

0226

90-12



X

THE
PRESENT TAXES
COMPARED TO THE
PAYMENTS made to the PUBLICK

Within the Memory of MAN.

With some THOUGHTS on the possible Con-
sequences that may ensue from the
NATIONAL DEBTS.

In a LETTER to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,
From a COUNTRY FARMER.

This Royal Throne of KINGS, this Scepter'd Isle,
This blessed Plot, this Earth, this Realm, this *England*,
This Land of dearest Souls, is now Leas'd out,
Like to a Tenement, or pelting Farm.

SHAKESPEARE.

It is not, nor it cannot come to Good.

IDEM.

L O N D O N ;

Printed for J. MARSHALL, at the *Unicorn*, in
St Clement's Church-yard.

M.DCC.XLIX.

[Price One Shilling.]

5



THE
PRESENT TAXES
COMPARED, &c.

S I R,

December 29, 1748.



R POPE has made the MAN OF ROSS famous for his charity ; but, as I have heard from a countryman of his who knew him, he was as remarkable for a drollery of humour, that shewed a great knowledge of mankind. As an instance of this, he told a story which is not quite foreign to the subject of our last conversation, upon which, according to your request, I now send you some plain thoughts. Not long before Mr *Kyrle* died, a neighbouring Gentleman went to visit him, and, after the usual compliments, enquired *How all friends did at Ross?* *Very well*, says the old man, *For od's bud, Mr A--a--a, we at Ross here are very rich. Rich, Sir!* says the other, *Middling, I take it; much like your neighbours. You are much mistaken, Sir*, says Mr *Kyrle*; for we are

(4)

very rich. Why! what makes you think so? says the other. *Because, says Mr Kyrle, we have five Attornies live here in town, and six or seven more constantly keep market, and yet, for all that, od's bud, Sir, we can buy bread and butter still.*

What provoked Mr Kyrle to reflect in this manner upon a whole Profession, I know not, nor shall I imitate him in it; but however hard this observation may bear on particulars, yet I think, in general, there is some sense in it. At least it shewed Mr Kyrle's opinion to be, "That where large draughts were continually making from any set of people, if they were not ruined by them, they must at first have had better bottoms than was generally imagined." And if this observation be true, it is a much better Vindication of some of our former Ministers, than ever they offered, or perhaps thought of. People grumbled at them for Taxing the Nation at the rate of six or eight Millions one year after another; but as *we can buy bread and butter still*, it is a full proof that they knew the strength of our pockets, better than the folks out of place, who condemned their measures.—How long, indeed, this way of going on may possibly hold? is another question; or what consequences it may in the end produce? may be matter of further enquiry. The gloomy Gentleman, who was with you when I last saw you, made several foreboding remarks upon the dismal state we are just upon the brink of. Many of them I did not understand, but observed he run much upon one, which was a kind of master-key to all the rest: and you cannot have forgot, that he laid down at first, and always alledged this in support of every thing he said; "That where-ever
" there is a great change made in the balance
" of

(5)

" of Property in any state, it always causes an alteration in the balance of Power."

This drew on much talk, in which this maxim was well sifted. In support of it, he instanced the first Barons after the Conquest; who, by the great estates which they had, were enabled to stand many a stiff struggle with the Crown; nay, and were a full match for it too, where eight or ten of them joined together, without falling out among themselves, as they usually did. One of these over-grown Lords, who was Earl of *Warwick*, he said, was nicknamed the *King-maker*; who, though he at last was killed in following that unthankful trade, yet it was not till after he had shewed what his great estate enabled him to do that way; having pulled down one King and set up another, as the humour took, three or four times. He alledged farther, the several contests which had risen between our Kings, and the Clergy; and observed, that by pretending to pray Mens Souls out of Purgatory, they had got so much of the Lands of the Nation into possession, that if they were not equal in weight to the Crown itself, yet they held the balance between it and the Barons, and so could turn the scales as they pleased.

He proceeded farther, and said, That after the policy of *Henry VII.* had weakned the first of these, by permitting them to sell their estates, and his Son had effectually brought down the latter, by taking theirs from them, that thenceforward the bulk of the national property came among the Commons, and made them considerable, who before had had little to do but to fight the others battles. The change of property in the last case was quickest, and therefore most taken notice of: but if the state of the Barons of *England* before *Henry* the VIIth's time, and since,

A 3

be

(6)

be compared, the slower his project worked, the more effectually it seems to have answered his intention. However that be, it plainly appeared, that both these causes together, brought such an addition of strength to the side of the Commons, that in about a Century afterwards, when matters came to extremity, it appeared which way the stream had run. For, with the assistance of a very few Lords on their side, they absolutely demolished the Church, the Barons, and the Crown too.

This brought us down to our own times, and occasioned some reflections, "Whether this changeable business of Property was not still upon the flux, and had not in fact received such alterations within these last hundred years, as may, at the long run, be attended with some consequences we are not yet aware of." Here the conversation began to be filled with loud complaints of the heaviness of Taxes, in which every body joined, but a Gentleman who has lately made a great purchase near us. *Some* men, and *some* measures, were severely censured; but as what I now offer shall relate only to *things*, and not to *persons*, I pass all that part of the discourse by. There was a Tradesman very loud; and though I thought some things he said were true enough, yet I was of opinion that we Farmers feel more, notwithstanding we grumble less. The *new Gentleman* contradicted us all; he insisted, that the very things we complained of, were for our good; and that the Taxes, whose weight we thought intolerable, were of benefit both to land and trade. In short, that the necessities of the government must be supplied, and that war could not be carried on without money, which therefore must be had as it could be got.

A

(7)

A friend of yours replied, "That he thought nobody would doubt his zeal for the government, or that if such an occasion should again offer, as lately had appeared, would question his willingness to lose his life in support of it. But that he much questioned whether the present Taxes the nation laboured under were not a clog upon the Government itself, as they undoubtedly were upon Land and Trade. That the supplying the necessities of the Government in some former Reigns, by borrowing money *as it could be got*, had brought so great a load of interest upon us, that the loyalest part of the King's subjects were disabled from assisting the Crown with their purses, let its distresses be never so pressing: nay, that the interest alone, paid quarterly, was much more than had been raised in some Reigns for very important services; and the nation might some time be ruined for want of part of that money, which had just before been divided among usurers, who are sure, if times are troublesome, to keep their chests close. In a word, says he, if some remedy be not applied soon, it cannot be otherwise, but these measures will vest the bulk of the nation's property in the *Jews*."

At these last words a Clergyman, who had hitherto said nothing, observed, That this last part of his discourse had furnished a proof that these measures were entirely right: "For, says he, You know there are very remarkable promises made to that People, that in due time they shall be restored to their Country. Now, if the other Gentleman's maxim be true, that so much Money is so much Power, we, no doubt, are instruments in the hands of Providence, by which these People will be supplied with the proper means for bringing about this great end; and therefore these

A 4 Taxes,

Taxes, like all other dispensations, are a blessing to us."

This put old Sir Joseph, who likewise had sat silent till now, into a great heat; "What divinity there may be in this, says he, I do not know; but it is just such a strain of Politicks as that of another person, who would prove us to be the peculiar favourites of heaven, because the last Parliament had voted to stand by the Q—n of H—y at all events, right or wrong; and the M—y were determined to spend more Blood, and borrow more Money, than is proper to mention, in defence of a Dutch Barrier, which they would not strike a stroke for themselves."

By this time the conversation began to grow too particular for me to mention, and too warm to afford much light into the enquiry we were got upon, of the alteration made in the course of Property of late years. At my coming away, you insisted upon my thoughts on this head; and though the only reason you could have for making this request, was my having more leisure, and a great many more years over my head than you, yet I here fulfil my promise. Other helps in Politicks, than the experience I have gained, in the management of my own Farm, and by a small compass of reading, I pretend to none. But as I can remember the time when most of the Taxes which caused the heats I have mentioned, were not so much as thought of, I may perhaps know more of the change they have wrought, than a wiser man who has always been used to them.

However this may be, what I say shall have no respect to any Person, or any sort of Persons, but to Things only.

To be as short and as clear as I can, I will confine my reflections to the state of the Revenue of the Kingdom, as it is divided and proportioned between

between the two constituent parts of the Nation, the Governing and the Governed. Now the Revenue of any Country, (as well as of a family, or a township) or in other words, what King and People have to live upon, rises from the natural or artificial product of that Country, either what their land or their labour furnishes. In England, one share of this is necessarily consumed in the maintenance of the People at home; and, by the bounty of Providence, we can usually spare a share of both our natural and artificial product to be carried abroad. With this, we either purchase such commodities of other countries as our own does not afford, and we want, or make our returns in money. If the bulk of the whole product of our land, labour, and trade rises in one year, or in any number of years, to more than the Nation consumes, that which is saved is the national stock; and according as it is greater or less, the Kingdom in general is richer or poorer. The people of England, therefore, are naturally divided into the Landed and Trading Interests; which, though they have been formerly thought to be in some points inconsistent one with another, are now universally allowed not only to be very compatible, but to be most intimately and even vitally united. If one increases, the other will rise too; if this sinks and dwindles, or is overloaded by Taxes, the other will decay. These are truths that every man will own, and it were trifling to insist upon or even mention them, were not these most important points, which every man owns in theory, either carelessly over-looked, or shamefully contradicted in practice. A man would be looked upon as a trifler, at least, who with a grave face should go about to prove, that the Land, the Manufactures, and the Trade of England, are the only basis and foundation of the well-

(10)

well-being and happiness of the People, and of the power and dignity of the Crown. And yet this ought to be insisted upon frequently, and clearly proved too, if required, upon account of a consequence which it necessarily carries in it, that is neither so generally owned, nor so sufficiently attended to, as it deserves. This consequence is, That no other interest besides these natural ones of Land and Trade, ought ever to be permitted to rise or subsist in this Kingdom. That it is not good policy, when the health and vigour of the Nation consists in this plain, simple constitution, to admit of any unnatural extraneous addition, which, at best, can serve only to perplex and confound things. But that it is downright madness to introduce and encourage any other interest whatever, that is either contrary to, or has a natural tendency to weaken or destroy the other two. And yet, I doubt, if we look a little about us, we shall find the conduct of some modern Politicians to have run contrary to this. What the effects are like to be, let us now consider.

For, to return to the article of Revenue, which is thus solely furnished from the product of our Land, the labour of our People, and our Foreign Trade; let us trace it a little, and see how it ought to be applied among the several branches of the Nation, so as to procure and establish the happiness of the whole. And for our ease in this point, I think we may make our estimate very justly from a view of the management of any private house. For though in other points a Nation and a Family differ very widely, yet, I think, as to revenue and oeconomy the parallel will run pretty exact. Let us then consider a Nation as a large Family, possessed of a certain income or estate, by which every member in it is

(11)

is to be supported and maintained, according to the rank and station in which they are placed. For Governors you must have in both, as well as governed; and, from the nature of things, Nations, as well as private Families, are limited in number of People, and the revenue that these People have to subsist upon is a finite sum, and therefore may be exhausted.

In all well constituted States, this Revenue is justly and proportionably distributed among the several members that compose them. One share is necessary for the Farmer, to support his servants and manure his land; the Manufacturer is to have another share, to carry on his trade; and the Merchant his proper stock, to traffick with; and, for the support, defence, and protection of the whole, the Governor should have such an allotment as may not only suffice for barely maintaining the Crown, but supporting it with its due dignity and grandeur.

The Crown revenue of old consisted chiefly in Lands or Desmeans, (which have, in the main, been granted in successive Reigns to Court-Favourites, or alienated some other way, so that little now remains*) or in legal and customary Profits, rising from the subjects; such as Wards and Liveries, which were found grievous, and therefore abolished; or lastly, upon extraordinary occasions, in Aids and Subsidies granted by Parliament. But at present almost the whole Revenue of the Government rises from Customs and Taxes, which are laid in various shapes upon the product of our land and industry, or the returns made by the Merchant in trade. True national oeconomy, in our present circumstances, therefore, consists in rightly balancing the aids furnished to the Crown, with the income produced by

* About 100,000 £. a year. See Appendix, N^o 2 and 3.

(12)

by land and trade. And the *English* constitution, which has been so highly celebrated by our neighbours, for uniting the Power and Majesty of the Crown, with the Liberty and Happiness of the People, will be subverted and destroyed, if the Government has not proper supplies from the People, or if the payments required from the People are not proportioned to the yearly income they have coming in from land and trade.

The wealth of a Nation has been often compared to the blood in an animal body. And as a due quantity of the vital fluid ought to be derived to every member, in a given proportion, for its support, nourishment, and strength, in which the health of the individual consists; so ought every member of the body Politick to be supplied with a proper share of this national blood, in order to keep up the vigour of the whole constitution. Our wise Queen *Elizabeth*, was so sensible of the necessity of duly proportioning the different quantities in a proper manner to the several members of the state, particularly in suiting her own Supplies to what her Subjects could afford; that in one of her speeches she alludes to this comparison, and says, "That she should be very sorry to see the Treasury swelled like an over-grown, dropsical spleen, while the rest of the Nation was in a consumption."

Now if this be just, and the well-being of a Kingdom consists in duly supplying every part of it with a proper quantity of treasure, it will be proper to enquire what that proportion is, and what the consequences, will be when the rules of it are not observed. And though the number of People in a Kingdom, and the quantity of its treasure, with the due allotment of it to the several orders of the governing, landed and trading persons, cannot be laid down to an absolute exact-

ness;

(13)

ness; yet some discoveries in all these points may be made in the gross. And then, from these discoveries, a man of common sense, without any great learning in Politicks, may be fully assured that one sort of measures in the distribution of the national wealth among the several members of it at home, will strengthen and enrich the whole, and the opposite conduct draw on poverty and ruin. There have been some persons among us who formerly tried to make discoveries of this nature, and from the surveys made by Authority, gave us computations of the number of acres, and souls in the Kingdom, and the quantity of its quick and dead stock; and from these deduced, in as accurate a manner as the thing seems capable of, both the gross value of the whole, and the yearly value of its product, whether natural or artificial: or, in other words, the value of what the earth produced every year for the food and subsistence of mankind, and the clear worth of the gain brought to the Nation by industry in manufactures and trade. The exactest computations of this kind were made about fifty years ago; and though the present state of the Kingdom is no doubt different in some points from what it was then, yet, by making proper allowances where these particulars vary, we may pretty nearly guess what the state of things is now. Mankind, we know, is continually upon the increase; and so, likewise, perhaps in a proportionable degree, are the several species of animals that are useful to man, suffered to increase too. Many large tracts of land, formerly waste, are now cultivated; and those that were barren, or produced but little, are much improved by new methods of husbandry. And though the increase of People, or of the product of the Land, in a Kingdom, does by no means infer the increase

(14)

crease of its artificial product, or at all conclude, that where hands are multiplied, there manufactures and trade must augment likewise; and because a country is populous, therefore it must be rich; yet, that I may not lie under the imputation of casting unseemly reflections without any proof, I am willing to grant, what many others will perhaps make a doubt of, that our manufactures and trade have increased, proportionably to the inhabitants and products of the land; and that, therefore, there is a proportionable increase of the riches of the Kingdom in gross. But then, whether these riches are made the best use of for the service of the Nation, or whether they circulate in a proper manner, so as to promote the good of the whole, is an enquiry of quite a different nature. For it is possible for the wealth of a Nation to be great, and yet the poverty of this or that rank of men in it very deplorable; as is visible on the Continent near us. And it is a case not impossible to be supposed, that the true happiness of a Kingdom shall indisputably consist in the flourishing condition of the landed and trading men in it; and yet, by wickedness, or folly, or the necessity of the times, the interests of one or both these orders may be disregarded and thereby grow feeble and weak: or be oppressed and loaded with Taxes, so as to be unable to subsist any longer; whereby the Nation itself must in time be ruined and undone; or the constitution of it in its political frame be entirely subverted and changed. Whether this is, or whether it is like to be our case, and we shall be able to buy bread and butter much longer, is worth enquiring — Let us see what our political Arithmeticians have informed us as to the particulars above mentioned.

The

(15)

The Lands of *England* they have computed at 39 Millions of Acres ^a; or, as appears by a more Geographical Survey ^b you shewed me, at something more than 46 Millions. The value of the annual Product of the Nation, 44 Millions ^c: or, as he reckons afterwards from a more particular view ^d of the several Products of Arable Land, Meadows, Pastures, Quick Stock, and Mines, at more than 46 Millions, in which Fisheries are not included: and, not to set them too low, we will call the whole Product 48 Millions.

By the Books for collecting the Tax upon *Hearts*, in 1685, there appeared to be a Million and Three Hundred Thousand Houses in the Nation; from whence, and the Assessment on *Marriages*, *Births*, and *Burials*, the Author before quoted, reckoned the souls in *England* to be Five Millions and a half ^e. The same Author reckoned the yearly consumption for the necessary maintenance of these people to be about the value of 7*l.* 10*s.* apiece; which comes to 41 Millions and a quarter for the whole. So that the two Millions and three quarters remaining, (which make up the 44 Millions, computed as above to be the value of the yearly Product) will be the Increase of the National Stock; to be kept for

2

^a *An Essay on the probable Method of making People Gainers in the Balance of Trade*, 1699. pag. 70.

^b Dr Greav. *Philosophical Transactions*, N^o 330. p. 266.

^c *Essay on the probable Method, &c.* p. 23.

^d *Ibid.* p. 72, 73, 76, 92.

^e *Essay, &c.* p. 22, 52. or, reckoning six persons to a house, as is done in an *Essay on Ways and Means*, printed in 1695, Seven Millions eight Hundred Thousand. Perhaps a Medium between these is nearest the Truth; and we may compute them at something above Six Millions and a half, and now nearly Eight Millions.

2

(16)

a support in time of distress, or to be turned backward and forward in foreign Trade.

Some persons may think, that 7*l.* 10*s.* a head, is too small an allowance for providing diet, clothes, lodging, fuel, &c. or in a word, all the necessaries of life, for one person for a whole year: This I will not dispute; perhaps it may: And if it be, the yearly consumption of the whole Nation will be more than 41 Millions and a quarter, as this Writer has set it. But then let it be observed, that if he has set the yearly consumption lower than the truth, he has set the yearly income so too. He reckons it at 44 Millions^f; but by the particulars, as referred to above, it was more than 46 Millions, without the Fisheries; which, with other contingencies, are stated as above at 48 Millions total, which perhaps is not far from truth. So that upon the whole, allowing an under-reckoning on both sides, the yearly national increase might in 1688 be about two Millions and a half a year. To which we must add, that the people of the Nation was increasing likewise; and both stock and people liable to all the advantages or disadvantages that War or Peace, Industry or Luxury, good or bad Management at home and abroad, can bring upon any community.

I have taken the state of the nation, as to its number of people and yearly product, at or near to the famous æra of the Revolution in 1688; and I have done it for two reasons; the first of which is, that the accounts we have of both seem to be more exact, and grounded upon more full informations, than any we had before: the other is, that as our constitution was then brought back to its original Principles, (as the modern phrase is) or, if you please, that the Liberties of the

^f Ibid. p. 23.

(17)

the People were settled upon a different, but a better and more solid foundation than ever they were before; so the distribution of Property, before mentioned and demonstrated to be the very basis of our existence as a *free* people, began now to be placed in a very different situation to what it had ever been before: But whether for the better or worse, whether for the preservation or destruction of *British* Liberty, deserves further enquiry. Most sure it is, that at that æra, a different *method* of managing the National Income was taken up; and has, to the amazement of many, been persisted in ever since.

Whether this method is really fitted for promoting or keeping up the true Welfare of the Nation, by maintaining the Dignity of the Crown, supporting the Landed and increasing the Trading Interests; or whether it is not more likely to lay us under the necessity of bringing back the constitution to its original Principles again, will appear from what follows; which shall only be a plain state of Facts, how the annual Income of the Nation was distributed among the Governing, Landed and Trading Parts of the Nation, within the memory of man, and how it is distributed at present.

In order to state this truly, we must go a little farther back than the memorable æra I have mentioned. For as King *James* the Second's request to his first Parliament, *in what related to the settling his Revenue*, was, *that it might be continued during Life, as it was in the time of the King his Brother*; and as this request was complied with, and nothing farther given, except an extraordinary Aid for suppressing the Rebellion of *Monmouth*; and two Bills passed for Customs on Wine and Tobacco, ap-

B

propriated

(18)

propriated to the Navy^e: it will be necessary to inquire how this affair stood in King Charles the Second's time.

At the Restoration, the Supplies to be provided were of two kinds; the *extraordinary*, and the *ordinary*. The extraordinary ones arose either from the late happy event, or the former troubles: Of the former sort were the necessary provisions for the King and Royal Family, his Reception, Coronation, &c. which appear from the *Journal* of the House of Commons to have amounted to about Three Hundred Thousand Pounds in the whole; including Presents to persons who had done eminent services, and Sixty Thousand Pounds given to distressed loyal Officersⁿ.

The method I shall take in stating this Revenue, shall be to give a List of all the Money-Bills passed in this Reign; which, to avoid the perplexity of a great number of figures, is placed in the *Appendix*. The several Taxes will appear from the Statutes referred to, as will the time for which they were laid. And though the uses for which some of them were given, and the exact sums they produced, cannot now be made out so fully as is desirable, because many of the Acts themselves were never printed, and the Accounts relating to more are not now to be had: yet I have endeavoured to supply this defect as far as I can.

The articles intended for the *Ordinary Supplies* of the Government, and the *Extraordinary Aids* given for particular Services, and such as were distinct from the necessary business of the Crown, as building new Ships, the *Dutch War*, &c. are distinguished from one another, as far as has been possible.

^e 1^o Jac. II. c. 3, 4.

ⁿ Bill for it passed the Commons, April 11, 1662.

(19)

possible. And though these two different Services may not in some points be distinguishable, because the King had not then any distinct allowance for the keeping of his Household, nor had He and the Nation two separate Purses; and therefore money granted for one use might now and then be applied to another; yet, in the main, the branches that belong to the Ordinary, and those that were strictly appropriated to the Extraordinary Services of the Crown, are discoverable. The Commons, in that Reign, were not so lavish in the Sums they gave, nor so careless about the manner how they were applied, as they are usually represented. Their *Journals* are a full proof of this; and from them I have stated what sums they *intended* to raise by each Tax, and the uses it was designed for. And as it appears they appointed Commissioners for taking accounts afterwards, we may suppose, that where they made no complaints, they found no mismanagement.

The Extravagancy of this Reign, and the vast sums squandered away by the Court, have been severely cried out upon on one side; and the narrowness of the Supplies, and the great disproportion between the Money granted and the Services necessary to be provided for, especially in the first years after the Restoration, are as loudly complained of on the other. As the ends of different Parties have wanted to be served, things have been differently represented: and very different representations have been made on both sides, by Pamphleteers, Memoir-Writers, and some who have called themselves *Historians*; but seem so unworthy of this character, that they seem to have forsaken wilfully the first requisite of that office; and instead of not daring to say any thing that was false, have determined to speak nothing that was true. B 2 Let

Let every man therefore who has pen and ink, state the ordinary Revenue of this Reign for himself. All that I shall say about it, is, that it was intended at the Restoration to have been *Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year*, as appears from the *Journals* of the Commons: but whether made good or not, does not appear. — In my own opinion, I think not at first; and that afterwards it was raised to that sum: and by good management in the latter end of this Reign, and an addition in the next, was something above *Two Millions* at the Revolution; which then carried on all the Business of the Publick, of what nature soever it was.

The reasons I have for saying the King had not the full Provision of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds a year, (as resolved *Sept. 4. 1660*) at the beginning of his Reign, are these; 1. That at the end of that year there was a large Debt due to the Army and Navy, unprovided for. — 2. No notice had been taken of his Father's or his own Debts, which must be considerable. — 3. And lastly, the ordinary Revenue for this first year, did not reach the extraordinary Expences incurred at the Restoration.

The first may be demonstrated from the *Journals* of the House of Commons, where the Estimates are stated; which, if compared with the Sums given by Act of Parliament, shew the difference to be as below ¹.

¹ The sums given by Act of Parliament, and undoubtedly appropriated for the payment of the Fleet and Army, were as marked in the *Appendix*, N^o VI.

N ^o 1. which produced	_____	210,000 £.
4. _____	_____	252,167
5. _____	_____	140,000
9. _____	_____	420,000
	_____	992,167

But

The second reason is proved to be a good one, by the *Report* in the *Journal*, *Dec. 29. 1660.* which, after mentioning other Debts, concludes with a Memorandum, "That no part of the Debts of his present Majesty, either in *England* or elsewhere, are brought into this Account."

And the third will be established by comparing the ordinary Revenue this year with the Expence. Now the Revenue was, N^o 3. The

B 3 *Excise*

But as it appears by a Report of *Nov. 6. 1660.* that there then had been paid 250,000 £. and that there was then Assignments made of 413,000 £. out of the three first articles, amounting to 413,000 £. and the last sum was given afterwards, which amount in all to 1,083,000 £. it is plain, that 90,833 £. was likewise assigned out of the other Grants, perhaps out of N^o 2. which, though given for 140,000 £. would scarce produce more than would answer this sum, and defray the charges of collecting the rest. So that this takes off six branches of this year's Grants for paying the Fleet and disbanding the Army. And yet these would not do it: for by Report given in *Nov. 12. 1660.* after stating the Receipts of the three first articles above, and the Payments made out of them, there is given in as then wanting, to pay Officers and Mariners *Wages*, and disband the Army, _____ 670,868 £.

And for this Service the Parliament gave N^o 9. _____

in the *Appendix*, _____ 420,000

Which, besides the charge of collecting, fell short of the *Wages* due, _____ 250,868

There was due more for the Office of Ordnance, and the ordinary and extraordinary Expence of several years; as by said Report, _____ 429,951

And wanted for necessary Stores, as by ditto, — 200,000

In all — 880,819

Besides 25 Ships then under consideration, and those taken into the King's pay. — The *Wages* were stated to *Nov. 10.* but the Bill, N^o 9. had not the Royal Assent till *Dec. 29.* and by Report *Nov. 6.* the charges of Fleet and Army for pay was then 1100 £. a day; and so would now bring a proportionable charge, besides casual charges.

(22)

Excise for five Months, about 90,000 *l.* (for *Wines* now paid Customs) N^o 2. *Customs* for the same time, about 166,665 *l.* N^o 6. which was about 70,000 *l.* and some part of the unknown Produce of N^o 8. (for part of it was assigned to the Army; vid. *Journal, Dec. 3.* if not all, for the expression is dubious) so that I state nothing upon it. In all, the known Revenue came to 226,665 *l.* and the Grants made by the Convention, as appears from the *Journals*, came to above 340,000; which left another Debt of above 100,000 *l.* besides the Army and Navy Debt, his own Debts, and his Father's, and the necessary charge of the Government; which could not in all be much short of Two Millions, if you take in the Debts stated *Dec. 29. 1660.*

This was a heavy load, and no doubt occasioned the Assessment of 70,000 *l.* a Month in 1661, which made up the Revenue the year following 1,608,000 *l.* and half as much for the first half year in 1663. This, with good husbandry, might pay off some of the Debt, but not all.

In 1663, the ordinary Revenue was re-examined, and found below a Million, reckoning the Appropriations made to the Duke. This caused the Grant of the Subsidies, N^o 20. but after these, the ordinary Revenue had no addition but what could be made by management, till 1670, when the Impost on Wines, and the additional Excise were added, and made the 993,240 *l.* a year, which it was reckoned at in 1663, about 1,260,000 *l.* for the future; and by good management about a Million and half. So that, making due allowances for the deficiencies of the Taxes at first, and what the Revenue fell short of a Million in the beginning of this Reign, and the increase of Customs, &c. at the latter end, the ordinary Revenue,

I

(23)

venue, from the Restoration to the Revolution, does not seem, at an average, to have exceeded a Million and a half, yearly.

The Extraordinary Grants seem hardly to have answered the ends they were given for; at least, the Commons complain of no abuses in the application. It is said, indeed, a Million was yearly got by the Crown in the second *Dutch War*; but the Journals are silent.

This was the State of our affairs in this Nation sixty years ago, when the Governing Part of it had about a twenty fifth part of the yearly Product paid them by way of Taxes, for the carrying on the necessary business of the Community^k. And with this proportion, our political Writers have observed, that our affairs would go on smoothly, and the Nation be happy, by having its wealth properly distributed among the several Members that compose this our Body Politick; the Magistracy, the Landed Men, and the Traders. On the other hand, they proved to a demonstration, that if this proportion was greatly altered, and one order of men was drained to gorge another, this alteration would greatly impair the health and vigour, if it did not bring on the destruction of the whole. That the same pernicious effects would most certainly ensue upon the growth of any unnatural Tumor within the Body Politick; or by setting on a parcel of Leeches and Blood-suckers without.— In both which cases, the vital fluid would be either sucked up by extraneous Vermin, or turned into matter of disease; troublesome and uneasy, because preternatural, at first; and, if not remedied in time, mortal in the end. In a word, to speak without a figure, that as the Crown would be ruined if the Landed and Trading

B 4

Men

^k See the Distributions in the *Appendix*, N^o 4.

(24)

Men paid no Taxes or Customs; so must these last be undone, if taxed too much.

To what degree Taxes may be extended, before the raising of them becomes impossible, is not my business to inquire, nor do I think it would be prudence in any Ministry to try. — Our present inquiry is, Whether within these *sixty* years the Proportion abovementioned has not been greatly departed from? Whether Payments have not been levied upon the Landed and Trading Interests, not in the Proportion of a *Twenty fifth*, but of a *Fifth*, a *Fourth*, nay a greater share of their income? And lastly, Whether the manner of collecting these Taxes, and the consequences of them, are not worthy our consideration; as hereby a new, an upstart Interest has been created, different from the Governing, the Landed, and Trading branches of it; injurious at present to all; and, if much increased, necessarily big with destruction?

These Inquiries are of moment; and I will give you my thoughts on them in as plain a manner as I can. But to do it, these affairs must be stripp'd of that obscure language in which men usually talk about them; and as they are in fact only matters of common Business in life, should be treated in a plain manner as such, and not like deep mysteries.

We found, that in the term beyond the last Sixty years, the Money necessary for the Business of the Government during any one year, was raised within that year, by some plain regular Taxes. These Taxes we saw amounted to less than *Two Millions*; which served all the ordinary purposes of the Government, and were indeed the King's, being in the main bulk granted to him for Life, and applied by him accordingly to the occasions required; not excepting the pay-
ing

(25)

ing Interest for Money he had taken up out of Necessity, or Profuseness. Upon extraordinary occasions, as a War abroad, the Money necessary for carrying it on for a year, was raised by such or such a Tax within the year: and if the War was like to continue for two or three years, the Tax was laid for two or three years. If the first Tax proved insufficient for the purposes intended, another was laid, to make good what was wanting: But this was done upon the same foot as the former, that the Service of the year should be fully provided for by Taxes raised within the year; or if the Taxes laid one year fell short, they were immediately made up the next. And there was only this difference between the Ordinary and Extraordinary Revenue, that the last was strictly appropriated to the uses for which it was given, and every penny of it accordingly to be accounted for to Parliament.

This was a plain and easy way of management: Income and Expence, by this method, went hand in hand; and if any difference happen'd, it was soon discover'd, and set right. Not that I pretend to say, no Abuses did happen; I have, on the contrary, hinted at some: but they could not be very material; and the highest instance of such Abuses that I have seen, is mentioned by *Rapin*; which is this: That by the ordinary Income given to King *Charles* the Second, and the Jobs his Ministry had made in the conduct of his Wars, he was enabled *to enslave the Nation*:
“ And that in order to make his people feel the
“ Slavery he had newly imposed on them, he
“ affected to Review his Troops; and these
“ Troops amounted, by the return of the garrison of *Tangier*, to *Four Thousand* men effective
“ and well armed.” — A noble Standing Army!

Hitherto.

(26)

Hitherto, then, the Taxes paid to the Government had been in no excessive proportion, and were collected in a manner plain to be understood. But from this time the face of things began to alter: And I find, in a treatise wrote upon this subject *thirty* years ago, that when a Club of very able men set upon inquiring into the state of the Publick Revenue, their Committee reported, "That they found the Accounts relating to them so perplexed and intricate, as to disable them, at least speedily, from obtaining any true state of the Taxes, &c. farther than as found in the several Acts of Parliament: And that even the Acts themselves, relating to Money matters, are of late become so very numerous and long, as not to be easily read, and still harder to be understood!"

A very pretty account this: And, no doubt, were this Club to sit now, they would find things much mended, as our Debts, and consequently our Taxes, are almost doubled since their time! But however this may be, and though it might be difficult for them, as *exact* Inquirers, to discover clearly, or as nice Arithmeticians, to state exactly all the particulars of our National Affairs; yet I think it is not very difficult for a man of plain understanding to form a notion of them in the gross. And in order to it, let us make a supposition of an instance in private Life, which may furnish something like a parallel to our publick Affairs.

Let us suppose a Gentleman possessed of a competent Estate, consisting of Copy-hold Lands, the *Fines* for which, or the *reserved Rents*, to be paid by the *Tenants*, are at the Will of the Lord and a *Jury* of these Copy-holders, legally sworn at

¹ An Inquiry into the State of the Union, &c. Printed at London, 1717. p. 111.

(27)

at his yearly Courts. Suppose the nature of this Estate to be such, that these Tenants cannot well manage their Farms, maintain their families, and keep market, if the Rent paid to the Lord, for a Farm of Five and twenty Pounds a year, for instance, be more than Twenty Shillings. — Suppose farther, that either by the carelessness or extravagancy of the Master, or the knavery of his Stewards, the Income of this Estate will not answer the yearly Expences of the Lord, as it used to do in his forefathers days; and that hereby a Debt is contracted, or to be contracted. — If in this distress a man should, upon advising with his Stewards, and getting a Jury against the next Court, to be so far willing to assist him, as to raise their own Rents, and that of their Fellow Tenants, from 20 to 25 Shillings for every 25*l.* a year; it would be thought odd management, if he took such a step as I am going to mention.

Suppose he goes to a *Jew*, and tells him he wants a large sum of Money; and though the Interest he, the *Jew*, can receive by law is only 5 *per cent.* and for large sums usually less, yet if he will supply him he will pay ten, and for every Hundred Pounds lent, he shall have a Security for an Hundred and Twenty: nay, that this Security shall be undeniably good, for he and all his Tenants will join in assigning to him the advanced Rents of the Estate, to make his payments. — Accordingly the bargain is made. — Another year passes, and the Expences again exceed the Income, and more Money is to be raised. A new consultation is held, a second Jury obtained, and the Tenants Rents again advanced, and the *Jew* lends a second sum upon the same foot with the former. A third year goes on in the same manner, and a third sum is to be raised; giving

(28)

giving Bonds for 120 l. Principal, upon receiving 100 l. and paying Interest for the whole, at the rate of Ten per Cent. is now found to bear hard, and that, by this way of proceeding, these new-grafted Principals can never be paid. New Ways and new Means of borrowing Money are therefore proposed; and, after several Debates, it is determined to do it by way of *Annuities*; and a proposal is made and agreed to, that every Hundred Pound lent, shall entitle the Lender to Twenty Pounds a year, for 20 years, and then the whole to cease. This is cried up as a noble Project! For though the yearly Payments are a little high at present, yet in Twenty Years the burthen will be over, there being no Principal to be repaid. The Tenants Rents are to be raised a third time, to pay these Annuities; and to induce them to consent to it, they are told, that by the help of some *Water Courses*, their Estates shall be improved by the Lord, so as to make the payment of this third Advance a benefit to them. The Tenants are either gulled by these pretences, or the Jury at the Court-Leet bid, and all their Rents raised again.—The Lord's Expences still continue, or increase, and his Income grows less as his Tenants pay more: New Schemes are proposed and put in practice, different in name, and various in method, but still all alike in this, that *They are only so many several ways of borrowing Money at excessive Interest*, to be paid out of the sweat and blood of the industrious Tenant; till at last,—suppose—the Tenant able to pay no more, and the Lord not a bit the richer! —
You may say, “ Let us have no more of your Suppositions; what you have supposed already is impossible: For though we daily see men out-living their Incomes, and selling their Freeholds, yet in an estate so conditioned as you
 “ have

(29)

“ have stated the case, it cannot be supposed,
 “ that both Landlord and Tenants should agree
 “ to ruin one another. Where a man's Rent cannot be raised but by a Jury, who at the same time
 “ that they raise their neighbours Payments,
 “ raise their own too, it is absurd to think, that
 “ they will, year after year, deprive themselves
 “ of what should purchase the conveniencies,
 “ and even necessaries of life, for themselves and
 “ families; and in the end, do no benefit to the
 “ person under whom they live.” Besides, borrowing Money at such high Interest is monstrous!
 Monstrous as it is, if I am not wrong informed, it has been practised by very wise men, and the example followed by others *as wise*, and perhaps, *as honest*. I will give some instances of it in the first place, and then consider the other parts of the Objection above: And bring some Facts, likewise, to confront them.

The Parliament, we observed, in King *Charles's* Reign, intended the Sums, raised within the Year, should serve for the Year; and if the Court were bad Husbands, and spent Money before it was due, or got in, (which they did in some cases) then e'en let them pay Interest for what they borrowed on these occasions, till they could save enough to repay it. Complaints were made to Parliament, of *Anticipations*, but except full proof was made likewise, that the Money had been laid out in the necessary service of the Nation, no Relief was given.

But in the second year after the Revolution, what had before been complained of as a Hardship, was adopted as a good piece of Management. The Excise was settled on the King for life; and, THAT HE MIGHT NOT BE TIED TO THE HARDSHIP HIS PREDECESSORS HAD LAIN UNDER, OF WINDING
 THE

(30)

THE BOTTOM ROUND THE YEAR, HE WAS EMPOWERED TO BORROW 250,000 *l.* UPON IT, TO BE PAID WHEN THIS TAX PRODUCED IT.— This was called a *FUND of Credit*; and I believe that mysterious *French* word, which has since been an engine of destruction to thousands, was now first authenticated, as *Sterling English*. This Monarch did not sit *fourteen years* on the Throne, and yet contrived to *fund*, in this manner, about SEVENTEEN MILLIONS, beside the yearly produce of the Taxes: That is, he anticipated so much of the Revenue of his Successors; or, in plain *English*, he borrowed so much, and left them to pay it, and the Interest of it, when their Income should be greater than they could spend.

Perhaps, there might be a View in this, of getting the *monied men* to support that Crown, which the *landed men* had put on his head, and to interweave the private Interest of all the Creditors, with his publick one. But still, there was some measure to be observed in this; and after that turn was served, he must be but a half quarter Politician, who thinks of establishing the Throne of a King of *England* upon any lasting or solid Foundation, except the affections of his People: And if he gains these, by consulting their Interests, the Basis is immoveable.

But besides the Debt itself, the *manner* of contracting it was intolerable, and the Interest given oppressive; of which I meet with these instances. The Land Tax is payable within the year, and generally paid quarterly. “ In the year 1661, the *State Officers*, and *Privy Counsellors* of that time, became *Solicitors* to the *monied men* (as the Author before mentioned tells us ^m) to borrow only One or Two Hundred Thousand Pounds

^m *An Enquiry into the State of the Union, &c.* p. 65.

(31)

“ Pounds on the first Payment of the Land Tax, all payable within the Year. This, after some mean Condescensions, they performed, at the rate of *paying Twelve per Cent. per Annum in the whole.*”

About the same time, or soon after, there was about Two Millions and a half borrowed at two different times. “ For both these Sums, (we are assured upon authority of the Acts of Parliament, by which they were raised) that Ten per Cent. per Annum was really allowed.”ⁿ

In 1709, a Million and half was borrowed at Nine per Cent. per Annum: ° And several Sums had been borrowed in the former part of that Reign, at about Seven per Cent.^p And in 1711, by a method almost unintelligible, Money was borrowed for the publick service at about Thirty Six per Cent. per Annum. ^q One part of the method which heightened this last Money, was now first taken up, and, on account of its usefulness, at present practised under the title of *Præmium*, or Advance: It was no other than the frugal way, hinted at above, of giving security for paying an Hundred and Thirty Pounds, and Interest for it, upon having an Hundred lent. ^r

Strange Management this, in a country where the Government have, by very good laws, provided against the oppression of private persons, and laid a severe penalty upon every Usurer, who should extort a *Præmium* for lending an Hundred Pounds, or dare to take above Five Pounds for the use of it, for a year! But where Millions have been lent, Interest has been paid at the Rate of

ⁿ *An Inquiry into the State of the Union*, p. 72. Stat. 4. *W. and M.* c. 3. And 5, and 6. *W. and M.* c. 7. ° *Ibid.* p. 104. Stat. 8 Ann. c. 3. ^p *Ibid.* p. 98. ^q *Ibid.* p. 106. ^r See more Instances of this Management, in *Essay on probable Methods, &c.* p. 180.

of Ten, Twelve, nay near Forty per Cent. The only reason that has been given for this different way of going on is, that one is a private, the other a publick concern; that is to say, a Lord, or a rich Merchant, is to pay the Interest of Five or Six Hundred Pounds in one case, and in the other, this oppressive Interest, for Fifty or Sixty Millions, is to be wrung out of the sweat of the brows of the laborious Plowman, and industrious Manufacturer. For if you look into the several Acts of Parliament, that gave the Ministry power to borrow these Sums, you will find the means, made use of to pay the Interest of them, is, by taking something from the bulk of the People, (which contains the middling and poorer sort) which, before these Debts were contracted, they had for the maintenance of their families.

For example; some years ago the Ministry borrowed a Sum of Money, and laid a Duty upon every Hide that should be tanned, to be paid by the Tanner. The Tanner raises the price of his Leather, when he sells it, in proportion to the Tax he had paid before; and the same is continued by the Currier, and Shoemaker; so that when a Day-Labourer comes to buy a pair of Shoes, he pays Half a Crown, for what he might have purchased a Year ago, before the Duty was laid, for Two Shillings, except he avoids the Duty, by going to Plow barefoot. This may, at first view, seem but a trifle; but when several of these trifles are added together, when every Necessary of Life is, by degrees, paid a fifth, a fourth, or double the price for which they might have been bought before this Interest was raised, it is plain, the Day-Labourer cannot get so much of them for the use of his family by a quarter, or half, as he did before.

It

It may be said, the Labourer in this Case must raise his Wages. And the Question will be, Who must pay him? The Farmer, no doubt, who employs him, and is himself equally pinched by these Taxes, in getting the common necessaries of life for his family, as the Labourer; and must now, besides this, pay Fifteen, or Eighteen pence, for his Plowman's tilling a piece of land, which was before done for a Shilling. But he must tell his Landlord, he must lower his Rent: — Let it be done: And now the Burden rests somewhere; and somewhere it must rest, shift it from one shoulder to another as long as you will. Interest Money for EIGHTY MILLIONS Principal must be paid, though some Millions of it was never lent. And if it must be paid, it must be raised; and the way of raising it is ordered by law to be, by making every man, who eats or drinks, or wears shoes, or puts on a clean shirt, or burns a candle in a dark night, or enjoys the light of the Sun by day, to pay a Shilling, in some instances, for what he might have bought for Sixpence, within the memory of man; in other instances, to pay a Crown, for a Thing which formerly cost him nothing.

These Reflections are founded upon this Truth, That where large Sums of Money are raised upon a People, the bulk of that People are the persons who pay the Tax. And if this be true, as it is to a demonstration, it may be matter of wonder, that a people so heavily taxed, as we are said to be, should sit so easy under it.

We pay Interest for Eighty Millions, which at Four per Cent. and the Ways of collecting it, must be more than double to the whole Revenue of the Crown; or to speak more accurately, double to the whole Expence of the Court, Navy, Army, great Officers, and Pensioners of all de-

D

nominations,

(34)

nominations, &c. as they were distributed Sixty Years ago. We pay, besides this Interest Money, the ordinary Revenue of the Crown, in time of Peace, and extraordinary Taxes in time of War. But still with this difference, that the ordinary Revenue of the Crown formerly supplied all branches of the Government, but now, means only the Royal Household, or *Civil List*, exclusive of all other expences: And our extraordinary Payments in time of war, which were formerly spent on our own Army and Fleet, are now dealt out in *Subsidies* (as they are called) to foreign Princes, or given for the hire of foreign Troops—all this may be good policy, and for the *Interest* of the Nation. To murmur at things I do not understand, is not my temper; but one thing I do understand, and think I have, or shall, put it in such a light, that others may see it too. “That a country Farmer, who lived upon an Estate of his own of 200 *l.* a Year, Sixty Years ago, and then died, would, upon trial of a year’s house-keeping, if he was to be raised again, and placed at his Homestead, think his estate sunk at least one half in value:” And yet this man’s son, or grandson, calls his estate 200 *l.* a year, as before; though, in fact, he enjoys but half of it. His payments out of it are heavy, but many of them have been paid, as now, ever since he was born, and he is used to them; or, though real in fact, are not apparently Taxes in his eyes, and therefore he does not perceive them.

To make a calculation of this with exactness, can only be done by a person, who can come at all the materials necessary for such a purpose. He should have a List of the *army* of Officers (I do not mean military ones, for this is printed, and their pay known, but a *worse* kind) who are employed to gather Taxes, or to eat them up.

For

(35)

For many there are, as I am informed, who have places in the Customs, &c. from whence they receive an Hundred, or Two Hundred Pounds a year Salary, nay, perhaps, treble to this; and yet have no more to do in the King’s Revenue, than to give a Receipt for that part of it which they themselves receive. All these he should know, as well as those who do something of real Business; together with all their *Salaries* and *Perquisites*, what they receive fairly and above board, and what comes to pocket otherwise. In the next place, he should know the quantity of every Commodity consumed in the nation, for which any Tax is paid: He should know the quantity of the Tax levied upon every Pound, Bushel, &c. of these commodities; or else he will not be able to tell the advanced price they are now sold at, above what they were, before these Debts were contracted, and these Taxes laid; or would be, if they were taken off. A person who can have access to all our publick Offices, might obtain such lists as these; and by the assistance of a thousand of the best Arithmeticians in *England*, might make a tolerable guess, at what is now paid for the things eat, and drunk, and wore in the Nation, more than what was paid for the same quantity sixty years ago.

But this is a task too high for a private person, and too heavy for a single hand. All Taxes are not like the Land Tax, where the sum actually paid by the people, may be known with a little trouble, as well as the clear Money paid from it into the Exchequer. But in many, nay most other cases, the Tax is concealed, from publick view at least: Some goods of foreign growth are taxed before they come ashore; and some of our own, pay duty in a different shape from what they appear in when they are used. A cup of *Ale*,

D 2

for

(36)

for instance, does not seem to be very dear, at the rate of Two-pence, to a thirsty Farmer, when he receives the money for his grain at a Publick-House: The cup smiles in his face when brought in, and yet the poor creature has run the gauntlet of the Land Tax, the Malt Tax, the Excise, and the Hop Tax. Here are three Payments for a thing, which sixty years ago made but one: And if we suppose that in this, and many other articles, the price is only double now, to what it was then, I think it is not out of the way. The price of Salt is raised six times higher, by the Duty, than it was before. Other things still higher than this; and, what is yet worse, scarce any thing has escaped, but pays in some shape or other, and not at all the less severely, for the payment's being concealed. Perhaps, it might not have been good policy to have levied all these Taxes in the same open way by which the Land Tax is collected: They might have brought more to the Crown, but given uneasiness to the people. Excises and Customs upon all the Necessaries of life that are subject to them, raise the price of goods to the buyers of them as high, or higher, than if the Taxes upon them were gathered by quarterly Collectors: But then the payments are made quietly and privately by the first receiver and seller; and, though severely felt, do not half so much alarm the Farmer and Manufacturer, as if they saw the Tax-gatherers come quarterly to their doors with a formal Assessment. The *method* of payment in these instances is like a Trap, which pinches as severely, and takes hold more certainly, by being concealed; and destroys, only because it is not perceived.

A List of the several articles upon which these Taxes are laid, would be amazing, and therefore I shall not attempt it. Instead of saying what is
taxed,

(37)

taxed, which would take up much paper, I can mention three or four things which are not, and therefore may deserve the Consideration of some future Minister, who perhaps, at a dead lift, may borrow money upon them, if he will but give Forty or Fifty per Cent for it. The Articles I mean are, *Wool, Flesh-Meat, and Corn*: Now a Penny a Pound Excise to be paid by the Shearer upon the first; the same upon Beef, and other Provisions, to be paid by the Butcher, Poulterer, or other Venders, for the second; and Six-pence a Bushel for Wheat at the mill, and other Grain in proportion, is humbly recommended to make the Circle compleat. If it be said, that we are not yet arrived at this terrible situation: the fact is allowed, that we are not; the hint was intended for some future Ministry, not for the present Age; and if our Sons and Grandsons go on in the same tract our Grandfathers did, perhaps somebody some time or other may thank me for it. In the mean-time, let us reflect a little upon our own situation at present; and as the Management of our Forefathers has greatly affected us, let us consider what consequences our own Proceedings may carry down to future Generations. It appears, from what has been said, that the National Property has received a great alteration within these sixty years; let us enquire what *Effects* this great, this sudden alteration, may probably draw after it, either upon the Nation in general, or the *natural* parts it *properly* consists of, the Trading, the Landed, and the Governing Orders.

Besides the yearly Product and the yearly Consumption, it was before remark'd there was an Overplus yearly laid by, through the blessing of Providence upon the industry of our Merchants and Farmers, the sum total of which was called the *National Stock*. This Stock was reckoned,

D 3

in

(38)

in a judicious Treatise, published in 1699*, to be EIGHTY SIX MILLIONS in 1688; " which, " by being employed in Trade and the improvement of Lands, was then making a yearly " Increase of Two Millions and (near) a Half." Of this near Ten Millions was in Money, which is now said to be about Fourteen.

He tell us, " That the War with *France*, " and other circumstances of the Revolution, and " the Re-coining the Money, had then actually " diminished the said Stock about Twelve Mil- " lions, and hindered the increase of about Twen- " ty Eight Millions besides."

He tells us farther, " That the Nation would " not arrive to the same degree of actual Stock " which it had in 1688, till about the year 1705: " nor make the same increase it did in 1688, till " about the year 1706; *nor then neither, unless* " *the Taxes be considerably diminished*, and there- " by Commerce fully restored."

This was said when a Peace was concluded, which was expected to be a lasting one; but War ensued, and Taxes were again increased. Peace then followed, and, in the main, they were still increased. War again succeeded, and they more increased. But whether the National Stock has increased under these changes, or not, I cannot compute. If it has not increased at all, or but moderately, then we may boldly assert (as our National Debt is about Eighty Millions) that the whole Stock of the Nation, or the value of it, which was first stored up by the Merchant and the Farmer, is now almost entirely possessed by Usurers: But the yearly increase it is now making in their hands, we shall not presume to guess at.

The

* Essay on Probable Means, &c. p. 156.

(39)

The effects wrought upon Trade, by this great alteration of the National Property, may seem a matter of no concern to a Farmer; but I think in a very different manner; and know that our interests are the same, and that what hurts him, hurts me. If I furnish the Wool for making the Cloth he exports, or the Beef he victuals his ship with, he brings me home Gold for it, without which I could not pay my Rent; and when the Collector of the Land Tax comes, he might, instead of receiving his Assessment, drive off a Bullock; so that what disables him from Trading, hurts me as a Farmer. In *what manner* these Taxes we pay for Interest Money hurts Trade, is indeed out of my power to say, as I was not bred to that business; but I will give you my plain thoughts about it, and lay some passages before you out of authors, who are said to have wrote well upon it.

The first Thing that occurs is, that where Manufacturers pay heavy Duties for the necessaries of life, they must raise the price of their Goods; and if by this means the Merchant cannot sell in a Foreign Market at as cheap a rate as his neighbours, the *French* or *Dutch*, he may even go home again. Compare then the necessaries which the Manufacturer must have if he will live, and the materials he must use in his trade, and the several Taxes now paid for each, with the same articles as they stood free from these charges formerly, and judge what a difference of price is occasion'd by them in all the Goods we carry abroad. The author^p quoted above, said, near Fifty years ago, when our Taxes were not a quarter so heavy as now, that " There " are scarce any of these New Revenues which " do not give Trade some desperate wound.

D 4

" The

^p Id. p. 145.

(40)

“ The additional Duties upon Beer and Ale,
 “ and the Tax upon Malt, are apparently a
 “ burthen upon Woollen Manufactures, affect-
 “ ing the Carder, Spinner, Weaver, and the Dyer;
 “ who all of them must be raised in their wages,
 “ when the necessaries of life are raised to them.
 “ The consequence of which will be, that our
 “ Woollen Goods must come at a heavy and dis-
 “ advantageous price into the Foreign Markets.”

Another thing that appears strong in view up-
 on this head is, the number of hands employed,
 and the Sums of Money circulated in Foreign
 Traffick, which are in fact the great instruments
 that procure National Wealth. The Strength
 and Riches of a Nation consists in, and are pro-
 cured by the number of its industrious Inhabi-
 tants. Laborious Farmers furnish the materials,
 and skilful Manufacturers give the form to those
 commodities, which the Merchant carries abroad.
 And when the growing, working, and export-
 ing of those Products of the Land which we do
 not want for our own use, is attended with no
 discouraging Drawbacks, and they bring a sure,
 though moderate Profit, many hands and large
 sums will soon be employed about them; that is,
 Trade will flourish.

Lay heavy Taxes on every thing that is car-
 ried out or brought in, and it will dwindle in
 both these points. For first, the Hands em-
 ployed will be fewer; and our Author^a says,
 “ A Nation is not gainer in the general balance
 “ of Trade by the dealing of a few, who are
 “ able to employ in it great Stocks; such may
 “ make to themselves an immense gain, but they
 “ go but a little way towards enriching the *whole*
 “ Publick; which seldom thrives, but when, in
 “ a manner, the universal people bend their
 “ thoughts

^a Ibid.

(41)

“ thoughts to this sort of business; when every
 “ one is ready with his little Stock and small
 “ Sum, to venture and rove about the World:
 “ Of these, some prosper, and others are un-
 “ done; however, in the way of Merchandize,
 “ men who do not thrive themselves, may yet
 “ contribute very much to make their Country
 “ rich, which gets by the Dealings of all, and
 “ does not suffer by the unfortunate conduct of
 “ here and there a Merchant. But when the
 “ Customs are high, all these under Dealers, who
 “ all along in *England* have made up the chief
 “ bulk of our Trading Men, must hold their
 “ Hands; though in Skill, Industry, inventive
 “ Parts, and Wit, they may exceed Merchants
 “ of more Wealth, and of a higher rank. Nor
 “ is it indeed *practicable for men of but a mode-
 “ rate Fortune to deal at all, when more than tre-
 “ ble that Sum is necessary now to pay the King,
 “ which formerly would set up a substantial Trader,
 “ and maintain him in sufficient Business.*”

He gives an instance of one Imposition very
 hurtful to Trade, which is, the Duty upon Salt;
 but I do not think it worth transcribing. He
 lived in the infancy of Taxes, and might then
 descend to Particulars; *our* arguing is now to be
 upon *Universals*.

In the same manner he argued, that large Sums
 of Money, employed in the Stocks, would draw
 it off from Trade. And if the Doctrine of a very
 eminent Person is true, who says, the method of
 raising Money by Lotteries is of bad consequence,
 because every Million thus raised, hinders the
 circulation of three times that Sum in Trade;
 it is undeniable, that the Stocks are worse than
 Lotteries for the same reason: “ For while those
 “ immense Debts remain, the Necessities of the
 “ Government must continue, Interest must be
 “ high,

“ high, and large Premiums will be given;
“ and what Encouragement is there for Traf-
“ fick, when they can sit at home, and, without
“ any care or hazard, get from the State— Fif-
“ teen, and sometimes Twenty, Thirty, Forty,
“ and Fifty per Cent? Is there any Commerce
“ abroad so constantly advantageous?”

This he shews will hinder men from breeding their children to be Merchants, diminish the Stock employed in Trade, and contract the Bounds of it; decrease our Shipping, and finally weaken the very Sinews of our Nation, by destroying the Nursery of our Seamen.

In a word, the only instance of Trade I ever heard or read of being promoted by the Stocks, is one single branch of Exportation, which consists in carrying abroad of Cash, for the payment of Interest Money due to Foreigners. Unless perhaps it may appear some time hence, though not dream'd of at present, that the Dealers in them are the greatest Paper Merchants in Europe.

These were the consequences, which it was foreseen and foretold the Stocks either did or would bring upon Trade, when the Nation paid Interest Money for Seventeen Millions and a Half; and if the reasoning then made use of was just, and afterwards appeared to have been so by facts, it must follow, that now our Debt is more than Four times increased, its pernicious influence upon Trade is extended in proportion. Some particular Branches may flourish; but the long list of Bankrupts, which, like blights and barrenness, every week accompanies the account of Stocks in our our News-Papers, is a very melancholy proof of the state of it in general.

Let us carry our Eyes therefore to the Landed Interest, and try if the Prospect will brighten upon

* Id. p. 185.

upon us; but here I doubt we shall find Matters much worse. The value of Land depends greatly upon Trade, and if this declines, that must sink; and when Money, the Product of of Trade, is scarce, Rents will be raised with difficulty, and ill paid: Besides, all the heavy Duties laid upon the necessaries of life, whether of our own or Foreign Produce, which are but slightly felt, or shifted off from the shoulders of the Tradesman, fall upon the Farmer with their full weight. Compare a Tradesman whose Stock is Four or Five Thousand Pounds, with a Freeholder living upon an Estate of his own of the same value, and then judge who feels these Taxes most. In the first place, it requires no proof that the Consumer in the end pays the Duties, whatever they are, which are laid upon the Goods he makes use of; so that both the Trader and Farmer pay, in fact, the Duties upon Malt, Salt, Candles, &c. according to the quantities either of them use in their families.

Now the Trader can manage such a Stock as I have mentioned, by himself and an Apprentice, or at most with the assistance of a Journeyman; this he does in a house of Twenty or Thirty Pounds a Year Rent, where he keeps a couple of servants; so that his family may consist of Six or Eight persons. The Gentleman Farmer's family must at least be twice as large, for the management of his Farm, and consequently he pays twice as much, to the Taxes laid upon the necessaries of life, as the other.

The Stock in Trade of one, answers to the Land of the other; and no doubt, this Stock, when first bought in, comes dearer to the Trader in proportion to the Duties laid upon it; but when he sells it out again, whether in a Foreign Market or to the neighbouring Farmer, he raises

(44)

raises the price of his Goods, at least in proportion to the advanced Rate he gave on account of Customs, and thus is sure of the same Profit as if these Taxes had never been laid. The Tax still falls upon the last Buyer or Consumer, and always will do so; and though high Duties are a clog upon Foreign Trade, and may hinder the sale of large quantities of some sorts of Goods abroad, or of some articles of Luxury at home, yet the Necessaries of Life must be had, and *there* the Seller's Gain will not be lessened, however the price of his Goods is advanced. These Duties then hurt not the Trader, because the weight of them falls elsewhere; but the Land Tax, which is a sort of Parallel to them, lies wholly upon the Gentleman Farmer, who for his Hundred and Fifty or Two Hundred Pounds a Year, shall pay Thirty or Forty Pounds, while the Trader pays Four or Six for his House; and then what compleats the whole is, the utter inability the Farmer lies under of licking himself whole again, by raising the price of his Goods, as the Trader did. Wheat is the Farmer's staple Commodity; and by it the prices, and consequently the gain, upon all other Necessaries of Life are regulated; and this we know is about Four Shillings a Bushel, at an average; as it was before the Taxes were laid.

I omit the Payments to Church and Poor, because they are not properly Publick Payments, though the last is greatly affected by them. But to these likewise you will find, the Farmer generally rated at Five or Six times the Sum paid by a Tradesman, possessed of an equal Property, merely because this Property appears in a different shape.

In a word, he bears his share of every Tax paid by his Fellow Subjects; and if in some instances

(45)

stances, the proportion he contributes is equal, in many others it is greater than what is levied upon any other person of the same Fortune; the Tradesman seems to come nearest him, but in truth has much the advantage of him; his way of Life is easier, his Profit surer and greater, and his payments to the Publick less. Let us only add one consideration more, and we shall see where the weight of these immense Taxes rest; I mean, that all Taxes whatever, which bring in large Sums to the Publick, rise from the bulk of the people; but the bulk of this Nation will be found, upon a cursory view, to consist of the Occupiers of Land, and persons employed in the several Branches of Farming. And though the Traders in *London*, and Manufacturers in other great Towns, may, if our Seamen be added to them, appear a very large body, yet if the Farmers and Husbandmen of the whole Kingdom be compared with them, the disproportion will immediately appear, and the inequality of all other Orders of Men to this, be fully acknowledged. So that this is a full proof, in every particular, that the main of our Taxes, whatever they are, must, from the number of men which this rank contains, from the manner of our Taxations, and from the nature of their Property, be in the end levied upon them. And thus the most useful, because the most industrious set of men in the Kingdom, are the most heavily loaded; and whilst they labour harder than any other people in raising the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, in the end, enjoy the least share of those Products, which, under Providence, are owing to the Sweat of their Brows.

This is no new Doctrine, but was the Voice of the times, when these Debts began first to rise to any considerable bulk. A Writer in 1695, who

(46)

who seems to have been a Courtier by the various Schemes he proposes for furnishing the Government with Money, delivers himself thus. "All Taxes whatsoever, are, in their last resort, a charge upon Land." And again, "If these high Land Taxes are long continued, the Landed Men must inevitably be driven into the hands of Scriveners, Citizens, and Usurers, except some few of the most wary Families." And another Tract published in 1698, when the National Debt was grown to Seventeen Millions and a Half, says, "Where the Publick is indebted, a large proportion of the Revenues, arising from the Annual Income, must issue out to the satisfaction of those Debts; from whence follows, that the *Land and Labour of the People* must go to enrich the Monied Men and Usurers, and not to support the Government." And again, "If we let a Debt long continue,—we pleasure one part of the people at the expence of the other; that is to say, we gratify the Monied Men and Usurers, *who are the Drones of the Commonwealth*, at the cost of the Landed Man, the Farmer, and the industrious Merchant."

Many more quotations might be made from the Writers of those times to the same purpose. The Debt was then but small to what it is at present, and yet they were all alarmed at the Consequences of it, and unanimously foretold, that if it was continued or increased, it would deeply affect the Government, the Trading, and the Landed Interests. They asserted, that all these, in their turns, would feel the pernicious influence of this new Constitution of the Publick Payments; but that its first, and strongest impression, would be upon

* *Essay on Ways and Means*, p. 153.

* *Id.* p. 157.

† *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, p. 199.

* *Id.* p. 201.

(47)

upon the last; that it would ruin the Yeomanry, and distress the Gentry; and, by causing a scarcity of Money among them, would hinder the Poor from being employ'd, and by consequence create an Universal Poverty.

How far these Assertions were well founded, and how truly these Predictions have been fulfilled, every man must know, who has taken a ride in the country at Eighty or a Hundred miles distance from *London*. A Banker in his shop, or a Stock-Jobber in *Change Alley*, because he sees nothing there but Gold and Silver, foolishly thinks that all parts of the Nation abound with it alike. But if an advantageous Purchase offers in the Country, let him take a view of two or three of the Villages that he has in Mortgage, or those that lie round them, and he will find the scene much altered; a house that appears at a distance large enough, and fine enough to be the Seat of a Justice of Peace, or the Lord of the Mannor, it is odds will be found, on coming nearer, to have Five parts in Six of the windows it once had in it stopp'd up, the tiling decay'd, and out of Twenty chimneys not above One that has any smoke. Let him proceed from Village to Village throughout the Kingdom, and except some few places which have had the fortune to strike out some Manufacture, he will find manifest signs of decay at least, if not of desolation. I need not go about producing proofs of this to you, Sir, who have instances enough of it in your neighbourhood. The Township were you was born consists of Twenty houses; Eighteen of these about Fifty years ago were inhabited by Freeholders, from Sixty to Two Hundred Pounds a Year, who all lived upon their own Estates; at present there is but One man in it who owns a bit of the Land that he occupies. In the Pa-
rish

(48)

rish were you now live, you observed, that there are Seventy odd Families, and that at the same distance of time, Forty of them were Freeholders, and Six of these worth above Two Hundred Pounds a year each. There is not a man in the Parish now, except yourself and the Vicar, who is not a Tenant at Will: And the Poor's Levy, which in 1708 was not Seven Pounds for the year, is now above Fifty. I do not however assert, that the number of Freeholders is much diminished in these Two cases, but that the Property possessed by them is much altered. The families that possessed Two Hundred Pounds a year, have not now above Twenty, the rest being gone to very rich families near them. So that it is the middling men who are first ruined, and Estates are either growing very large, or dwindling to nothing.

These are very strong instances of the powerful operation of our Payments to the Publick; and though I will by no means affirm that the case is universally as bad, yet in some I can prove it much worse. These Taxes came upon the Farmer by degrees, the Payment was in most instances concealed from his view, and where it was seen in the true shape of a Tax, Hopes were entertained that it would be only for the present year, and no longer. To this the greatness of the Sums raised did not contribute a little, which so much exceeded all former Taxes, that the entire Reduction of *France*, at least *up to the Walls of Paris*, was expected in consequence of them every Campaign. In the mean time, the poor Farmer's House Expences went on as usual; or if some Savings were proposed, they fell very much short of the increase of his Taxes. Debts were contracted, younger children to be provided for, and the old hospitable House-keeping to be main-

I

(49)

maintained: The land did not appear beggarly, but produced as good Crops as usual, and the Markets were as brisk, and Corn and Cattle sold as well as ever; and therefore, the way of living was not altered. But however fair the condition of these men appeared outwardly, there was a canker at the heart: The natural and artificial Products of the Nation were nearly the same as they had been Ten Years before, without any remarkable increase; the Government had at least as great a Share out of these as usual; the Merchant did not complain, for Trade did not greatly decline; and the Landed Men were easy, having lately rescued their Liberty and Property from ruin, and fenced them with such Laws, as would render them safe to all posterity; and though the struggle in doing this occasioned some Demands at present, yet that would soon be over, and the purchase was cheap. In the mean time, some *new Men*, from *low beginnings*, appeared all of a sudden to be possessed of vast Fortunes, which could neither drop out of the clouds, nor were they brought from any new discovered *Indies*, nor could they rise from nothing. If this Wealth was *real*, then some Part of the National Store, which before was distributed among the three Sets of men above-mentioned, must have been snipped off from them, and put into these Upstarts Pockets. —And this was in truth the case; for though the Hundred Pounds a Year came as usual into the Freeholder's Pocket, yet when he went to buy the necessary Provisions, or Cloathing for his Family, the several articles he wanted, were so raised by the new Taxes, laid on each of them for paying the Interest due to these *new Men*, that Five Pounds would not buy so much, as Three would have done a few years before. The man's Land remained in appearance as it did before,

E

and

(50)

and he received the Income of it; but as to any real Benefit that he had from it, he was as much deprived of it, as if a third part of it had been sold away from him, or sunk in the sea. However, there was some hopes of retrieving, as many of these Taxes were laid only for Three Years, or a little longer, at the End of which they were to cease, and would then have paid off all the Money borrowed upon them. But at Three Years end, the Debts were increased, and the Taxes for paying the Interest of them laid heavier in proportion. And happy was the Farmer, who could be so fortunately distrustful as to suspect, that what was the practice of Six Years, might be continued on perhaps for Sixty. The man who was fully persuaded that the Payments now levied upon himself, and declared by Parliament to be intended only for Three Years, were, in fact, of that nature, that neither he nor his posterity could ever have any hopes of being freed from, would take care to retrench betimes: He might think it a little hard, to have first one part of his Estate, and then another, taken from him and his Family, and assigned over to Harpies, who had lent Money to supply the wants of their Country in its distress at Forty or Fifty per Cent; but then he would take care to make the best of the remnant that was left: Whereas every man who had not this foresight, and therefore went on as usual, spending an Hundred Pounds a Year, when, in truth, his Income was but Fifty, would soon be reduced to such a situation, as to be an object of great pity, because reduced from one of the best situations in the Realm to one of the worst. How many such objects as these are now sitting lonely in the corners of those Villages, where their ancestors lived in plenty, and getting a sorry maintenance by the tillage of a nook of that Estate, which

(51)

would have been looked upon but as a poor retreat for their Grandfather's Shepherd, I shall not pretend to calculate: Let the number be as small as you please, (and I wish it was an hundred times less than it is) it is plain, that if these ruinous measures are pursued by future generations, and Taxes go on to be doubled and trebled for Sixty Years more to come, the consequences must be such as these:—The best and most valuable set of men in the Nation, the *Yeomanry of England*, will be extinguished; and if Trials by Juries are the greatest Blessings we enjoy, we shall be deprived of these blessings, if the men who compose our Juries sink into poverty and ignorance. A large share of our National Council is sent up by these people; and it would be a strange alteration of affairs to hear the Knights of Shires tell the House, “That their Constituents had many grievances to be redressed, but no Money to pay.”

But I stop my pen from going farther:—These consequences will fully shew themselves the nearer they approach; and though the prospect may be pleasing to the eyes of a *Jew*, whose Harvest it is, yet to an *Englishman* it can be no very agreeable object, to see his country reduced to a state of Poverty, Ignorance, and Barbarity.

I have now given you some of my thoughts, what effects our present Taxes have, or may have, upon the Landed and Trading parts of the nation, and you perhaps will expect I should carry my reflections on to the remaining order of men, who govern us: But matters of State fall not in my way of observation, who am a plain Country Farmer. However, not to disappoint you, I will give you my opinion, what *may be* the fruits of these Taxes; wherein, if I suppose things which never have been, nor ever will be, yet if there is but a possibility of any thing like this coming to

(52)

pass, it is enough for me; and may warn you, as a Member of Parliament, to promote the best, and guard against the worst of any thing that may happen.

Let us imagine then in the land of *Utopia* the same way of proceeding in Money affairs to be pursued in all cases, that the Ministry, about fifty years ago, pursued in some here; till every article of foreign Trade, or home Production are taxed to the full, and those Taxes mortgaged for as much as they are worth. At this juncture, suppose the Crown to be placed on the Head of a wise and good Prince, whose penetration shall direct him to choose an able and an honest Council. Let every measure be pursued that is fit to promote the publick Interest; and that, among other things, it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of Trade, to engage in a foreign War. Extraordinary Supplies must here, of consequence, be raised; and yet, by the necessities of former times, or the management of former Ministers, every method of raising Money is forestalled; every avenue, from which any assistance can be got, is closed up! This wise and virtuous Administration may have the Voice of their *Landed* and *Trading* Subjects with them, pronouncing all their measures right and good: But if the ordinary charge of the Government, and the payment of the annual Interest due on former Debts, be the utmost that these men can raise, their Approbation will be only an empty, fruitless applause. — If in this exigency a Scheme be at last proposed, which, though it affects the very vitals of the Community, will be a present relief, and bring in Two hundred Thousand Pounds a year certain; we need not doubt but in this necessity it will be closed with, and put in practice. This income will defray the

(53)

the Interest of Four Millions at 4 per Cent. and because the *Occasion* is *pressing*, let the old method be once more put in practice, and that Sum be borrowed on it at the rate aforesaid, with a *Premium of Ten Pounds for every Hundred* subscribed; and let Books be opened for a General, Fair Subscription.

These terms may be thought high ones by the persons who are to be taxed for this; but the question is, will the Monied Men, who are to be the Lenders, be of the same opinion? Will the *Hebrew Jews*, the *English Jews*, and the *Dutch Jews*, who alone have it in their Power to furnish such a Sum as this, and have formerly made 30 or 40 per Cent. of their Cash upon less pressing occasions than this, be content with *four* now? The laws of charity, Christian charity, can hardly be expected to be the Rule of action to *Jews*. The general Maxim of these men is, That another man's loss is their gain; and their constant practice is, to make the most they can of their neighbour's necessities.

Let the determination of such men, in such a case as this, be as favourable as you can suppose it, yet surely most deplorable is the situation of that Prince, and that People, who, from the summit of wealth and grandeur, shall be reduced so low, as to have their counsels subject to the controll of Bankers and Stockjobbers, and the measures that are necessary for their safety, obstructed by a set of men who have got all their wealth under that very Government, which they now refuse to assist. For to suppose that men of this stamp will deny their assistance, and withhold their Money, except their own exorbitant terms are complied with, is a much more reasonable supposition than the opposite one. If Fame says true, something like this did hap-

(54)

pen within less than a century, in a country not far from our own. The story says, that under much the same situation, and nearly upon the same terms that I have mentioned, a Subscription was proposed in a neighbouring Nation. Upon hearing of it, a set of the chief monied men entred into a combination, and in consequence of it, made a proposal to the Government, That if they might have such a share of it as they mentioned, they would engage their own and their friends Purfes to furnish the sum that was wanted. The Share they demanded was of that nature, that it was plain, if they were possessed of it, they would have it in their power to make their own markets, and sell the Government Bonds, which they gave a hundred Pounds for, at Twenty per Cent. immediate profit. This was not thought fair and equal dealing, and so the proposal of the Clan was rejected, and the Subscription left open. The consequence was, that though a third part more was subscribed for than demanded, yet these men so effectually locked up their own and their colleagues chests, and stopped the Remittances from abroad, that when the Army took the field, and the Money was wanting, there was not cash enough to be got out of the whole Subscription to make good the first payment. So that had not the Ministry *surprisingly* exerted themselves, the Army must have been ruined by Mutiny, Famine, or the Enemy; or the Nation have been compelled to violate every engagement it had entred into.

Let this story be true or false, as it will, the thing is possible; and though we are not liable to any thing like this at present, yet it may come to pass in future ages, if the Necessities of the Government shall rise so high, as to subject it

(55)

it to raise its extraordinary Supplies upon such terms as *Change-Alley* and *Lombard-street* shall vouchsafe to grant. If this should ever come to be our case, though Wisdom and Virtue presided at our councils, and directed all their determinations to the publick Good, yet would they be all insignificant, for want of Power to carry them into execution.

If this supposition of a wise and good Prince, and a wise and good Ministry, seem too romantick to exist together, let us frame a different one. — Imagine then in the same country of *Utopia*, a King endowed with every personal good quality requisite to make a people happy, but cursed in a Prime Minister; a Villain! who, by a train of low services, shall work himself into the Royal Favour, only to abuse it: a friend to the Person and Family of the Prince upon the Throne in profession, but entirely devoted to the Interests of an opposite Claimant in his Heart: who therefore, like *Satan* crept into Paradise, shall insinuate himself into confidence, that he may accomplish those ends by treachery, which he knows it impossible to effect by open force.— If such a Wretch as this shall have the art to gain his Prince's ear, and the precaution to bar it against every body else, it is no absurd supposition, to imagine him filling it with such doctrines as these: “ That the *Utopians* are naturally a turbulent factious People; and that the only way to keep them quiet, is to keep them poor. That the only methods of securing the Allegiance of any order of men, are either Interest or Force. That the Monied Men, as they are possessed of the Sinews of War, are the true strength of every Nation; and that the sure way to unite them to the Crown, is to borrow their Money: For the more Debts

E 4

“ a

“ a King has, the more friends he gains; because
 “ his Creditors will be loyal out of Interest.
 “ That the Landed Men are to be managed by
 “ the opposite means; for though they projected,
 “ undertook, and completed a great Scheme
 “ some years ago, whereby the Crown was settled
 “ where it now rests, yet are they every man of
 “ them disaffected; and therefore, the only way
 “ to make them obedient, is to reduce them so
 “ low that they shall not have it in their power
 “ to be otherwise.”

By such maxims as these may a very good Prince be deceived, and pursue bad measures; not for want of intending, but for want of knowing better. Instead of suppressing Faction, he may think it his business to encourage it, that he may balance one party against another, and make sure at least of one side. Instead of uniting all his subjects together, and connecting them to the Crown by the tie of common Interest, he may judge it to be for his security to divide them, and gain one rank of men by Favours, to help him to manage the other by Force. Hence he will drain one part of his subjects to enrich the other; and whilst one set of men wallow in affluence, another, by variety of Taxes, shall be exhausted to the last penny, and treated like a conquered province.

This, I take it, would be something like the consumptive plan mentioned in the pretended *Apology of a late Minister*; and if ever there should rise a man so wicked as that person is there pictured, who shall be able to get as much confidence reposed in him, as the pretended author is said to have enjoyed; then may the world expect to see another Prince added to the list of those, who have been brought to destruction by their own Counsellors. In such a case, it would be no wonder

wonder to see such measures recommended and espoused at Court, as would naturally alienate the hearts, and inflame the passions of the Country: It would be no wonder to see such a man as this first advising oppressive measures, and then underhand fomenting the heart-burnings they occasioned; prevailing with his Master to adopt his pernicious projects, on purpose that they may inflame; and going on from one ruinous step to another, till he has made the people mad, and brought his Scheme to full ripeness: Then the mask is pulled off, and the man blames as a Patriot what he had advised as a Counsellor, joins in the cry which himself had raised, and throws all the hatred of an injured, insulted Nation upon the Throne; and from a bosom-friend becomes a betrayer, and makes his terms with the New Prince upon the solid merit of selling the Old one.

If you think neither of these cases probable, let us try a third imaginary possibility. Suppose a Prince of an enterprising genius mounted upon the Throne, who may not relish being a King upon such terms, as a constitution limited like ours prescribes; but may be desirous of being such a King as we read of upon the Continent near us; in a word, who shall aim at ruling without any Parliaments at all, or with *such* Parliaments, as shall have nothing but the *outward appearance* of any one quality which these august Assemblies among us enjoy in *reality*. Should this Prince then resolve to make himself master of the liberties of *Utopia*, I imagine he must proceed by one of these two ways, which are common both to Military and Civil Engineers; that is, he must either work by Sap and Undermining, or attack by open Force and downright Storm—Soldiers say, the former is the safer, and yet as certain a method of carrying a place as the latter. Consider

sider then, whether the *manner of collecting* such a Revenue as ours is, and the great number of Officers that may in time be employed in it, may not so influence Elections, and thereby affect the very Constitution of Parliament, that the members of it shall be any thing you please to call them, but the Representatives of the people. Or if this be not done, let it be considered, whether the Revenue itself may not be applied by Court Candidates, to be a set of Electors with part of those Taxes which they themselves have paid, and which will be sure to be laid thicker and heavier upon them, in proportion to the Sums spent among them at a Voting. Or it may be considered, if Corruption becomes general there, both within doors and without (beyond any thing we ever heard of) and Candidates for Parliament spend a Thousand Pounds among their Electors, that they may receive ten times as much in Places and Pensions, whether a Prince or his Minister may not govern in as arbitrary a manner with *such* Parliaments, as if there was no Parliament at all.

On the other hand, if the Prince shall be of a more generous way of thinking, and have too much of the Hero in his composition to submit to this low way of dealing by Bribery and Pensions, and so shall prefer the latter way of proceeding openly and avowedly; let it be considered, whether (if their Taxes rise higher than ours are) the thing which is impracticable here, may not be very feasible there: — If the maxim so often mentioned be true, that Power follows Money, I think it may. The examples of some of our best Princes, who were never suspected of having any designs upon our liberties, might be alledged for keeping up a standing army of 20,000 men in times of peace. Now if these Troops be well disciplined,

disciplined, well armed, and especially if they be properly commanded, by such Officers as *Cromwell's* Agitators were, resolute *Soldiers of Fortune*, who had nothing to lose, and therefore nothing to fear but offending their General, from whom they had every thing to hope; I think they would scarce meet with a force able to cope with them; especially if the higher rank of Gentlemen in *Utopia* should be complimented with a power of the same nature as our *Game Laws*, it is easy to suppose, they would as effectually disarm their Tenants and neighbouring Yeomanry, as the *Higblanders* are now disarmed by law for Rebellion, and thereby make all resistance impossible.

Nothing could be wanting here but Subsistence Money, and if the same person who commissions and pays the Military Officers, should commission and pay likewise the Officers of the Revenue; if the Interest of the Debt collected by them should be about Four Millions, and the Prince's settled Revenue about Two more, I think provision might be made for this point very easily: At least if the current coin there be supposed about Fourteen Millions, as ours is, near half the National Cash might be in the Prince's coffers, before his intentions were known; and then if it was his Royal Will and Pleasure to place part of it in the hands of a gallant and trusty Soldiery, instead of letting it be polluted by the dirty hands of *Jews* and Usurers, I do not see who would dare to contradict him.

We of this nation are in no manner of danger of seeing our affairs in such a situation as I have been figuring of *Utopia*; at least we are secure at present, and let posterity take care of itself. Some people indeed have had strange thoughts what this new Constitution of things, as to distribution of property among us, may at last end in; especially

(60)

especially if our Taxes proceed in growth for a few years longer: But whether they have concluded that any of the cases I have mentioned may be our lot, I know not. Some men I imagine have suspected as much, and I guess so from the various methods they have had under consideration, for taking away, or at least stopping the growth of this unnatural part of our constitution. Some were for resuming and taking back what the lenders to the publick had exorbitantly gained by high Premiums and immoderate Interest; and this no doubt would have sunk the principal Debt very much.

Others were for doing that to *publick* Creditors, which has been often, without effect, aimed at as to *private* ones; that is, they were for taxing their Money, which in this case it was not possible to conceal, as it was practiced in the other. This was but justice; for as Money at Interest brings the most easy and certain profit of any kind of property, it ought in reason to pay a proportionable share to the expences of the Government, under which the Proprietors live: And lastly, another way proposed, was to reduce the Interest of those Sums, which were borrowed at high rates, to the same level as the rest, and to apply the savings thus made to the discharge of some of the Principal yearly; by which it was plain, the whole Debt would in time be paid off. This method was pitched upon, and the Surplusage, yearly rising from the Interest thus abated, was the famous *Sinking Fund*: This was established in the year 1716, and by the plan of it, there was full provision made for the payment of every Debt then standing out in Two and Thirty Years: And had this Scheme been as well executed as it was wisely planned, your business in Parliament this Session would have been to raise the neces-

(61)

sary Supplies for the year 1749, which would have been all the Taxes we should have had. But alas! though this Master-piece of a political Engine has been all this while at work, and should by this time have drawn off all our Debts, they are, by some means or other, rose from Fifty to Eighty Millions. What means of relief must now be applied, the wisdom of the Nation must determine.—The case is bad, and the Event may be fatal. To ask redress of Grievances is the privilege of an *Englishman*; and it is no Faction to apply for it in a modest, legal manner. What method you may choose to proceed in, I know not; but was I any considerable Proprietor of these Funds, I should not be easy till I saw some method fixed upon for lessening both the Debt and the Taxes; nay, I should desire it, though it was by taxing my Principal in proportion to the rate the Freeholder pays for his Land: And I am put upon this way of thinking from a Christmas Game, which the Servants are now playing at by the fire-side, which in the end may possibly bear some resemblance to the Stocks, if some remedy be not applied: The Game is this;—They stand in a circle, and deliver a Fire-stick from one to another, which every one is obliged to hold while he repeats a set form of words; and he, in whose hand it goes out, is the sufferer. It would be a very proper diversion for *Change-Alley*, and very easily learned. All the form is, “*Jack's alive, and alive like to be; Jack's alive, and alive like to be; but if he dies in your hand, your back shall be saddled, &c.*”

I am, &c.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Journals of the House of Commons, relating to the Revenue of the Crown.

N^o I.

1660. Sept. 4. £. S. d.
SR. H. Finch reports from the Committee to consider of a Revenue to be settled on the King, and the state of the late King's Revenue. An estimate of the present Revenue, and several Resolves of the said Committee, *viz.*

The late King's Revenue from 1637 to the year 1641 inclusive, communibus annis, did not amount unto 895,819 5 0

Whereof did arise, partly by Payments not warranted by Law, partly expired 210,493 17 4

685,315 7 8
That

£. S. d.

That the Expences of his late Majesty's Government were about 200,000 a year above the Receipt, in which computations the Incomes arising by Ship-money are not included.

That by estimation, the present Revenue of the King may be computed at about 819,398*l.*
viz.

By the Customs	400,000	0	0
The Composition for the Court of Wards	100,000	0	0
The Revenue of Farms and Rents	263,598	0	0
The Office of Postage	21,500	0	0
The Proceeds of <i>Dean Forest</i>	4,000	0	0
The Imposition of Sea Coal exported	8,000	0	0
Wine Licenses and other additions	22,300	0	0
	<u>819,398</u>	0	0

Of which Sum, being part of the 263,598*l.* for Farms and Rents, is casual and for the most part lost, *viz.* 45,698 17 7

So agreed to be certain and good 773,699 2 5

Resolved, that the present King's Majesty's Revenue shall be made up 1,200,000 a year

N^o

N^o II.

1661 June 18.	£.	£.
S R Philip Warwick reports, the Revenue that	per Ann.	
The Customs formerly valued, at —	500,000	} would fall short
The Excise valued	300,000	
The Crown Lands valued at —	120,000	
That the estimate upon the Advance of the Queen's Jointure at —	50,000	
That forfeited Estates estimated at —	38,000	
That the Wine Licenses estimated at	25,000	10,000
	<u>1,033,000</u>	<u>265,000</u>

So that the clear Revenue was only — 768,000
 Which was less than King Charles I. had.
 Referred to a Committee to consider how to make up the defects.

N^o

N^o III.

£. S. d.	1663 June 4	£. S. d.
Future full Value per Ann.	A Report of the present Value of the several Branches of the Revenue.	Per Ann.
400,000 0 0	The Customs let to farm from Michaelmas 1662 for 5 years at —	390,000 0 0
	The Revenues in Lands, and Rents in the Exchequer, and Dutchies of Lancast-er and Cornwall, including,	
100,000 0 0	The Queen's Jointure, if well managed, besides Forests, Parks & Chases unimproved —	100,000 0 0
	Dean Forest, Sir John Winter being satisfied, and 1,400 Acres inclosed and improved, may raise	
5,000 0 0	constant —	
274,950 0 0	Excise of Beer and Ale, now worth —	274,950 0 0
170,603 12 0	Hearths and Stoves as now certified —	170,603 12 0
18,800 0 0	First Fruits and Tenth, com. ann. —	18,800 0 0
26,000 0 0	The Coinage and Pre-emption of Tin now valued at —	21,500 0 0
<u>995,353 12 0</u>	Carried over	<u>975,853 12 0</u>

F

The

(66)

£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
995,353	12	0	Brought over	975,853	12	0
			The Post Office in lease, 4 years to come	21,500	0	0
26,000	0	0	Wine Licenses, as now settled	20,000	0	0
20,000	0	0	Alienation Office produceth, commu- nibus annis, 3600 <i>l.</i> whereof 1546 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> is paid into and ac- counted for by the Hanaper, so produc- eth clear	2,050	8	0
2,600	0	0	The Profits of the Seals of the King's Bench and Common Pleas in lease, at 1653 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> paid in- to the Hanaper year- ly, but esteemed worth 1500 <i>l.</i> per ann. more	1,653	14	0
3,153	14	0	The Profit of Six- penny Writs in Chancery, in lease at 1000 <i>l.</i> per ann. paid into the Hana- per yearly, but esti- mated to be worth more, com. annis, 375 <i>l.</i> clear	1,000	0	0
			The Hanaper Of- fice receives 1546 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> out of the Ali- enation Office, and 1653 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> for the farms of the Seals of the King's Bench & Common Pleas, and			
1,047,107	6	0	Brought over	1,022,057	14	0
						1000 <i>l.</i>

(67)

£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1,047,107	6	0	Brought over	1,022,057	14	0
			1000 <i>l.</i> for the Six- penny Writs in Chancery, and all Profits of the Great Seal computed at 1500 <i>l.</i> per ann. but all is spent in this Office.			
1,500	0	0	Post Fines in Lease at	2,276	6	0
3,000	0	0	Issues of Jurors in Lease at	1,000	0	0
1,068	0	0	Greenwax in lease at	577	5	5
1,068	0	0	D ^o in the Dutchy of Lancaster			
200	0	0	Alnage in lease at Newcastle Coals at 1 <i>s.</i> per Chaldron for the inland vent only	997	1	11
3,000	0	0	Balast of Ships en- joyed by Trinity House	1,834	12	6
8,000	0	0	Faculties included in the Hanaper	400	0	0
1,000	0	0	License of Expor- tation of White Cloth leased at	100	0	0
400	0	0	Prifage and Butler- age of Wines in lease at	500	0	0
800	0	0	Traitors Estates estimated at 8000 <i>l.</i> per annum, whereon were 27000 <i>l.</i> Debt, and many Incumb- rances & Jointures, reckoned clear	5,000	0	0
2,000	0	0				
5,000	0	0	Carried over	1,034,742	19	10
1,074,143	6	0	F 2	Recufants		

(68)

£.	S.	d.		£.	S.	d.
1074,143	6	0	Brought over	1,034,742	19	10
			Recufants Estates as they were before the Troubles.			
			There are no Con- victions.			
18,000	0	0	Future			
			Present			
<hr/>			Whole Revenue.	<hr/>		
1,092,143	6	0		1,034,742	19	10



Nº

(49)

Nº IV.

The Crown Revenue and its Allotments in King Charles II. Time.

	July 22. 1668. Sr Wm. Cowen-try.	Ending at Christmase 1675. The Lord Treasurer.	Reduced for the next Year.	January 26. 1675-6. Allotment of Council.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Navy	200,000	300,000	300,000	300,000
Army and Garrisons	182,000	212,000	212,000	212,000
Tangier	55,000	57,200	57,200	57,200
Houhold	90,000	107,000	50,000	52,247
Buildings and Repairs [Works]	8,000	14,000	12,000	10,000
Privy Purse	12,000	38,000	36,000	36,000
Intelligence	4,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Treasurer of the Chamber	20,000	30,000	20,000	20,000
Great Wardrobe	16,000	22,000	16,000	16,000
Pensioners [Band of]	3,000	6,000	6,000	3,000
Robes	5,000	5,000	4,000	4,000
Jewel House	2,000	5,000	4,000	4,000
Ordinance, Ordinary & Extraordinary	30,000	50,000	30,000	40,000
Queen Confort	23,000			
Queen Mother	40,000			
[Pensions wherein the Queen, &c. D. of York]	63,000	181,000	100,000	110,000
Ambassadors, Envoys, and Presents	30,000	50,000	40,000	40,000
Judges, Ludlow Court, Mrs. of Chancery, and Requests [Fees and Salaries]	14,500	81,000	61,000	49,000
Angel Gold for Healing [Healing Medals]	1,200	2,000	2,000	2,000
Master of the Horfe, and Mr of the Stud [Stables]	2,500	11,000	10,000	10,000
Creation Money	1,500			
Lord Privy Seal's Diet	1,400			
Liberates out of the Exchequer	1,500	2,000	1,500	1,500
Dormant Privy Seal [Casual Disbursements]	3,00	15,000	10,000	10,000
Officers of Falconry and Hawks	1,000			
The Harriers	7,00	2,000	1,500	1,500
Tents and Toyls	5,00			
Tower Expences for Prisoners-Keepers of Game and Forests	7,68	7,68	7,68	7,68
[Secret Service]	1,07			20,000
[New Years Gifts]				3,600
[Management of Customs, Ex-cise, and Law Duty]				63,500
	745,975	1,251,968	992,968	1,075,315
Interest Money per Quefs	150,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
	895,975	1,351,968	1,092,968	1,175,315

N° V.

The chief Branches of the Revenue, according to a Computation delivered to the House of Commons at the Beginning of the Revolution, stood, clear of all Charges in the Collection, as follows.

THE Tunnage and Poundage, including the Wood, Farm, Coal-Farm, and Salt-Farm, was computed at	£	600,000
The Excise on Beer and Ale, &c. year ending the 24th of June 1689. did produce		666,383
The Hearth Money about		245,000
The Post Office about		65,000
The Wine Licences about		10,000
New Impositions upon Wine and Vinegar, granted for four years, ending Sept. 29. 1688		172,901
Duty on Tobacco and Sugar, for the same time, and in the same year, about		148,861
Duty on French Linnen, Brandy, Silk, &c. which was to continue to June 1, 1690. for the year ending Sept. 29, 1688. produced		93,710
Total		2,001,855

Essay on Way; and Means, 8vo. 1695. p. 36.

N° VI.

A List of the Acts of Parliament passed in the Reign of King Charles II. relating to the Revenue, whether ordinary or extraordinary, with their respective Appropriations, as far as appears from the Acts themselves, or the Journals of the House of Commons.

N° I. Statute 12. Car. II. C. 2. £.

AN Act for putting in execution an Ordinance mentioned in the said Act — 210,000
This Ordinance was for levying 70,000*l.* a month for three months, from June 24, 1660. J. D. C. May 18. Had the Royal Assent June 1. To the Army. J. D. C. Nov. 6, 1660. Dec. 3.

II. C. 4. A Subsidy granted to the King of Tunnage and Poundage — 400,000

The Customs for life; they were farmed for five years of this Reign at 390,000*l.* a year, and the improved value of them was reckoned 4000,000*l.* per ann. J. D. C. June 4, 1663. This Act commenced July 24, 1660. As Trade improved this Re-

£.

Stat. 12. venue improved, and might
Car. II. at an Average, after the
C. 2. Dutch War, be 500,000*l.*
per ann.

N^o III. C. 5, 8. Two Acts for con-
tinuing the Excise, till *Aug.*
20, and *Dec.* 25, 1660. The
Produce unknown.

IV. C. 9. For the speedy pro-
vision of Money, for disband-
ing and paying off the For-
ces of this Kingdom both by
Sea and Land. Explained &
amended C. 10. — —

252,167

A Poll Tax, and it was in-
tended to raise 400,000*l.* J.
D. C. *May* 18, 19. 1660,
but there came in upon it on
Nov. 26, 1660. only 252,
167*l.* which was all paid to
the Army, J. D. C. *Dec.* 3,
1660.

V. C. 20. An Act for the
raising of Sevenscore Thou-
sand Pounds for the compleat
disbanding of the whole Ar-
my, and paying off part of
the Navy — — —

140,000

An Assessment for two
months, at 70,000*l.* per
month, commencing *Nov.* 1,
1660. J. D. C. *Sept.* 8, 1660.

VI. C. 21. An Act for the
speedy raising of Seventy

Thoufand

£.

Stat. XII. Thousand Pounds for the
Car. 2. speedy supply of His Ma-
C. 21. jesty — — — —

70,000

N^o VI. An Assessment for a month,
commencing *Sept.* 29, 1660.
J. D. C. *Sept.* 7, 1660.

VII. C. 23, 24. An Act for cer-
tain Impositions upon Beer
and Ale, &c. An Act for tak-
ing away the Court of Wards,
&c. and for settling a Reve-
nue upon His Majesty in lieu
thereof.

The Excise Acts; the rates
in both are the same; and as
the last was given in lieu of
Wards, it is stiled *The He-
reditary Excise*, and was esti-
mated at 100,000*l.* and so
together were intended for—

200,000

J. D. C. *Nov.* 21, 1660.
They afterwards produced
more, but at present there
were Debts upon it, and
Charges made by this Parli-
ament for *past Services*.
Commenced *Dec.* 25, 1660.

VIII. C. 26. An Act for the
levying the Arrears of the
twelve months Assessment,
commencing *June* 2, 1659.
and the six months Assess-
ment, commencing *Dec.* 25,
1659.

The Produce unknown. Ap-
propriated to pay the Army.
J. D. C. *Dec.* 3, 1660.

Stat. 12. C. 27. An Act for grant-
Car. II. ing unto the King Four Hun-
 N^o IX. dred and Twenty Thousand
 Pounds, by an Assessment of
 70,000 *l.* per month, for
 six months, for disbanding
 the remainder of the Army,
 and paying the Navy ———
 A Clause was ordered to be
 inserted in this Act for satis-
 fying the people of the King-
 dom, that the laying these
 Assessments for 6 months is
 from a present necessity, to
 take off the burthens that lie
 upon the Kingdom in order
 for a future ease, and not
 with intention that this way
 of charging the people shall
 for the future be continued.
 J. D. C. *Nov. 23, 1660.*
 However it fell short of pay-
 ing the Navy, there remain-
 ing a Debt of 150,000 *l.* upon
 it. J. D. C. *July 27, 1661.*
 And though here was intend-
 ed to have been a new Pro-
 vision of Stores made for the
 Navy, estimated at 200,000 *l.*
 yet by this deficiency in the
 Navy's pay there was not.
 When the *Dutch* War broke
 out in 1665, ' There was not
 ' in all the magazines and

£.
 420,000

' stores,

Stat. 12. ' stores, Arms enough to
Car. II. ' put into the hands of 5,000
 C. 27. ' men, nor provisions e-
 N^o IX. ' nough to set out ten new
 ' Ships to sea.' Chancellor's
 Speech to Parliament, *Oct.*
9, 1665.
 X. C. 29. An Act for the speed-
 dy raising of 70,000 *l.* for
 the present supply of His
 Majesty ——— ——— ———
 This was for the Coronation,
 and to set Jewels in the
 Crown. J. D. C. *Dec. 17,*
21, 28.
 XI. C. 35. An Act erecting &
 establishing a Post Office —
 The first legal one; had
 Royal Assent *Dec. 29, 1660.*
 This was part of the ordinary
 Revenue, and estimated at
 26,000 *l.* per ann. improved
 value. J. D. C. *June 4, 1663.*
 It was farmed from Christ-
 mas 1660, to Midsummer
 1677. at 21,500 *l.* *ibid.* See
 its improved value at the Re-
 volution in N^o V. *Appendix.*
 In this Reign, after Midsum^r
 1667. it produced about
 37,000 *l.* per ann.
 XII. C. 30. An Act for the At-
 tainder of several persons
 [Regicides.] The forfeited

£.
 70,000

Estates

£.

Estates of these persons, as
 Stat. 13. appears by J. D. C. *June 18,*
Car. II. 1661. amounted to ——— 13,000
 N° XIII. C. 3. An Act for the de-
 claring, vesting, &c. all
 Monies, and which were re-
 ceived in these late times, and
 are remaining in the hands
 of any Treasurers, &c. not
 pardoned by the Act of Ob-
 livion. Produce unknown.

XIV. C. 4. An Act for a free
 and voluntary Present to His
 Majesty. Produce unknown.

XV. C. 13. An Act for vesting
 Arrears of Excise, and new
 Impost in His Majesty, viz.
 such as were due from per-
 sons not pardoned by the
 Act of Oblivion. *vid.* Pre-
 amble.
 Produce unknown. But if
 these Traitors had conveyed
 away their Estates, so that
 only 13,000 *l.* could be got
 from them all, as appears by
 Journal D. C. *June 18, 1661.*
 It is not to be supposed much
 was got by these Articles,
 N° XIII, and XV. *vid.* J. D.
 C. *May 31, 1660.* These
 three had the Royal Assent,
July 30, 1661.

C. 3.

£.

Stat. 2. C. 3. An Act for granting
Car. II. unto the King's Majesty
 N° XVI. Twelve Hundred and Three-
 score Thousand Pounds, to be
 assessed by an Assessment of
 70,000 *l.* a month for 18
 months — — — — 1,260,000
 This commenced Christmas
 1661. and so produced
 840,000 *l.* for the year 1662.
 ending at Christmas, and
 420,000 *l.* for the first half
 year of 1663, ending at Mid-
 summer, charges of collect-
 ing excepted, which if the
 same as reckoned in J. D. C.
Feb. 18, 1688. for the same
 Sum, was 1180 *l.* for each
 month, and so 21,240 *l.* for
 the whole.

XVII. C. 8. An Act for distri-
 Stat. buting 60,000 *l.* among the
 13, & 14. truly loyal and indigent Of-
 ficers — — — — 60,000
 A Parish Rate like 43 *Eliz.*

XVIII. C. 3. C. 10. An Act for estab-
 lishing an additional Reve-
 nue on His Majesty, his
 Heirs and Successors — 170,603
 The Hearth Money, where-
 by every Hearth or Stove
 was taxed at Two Shillings a
 Year. This by Report, *June*

4, 1663.

£.

Stat. 4, 1663. brought in 170,603*l*.
 13. & 14. And when the King was em-
 Car. II. powered by Parliament, 16
 C. 10. Car. II. C. 3. to collect it by
 N^o his own Officers, it brought
 XVIII. in above 200,000*l*. per ann.
 This Tax was abolished 1
Will. and Mary, C. 10. as a
 badge of Slavery. It com-
 menced *March 25, 1662*.

XIX.

C. 14. An Act directing
 the prosecution of such as are
 accountable for Prize Goods.
 Produce unknown. By Jour-
 nal D. C. *May 23, 1660*.
 there was an Arrear standing
 out of 41,495*l*. which the
 Treasury was desired to get
 to pay publick Debts as shall
 be designed by Parliament.
 By the Act for ordering the
 Forces of the Kingdom, C. 3.
 S. 23. the King was enabled
 to raise 70,000*l*. a year (in
 case of apparent danger) for
 paying such as he could raise.
 This Power was continued
 for three years, and the Mo-
 ney seems to have been rais-
 ed, for in Stat. 29. Car. II.
 C. 9. the Commissioners of
 Account are to examine into
 the application of it.

C. 9,

£.

Stat. 15. C. 9, 10. Acts for grant-
 Car. II. ing four entire Subsidies from
 N^o XX. the Temporality, and as ma-
 ny from the Clergy —

282,000

By the famous Remonstrance
 of *Dec. 15, 1642*. six Sub-
 sidies, and a Poll Bill esti-
 mated as equal to six more,
 are reckoned in all at 600,
 000*l*. or Fifty Thousand
 Pounds a Subsidy. And it
 is certain, that Parliament
 would not under-rate them.
 The Clergy's was 20,000*l*.
 The Revenue was given in
 this Year at 1,034,742*l*. of
 which the Wine Licenses and
 Post Office, amounting to
 41,500*l*. were by Parliament
 15 Car. II. C. 14. appropri-
 ated to the Duke, and re-
 duced the King's Revenue to
 993,240, and with these Sub-
 sidies, which were to be paid
 by *May 1. 1663*. J. D. C.
June 23. 1662. it amounted
 to 1,273,240. This seems to
 be the first establishment of
 the Revenue that was well
 planned since the Restoration.
 The Debts standing out be-
 fore the Restoration, and the
 disbanding the Army, a-
 mounted to more; and, as

appears

Stat. 15. appears by the frequent Acts
Car. II. passed for better collecting
 C. 9, 10. the Customs, &c. the Grants
 N^o XX. hitherto had produced less
 than was expected. Even in
 these Subsidies the Question
 was put *June 22.* that 1000*l.*
 per ann. Estate should be
 reckoned but at 20*l.* on the
 Roll; and though it was lost,
 it seems to have been lost by
 those who intended the char-
 ged should be lower; for the
 King at opening the next Par-
 liament said, ' that Estates of
 ' 3, or 4000*l.* a year did not
 ' pay 16*l.* for all four Subsi-
 ' dies."

Stat. 16, 17. C. 1. An Act for grant-
 N^o XXI. ing a Royal Aid unto His
 Majesty of 2,477,500*l.* to
 be raised in the space of three
 years ————— 2,477,500

This was a Land Tax. J. D.
 C. Dec. 15, 1664. and was
 intended for carrying on the
Dutch War. But this Esti-
 mate of 825,833*l.* a year for
 1665, 6 & 7. would not an-
 swer. It was strictly appro-
 priated and accounted for,
 Stat. 29. *Car. II.* C. 9. as
 were the three following Ar-
 ticles,

£.

C. 1.

Stat. 17. C. 1. An Act for grant-
Car. II. ing the Sum of 1,250,000*l.*
 N^o to His Majesty ——— 1,250,000
 XXII. It was by a proportionable
 addition to the Royal Aid.

J. D. C. *Off.* 11, 1665. and
 commenced that Year at
 Christmas, and made the
 Sum of 2,075,833 for the
Dutch War for 1666.
 There was a month's Tax of
 120,000*l.* now given to the
 Duke, which was to be le-
 vied when the Royal Aid
 ceased, viz, after Christmas
 1667.

XXIII. C. 1. An Act for raising
 Stat. 18. money by a Poll, towards
 the maintenance of the pre-
 sent War. It was estimated
 Journal D. C. Dec. 17, 1666- 500,000

XXIV. C. 8. An Act for granting
 Stat. 19. to the King 1,256,345, for
 the maintenance of the pre-
 sent War ——— 1,256,345

This was the additional aid
 mentioned above, N^o XXII.
 continued commencing when
 that ceased, viz. at Christ-
 mas 1666, and made 2,582,
 178*l.* for the *Dutch War* for
 1667.

XXV. C. 1. An Act for granting
 Stat. 20. His Majesty Three Hundred
 and Ten Thousaud Pounds
 by an Imposition on Wines- 310,000
 This was appropriated for
 G setting

£.

Stat. 20. setting out a Fleet in 1668. £.
Car. II. upon the conclusion of the
 N^o. Tripple Alliance, and was
 XXV. to be accounted for quarterly,
vid. the Act, S. 20, 23. The
 10,000 *l.* was allowed for
 charges in collecting.

XXVI. C. 3. An Act for granting
 Stat. 22. His Majesty an Imposition
 on all Wines and Vinegars
 imported between *June* 24,
 1670. and *June* 24, 1678.
 The Keeper, in his Speech
 to the Parliament, *Feb.* 14,
 1669. said, ' That if the
 ' preparation towards the
 ' War be taken to be for the
 ' use of the War, a great
 ' part of the King's own Re-
 ' venue had been applied to
 ' it, to the amount of seve-
 ' ral Hundred Thousand
 ' Pounds, besides the Sums
 ' given for it, which had
 ' no Part of them been ap-
 ' plied to any other use, and
 ' that he had examined the
 ' accounts himself in his
 ' own Royal Person; and
 ' added, ' That the Customs,
 ' the Excise, and the Hearth
 ' Money, had sustained a
 ' loss of near 600,000 *l.* by
 ' the War, the Plague, and
 ' the Fire.'

This is probable; and pro-
 vision was made for the Debts
 occasioned hereby by this

Bill,

Stat. 22. Bill, which was intended to £.
Car. II. raise 400,000 *l.* J. D. C. Nov.
 C. 3. 26, 1669. and afterwards,
 N^o. one year was added more to
 XXVI. it, on account of the Duke's
 loss by it in his Wine Licen-
 ses, J. D. C. Dec. 6, 1669.
 so that at first it was estimat-
 ed at about Fifty Seven
 Thousand Pounds a year.

XXVII. C. 6. An Act for advanc-
 ing the sale of Fee Farm
 Rents, the Produce un-
 known.

XXVIII. C. 3. An Act for grant-
 Stat. ing a Subsidy to His Majesty,
 22, 23. for supply of his extraordi-
 nary occasions — — — 800,000

XXIX. C. 5. An Act for an ad-
 ditional Excise upon Beer and
 Ale — — —

XXX. C. 9. An Act for laying } 400,000
 Impositions on Proceedings
 at Law — — — }
 N^o XXVIII. was a Tax of
 a mixed Nature, laying 15 *s.*
 on every 100 *l.* belonging to
 Bankers; 15 *s.* on every 100 *l.*
 lent to the King at above 6
 per Cent. personal Estates
 6 *s.* per Cent; all publick
 Offices and Places 2 *s.* in the
 Pound; Land and Mines
 12 *d.* per Pound. The ad-
 ditional Excise charges the
 same Rates as the other Ex-
 cises did; only where they
 charge 15 *d.* on Ale, this

charges.

Stat. charges but 9*d.* and where
 22, 23. they charge Cider, &c. im-
Car. II. ported at 5*s.* this charges 4*l.*
 C. 9. The third is the Stamp Act,
 N^o. which is since much extend-
 XXX. ed. The first was for one
 year, ending at Lady-Day,
 1672. The second was for
 six years, commencing *June*
 24, 1671. and continued in
 1676. for three years longer.
 The third was for nine years,
 commencing *May* 1, 1671.
 and continued in 1678. for
 three years more. The first
 was estimated at 800,000*l.*
J. D. C. Dec. 10, 16, 1670.
 The other two at 400,000*l.*
ibid. Dec. 9.
 They were intended to pay
 the King's Debts, of which
 a List was given in *Oct.* 31,
 1670. but not entered, and
 fitting out a Fleet, *France*
 being then armed.
 The Duke's Revenue by
 Wine Licences having been
 deficient, he had now in
 exchange for it 24,000*l.* per
 ann. out of the Excise. C. 7.
 The Exchequer shut up *Ja-*
nuary 2, 1671-2. There was
 the Sum of 79,566*l.* assign-
 ed on the Exchequer for pay-
 ing the Interest of the Money
 now detained at the rate of
 6 per Cent. which shews the
 Sum to have been 1,326,100*l.*

£.

nearly.

Stat. nearly. *J. D. C. April* 27, *J.*
 22, 23. 1689. or, as the moiety of
Car. II. it is there set, to 1,328,526*l.*
 C. 9. which moiety is now part
 of the National Debt among
 N^o the Annuities.
 XXXI. C. 1. An Act for raising
 Stat. 25. the Sum of 1,238,750*l.* for
 supply of His Majesty's ex-
 traordinary occasions — 1,238,750
 It was an Assessment for 18
 months, at 68,819*l.* a month,
 or 825,828*l.* a year, which
 is 8*l.* short of the Sum. It
 was for the second *Dutch*
 War.
 XXXII. C. 1. An Act for raising
 Stat. 29. 584,978*l.* for the speedy
 building 30 Ships of War - 584,978
 A War with *France* was now
 expected. This Money was
 strictly appropriated. The
 King said in his Speech, *Jan.*
 15, 1677-8. that these Ships
 had cost 100,000*l.* more than
 was given, and that he had
 laid out the 200,000*l.* bor-
 rowed on the additional Ex-
 cise (now given for 3 years
 more) in buying Stores.
 XXXIII. C. 1. An Act for raising
 Stat. Money by a Poll and other-
 29, 30 wise, to enable His Majesty
 to enter into an actual War
 [with *France.*] 150,000
 A Resolution had passed *Feb.*
 18, 1677-8. for raising a Mil-
 lion for entering on actual
 War

Stat. 30. War with *France*, but gave
Car. II. only this Poll Bill, which,
by Journal D. C. *June 3, 17.*
N^o. 1678. raised 150,000 *l.*

XXXIV. C. 1. An Act for grant-
ing a supply to His Majesty
of 619,388 *l.* for disbanding
the Army, and other uses.
It was by a Land Tax, J. D.
C. *June 26, 1678.* By J.
D. C. *July 8, 1678.* it ap-
pears thus; 'The engrossed
' Bill for raising a supply,
' not exceeding 414,000 *l.*
' read and passed, and that
' the Title be, An Act for
' granting 619,388 *l.* 11 *s.*
' 9 *d.* for disbanding the Ar-
' my, &c. ————— 414,000

The uses this Sum was in-
tended for, appear thus from
the Journal, viz. *June 3, 4.*
For disbanding the Army in
full, for Levy Money and
Pay to the last of *June,*
1678. 200,000 *l.* — *June 8,*
21. For repayment of Mo-
ney borrowed on the ad-
ditional Excise, which the
House is obliged to, 200,000 *l.*
— *June 17.* Extraordinary
use of Navy and Ordnance
200,000 *l.* — *July 21.* Prin-
cess of *Orange's* Fortune
40,000 *l.* In all, 640,000 *l.*
To which was added 6,462 *l.*
more, for disbanding the

Army

Stat. 30. Army by Vote, *July 3,* *l.*
Car. II. 1678.

C. 1. And yet by Vote *June 20.*
N^o on Report from the Com-
XXXIV. mittee for repayment of the
second Article of 200,000 *l.*
and the Princess's Fortune,
it is said, the new Imposts
on Wines should be conti-
nued three years longer for
paying them. Q. How they
were paid? The Army how-
ever was kept up longer,
and at last paid by

Stat. 31. C. 1. An Act for grant-
N^o ing His Majesty a supply of
XXXV. 206,462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* for pay-
ing off and disbanding the
Forces raised *Sept. 29.* 1677- 206,462
Which was the last Money
Bill passed this Reign.

F I N I S.



(18)

The first part of the document
 contains a list of names and
 addresses. The names are
 arranged in alphabetical order
 and the addresses are given
 in full. The list is
 followed by a section
 containing a list of
 names and addresses
 which are not in
 alphabetical order. The
 names are given in
 full and the addresses
 are given in full. The
 list is followed by a
 section containing a
 list of names and
 addresses which are
 not in alphabetical
 order. The names are
 given in full and the
 addresses are given in
 full. The list is
 followed by a section
 containing a list of
 names and addresses
 which are not in
 alphabetical order. The
 names are given in
 full and the addresses
 are given in full.