land* Fishery, which we have reason to Hope, we shall recover the Monopoly of, will be a copious Addition to the Wealth of the Nation.

IV. The

IV. The Effect of the Taxes, is the Produce of a New and very Considerable Estate to the People. I mean, the Publick Funds: These afford a much larger Interest for Money, and much better Security for Principal, than formerly could be had. And at the same time, the great variety of Securities afford Purchase to all Degrees of Buyers, from a Ten Pound Lottery Ticket, to Ten thousand Pounds Stock in the *South*-Sea Trade, *East-India* Trade, Bank, Annuities, *&c.* And herein the Security is not only better, but the Interest higher, than can be had in Private Hands, Six *per Cent.* is given by the State, and the Occasions of Sellers will generally give room so to Purchase as to make Seven, or more *per Cent. per Annum*. Whereby it is in the Power of every Man that Pays Taxes, to Refund himself by the extraordinary Interest he may make of a small Sum of Money in putting it into the Funds. And moreover, The Honest Industrious Man, who having acquir'd a little Money more than his Occasions in the way of Business call for, is willing to make a little Advantage of it for the Benefit of his Children, has now no longer need of going

ing in Queſt of Security, or courting a Rich Man to give him Five *per Cent.* Intreſt; he has now an undubitable Security, for the whole Nation is bound for it; and larger Intreſt than he could ever before have ſafely made. In this Article the People gain almoſt Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; for ſo much the over Intereſt amounts to; and is apparantly an Additional Eſtate given to Induſtrious Men. And it muſt be obſerv'd further, That this is as much as all the dead unrefundable Taxes amount to; I mean, Coals, Candles, Windows, Salt, *&c.*

BUT I know I ſhall be call'd upon to Prove, that this Over-Intereſt amounts to ſo much: And muſt therefore exhibit a Liſt of the Annuities and other Payments Annually Paid out of the *Exchequer* to thoſe Private Perſons or Communities that have Depoſited Money there. Which take as follows.

The

The Annual Payments made at the Exchequer as Enacted by Parliament.

The first Annuities in 1692. upon the *Exciſe*,		124,866
Survivorſhip in the ſame,		7,567
To fill up the Fund, in Annuities, and Reverſions, at ſeveral times,	13,336 20,030 2,093	37,459
To the Bank on its First Eſtabliſhment,		100,000
The 3700 *l. per* Week on Exciſe, beſides the Annuities 2° *Annæ*, For the Old Exchequer Debt, *&c.*		97,776
To the *Eaſt-India* Company, on Salt and Stamp Duty,		160,000
ANNUITIES, *Viz*, 1° *Annæ*		5,848
2° *Annæ*		94,624
3° *Annæ*		46,000
4° *Annæ*		184,242
5° *Annæ*		72,187
6° *Annæ*		40,000
6° *Annæ iterum.*		80,000
8° *Annæ* 9 *per Cent*, 32 Years		81,000
The Window Tax for Circulating Exchequer Bills. To the Bank,		112,069
To the Bank on Doubling their Stock.		150,000
To the Lottery, *A°* 1710. Addit. Window-Tax, *&c.*		135,000
To the Lottery, *A°* 1711, Leather, *&c.*		135,000
To the 2d. Lottery, *vulgò*, Claſſes. *A°* 1711.		186,670
To the Bank for making Specie Exchequer Bills.		45,000
To the *South-Sea* Company,		568,279
		2,463,587

OUT

OUT of this Sum of Two Millions and almoſt Half we will deduct Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon Account of the Sums which are ſunk at laſt, as the Annuities and Lotteries, for laying up to ſupply the Principal, which Proportion is more than enough. There will then ſtill remain near Twenty-two Hundred Thouſand Pounds for Simple Intereſt at Six *per Cent.* out of which we will deduct One *per Cent.* for Profit; becauſe upon Mortgages, and ſuch ſort of firm Securities, there hath of late Years, but Five *per Cent.* been paid, and then there will appear an Additional Intereſt beyond what could be had upon good Security elſewhere, of above Three Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

SO that upon the whole, I think it may be fairly ſaid, That the *Exchequer* is a Grand Inſurance-Office for the Improvement of Money, wherein every Induſtrious Man may have his Share of the Advantage. And it is of the Importance that Forty Millions is worth, to Maintain this Office in the ſame Form it now ſtands. Which, I ſuppoſe, every Body will

will grant is not to be done but by a Firm, very Firm Peace; ſuch an One as will put it perfectly out of the Power of the *French* King ever to impoſe the Pretender upon Us.

I HOPE, by this time, the Bugbear of Heavy Taxes is remov'd from our Sight, and that our Eyes may be rather turn'd upon the Advantages in ſafely Improving our Money, which the War hath produc'd to us. And I think this Concluſion cannot be deny'd, namely, That the ſame Wiſdom and Benign Providence, which hath ſhewn us the Means of Carrying on the War Nine Years, with ſo little Grief and Oppreſſion to the People, will not deſert us, if it be found neceſſary to Continue it another Year.

IF therefore our Enemy be Obſtinate, and will not Agree to thoſe Terms which Her Sacred MAJESTY (in whoſe Hands we are undoubtedly ſafe) ſhall think fit to Inſiſt upon, let us not in our Folly be Waſpiſh and Diſcontented; remembring, that our Good QUEEN has no Views but the Welfare of Her People; nor no Ends to purſue by continuing the War unneceſſarily:

ceſſarily: And, as God forbid the War ſhould be Continu'd a Month, if a Safe and Good Peace can be had now; ſo on the other-hand, let not the miſtaken Notion of the Taxes being Grievous, cauſe it to be Concluded untimely.

FINIS.

Erratum. Page 1. *for* Piece *read* Peace.

Advertiſement.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*'s Letter to the Commiſſioners of the Publick Accounts having been Printed in ſeveral News-Papers, it was thought Proper, by Way of Anſwer to that Letter, and in Vindication of thoſe Honourable Gentlemen, to Print their Report at Large, with the Depoſitions therein mentioned.