

THE
HISTORY and PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
House of Commons
FROM THE
RESTORATION
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

CONTAINING
The most remarkable MOTIONS, SPEECHES, RESOLVES, REPORTS and CONFERENCES to be met with in that Interval :

AS ALSO

The most exact ESTIMATES of the Charge of Government ; State of the PUBLIC REVENUE ; the Rise and Growth of the NATIONAL DEBT, Expence of the WAR, Proceedings on WAYS and MEANS, SPEECHES and MESSAGES from the Throne, ADDRESSES, and REMONSTRANCES, also the Numbers *Pro* and *Con* upon every Division, &c. Many of which Curious Particulars were never before printed.

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Compared with the JOURNALS of the HOUSE ;
And illustrated with a great Variety of HISTORICAL and EXPLANATORY NOTES.

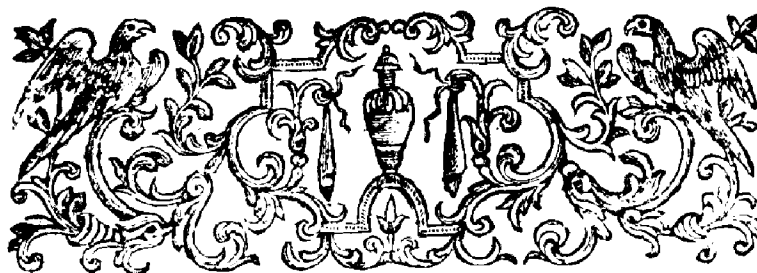
Together with a large APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
Exact LISTS of every PARLIAMENT, the Names of the SPEAKERS, their several Posts under the Government ; and other valuable, Supplemental Pieces.

V O L. IX.

L O N D O N :

Printed for RICHARD CHANDLER, and sold at the *Ship* without *Temple-Bar*, and at *York* and *Scarborough*. 1742.



T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
F O U R T H V O L U M E.

The First Session of the Second Parliament
of King GEORGE II.

	Page
T H E Parliament meet January 14, 1734-5,	I
Mr Arthur Onslow re-elected Speaker,	ib.
The King's Speech at opening the first Session of the Second Parliament,	2
Mr Harris's Motion for an Address of Thanks,	4
Debate thereon,	5
An Address of Thanks agreed to and presented,	20
His Majesty's Answer thereto,	21
Motion, in the Grand Committee on the Supply, for granting 30,000 Men for the Sea-Service, for the Year 1735, with the Debate thereon,	22
Thirty Thousand Men voted for the said Service,	48
Mr Sandys's Motion for an Address to the King, for an Account of the Expences incurr'd, in conse- quence of the Vote of Credit pass'd last Session, with the Debate thereon,	48
	Debate

The CONTENTS.

	Page
<i>Debate concerning the Number of Land-Forces for the Year 1735,</i>	51
<i>Sir James Campbell call'd to Order, for reflecting on Mr Erskine, on account of his Brother the Earl of Mar's being concern'd in the Rebellion, Anno 1715,</i>	72
<i>Mr Plumer's Motion for laying before the House the King's Warrant for permitting Letters to pass Post-free,</i>	73
<i>Sir William Wyndham's Motion for referring the Estimates of the Navy for the Year 1735, to a select Committee,</i>	74
<i>Mr Plumer's Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Post-Office, with the Debate thereon,</i>	86
<i>Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot's Motion for a Clause to be added to the Mutiny-Bill, relating to the in-listing of Soldiers, with the Debate thereon,</i>	87
<i>Mr Walpole's Motion for a Subsidy of 56,250 l. to Denmark, with the Debate thereon,</i>	89
<i>Sir John Barnard moves for a Bill for restraining the Number of Play-Houses; with the Debate thereon,</i>	93
<i>Mr Bramston's Motion for restraining the Counsel from offering Evidence touching the Right of Election for any Place, contrary to the last Determination of the House of Commons,</i>	94
<i>Debate thereon,</i>	96
<i>A Bill ordered to be brought in for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons, upon Mr Sandys's Motion,</i>	99
<i>The Resolutions of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Complaints relating to the Post-Office; which are agreed to by the House,</i>	100
<i>Debate on a Motion for committing the Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons,</i>	ib.
<i>The King's Speech at putting an End to the First Session,</i>	101
<i>The Parliament prorogued,</i>	102

The CONTENTS.

iii

The Second Session of the Second Parliament of King GEORGE II.

	Page
T HE Parliament meet January 15, 1735-36,	103
The King's Speech at opening the Second Session,	ib.
Mr Stephen Fox's Motion for an Address of Thanks,	105
A Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, complaining of an undue Election for the County of York,	106
The Commons Address of Thanks for his Majesty's Speech,	107
His Majesty's Answer thereto,	108
Debate on a Petition complaining of an undue Election for the County of Norfolk,	109
Debate on a Petition of John Neale, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Coventry,	113
A Petition of Anthony Chute, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Hampshire; with the Debate thereon,	114
A Petition of Richard Sheppard, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Southwark; with the De- bate thereon,	115
Sir Charles Wager's Motion for 15,000 Men for the Sea-Service for the Year 1736; with the Debate thereon,	119
Debate on Mr Pulteney's Motion for referring the Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1736 to a select Committee,	121
Debate on a Motion, to address the King for a far- ther Reduction of the Forces,	130
Mr Sandys's Motion for raising, within the Year, the Supplies necessary for the current Service,	131
Debate on the said Motion,	133
Mr Heathcote voted duly elected for Southwark,	146
A Petition of the Justices of the Peace for Middlesex, against the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors, which is referred to a Committee of the whole House,	ib.
Four Resolutions of the said Committee thereupon,	ib.
Which Resolutions are agreed to by the House,	147
Proceedings on the Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, complaining of an undue Election for the County of York,	ib.

The CONTENTS.

	Page
<i>A Bill ordered in, for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons,</i>	148
<i>Second Debate on the Yorkshire Election,</i>	ib.
<i>Debate on a Motion for enabling the King to borrow 600,000 l. at 3 l. per Cent. chargeable on the Sinking Fund,</i>	149
<i>Farther Debate on the Yorkshire Election,</i>	151
<i>A Petition of the Quakers for Relief, relating to Tithes; and a Bill ordered in accordingly,</i>	152
<i>Sir Joseph Jekyll's Motion for a Duty of 20 s. per Gallon to be laid on all Spirituous Liquors,</i>	153
<i>Mr Pulteney's Speech against the Motion,</i>	ib.
<i>Arguments in Behalf of the Motion,</i>	157
<i>The Motion for laying a Duty of 20 s. per Gallon on all Spirituous Liquors agreed to in the Grand Committee, who resolve also, That all Retailers thereof shall pay 50 l. yearly for a Licence,</i>	159
<i>Sir Robert Walpole moves, That the Committee might sit again, to make good what Deficiencies might happen in the Civil List, by the above Resolutions, which is agreed to,</i>	ib.
<i>The House proceed farther on the contested Election for Yorkshire, and resolve, That Freeholders in the Aynsly have a Right to vote for Knights of the Shire,</i>	ib.
<i>A Petition of the Druggists, &c. complaining of the unequal Duties upon Tea, and the pernicious Practice of Smuggling,</i>	160
<i>Mr Plummer's Motion for repealing the Test-Act,</i>	161
<i>Debate on the above Motion,</i>	166
<i>The Motion for repealing the Test-Act passes in the Negative,</i>	172
<i>Sir Robert Walpole's Proposals, that the Loss the Civil List might sustain by the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, might be made good by some other Fund, and all the Duties on Spirituous Liquors appropriated to the Sinking-Fund; with the Debate thereon,</i>	ib.
<i>Two Resolutions in Purjuance thereof,</i>	173
<i>The Quaker's Bill ordered to be printed,</i>	ib.
<i>A Bill ordered to be brought in, relating to Spirituous Liquors,</i>	ib.
<i>Debate on a Motion for an Account of the Produce of the Excise, from 1716 to 1726,</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions from the Clergy against the Quakers Bill,</i>	174
<i>Sir</i>	

The CONTENTS.

v

	Page
<i>Sir Joseph Jekyll presents to the House the Bill against Spirituous Liquors ; which is twice read and committed,</i>	174
<i>The Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the House dropt,</i>	ib.
<i>A Petition of the Traders to the British Sugar-Colonies in America against the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors ; with the Debate thereon,</i>	ib.
<i>A Petition of the Bristol Merchants against the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors ; and from the Liverpool Merchants to the same Purpose,</i>	178
<i>Distillers enabled to follow any other Sort of Business in any Corporation in England,</i>	179
<i>Farther Debate concerning the Application of the Revenues arising by the Retailing of Spirituous Liquors,</i>	ib.
<i>Debate concerning what Sum should be granted to the King for supplying such Deficiency as should happen in the Civil List by altering the Duties on Spirituous Liquors,</i>	180
<i>Argument for granting only 43,000 l. for that Purpose,</i>	181
<i>Argument for granting 70,000 l. on that Account,</i>	183
<i>Farther Arguments for granting no more than 43,000 l.</i>	187
<i>In a Committee of the whole House, 70,000 l. is voted, for making good the Deficiencies, that may happen in the Civil List, by the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors,</i>	193
<i>Counsel heard for and against the Quakers Bill,</i>	ib.
<i>Which is committed,</i>	194
<i>Debate upon the Report of the Resolution of the Committee for granting the above Sum of 70,000 l.</i>	ib.
<i>Arguments against that Resolution,</i>	ib.
<i>Argument in Favour of the above Resolution of the Committee,</i>	199
<i>Reply to the Arguments in Favour of the Resolutions of the Committee,</i>	202
<i>The House resolve to agree with the Committee in their Vote of 70,000 l. for the Civil List,</i>	208
<i>A Clause offer'd for excepting Punch out of the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors,</i>	209
<i>Arguments in Favour of that Clause,</i>	ib.
<i>Arguments</i>	

The CONTENTS.

	Page
<i>Arguments against that Clause,</i>	213
<i>Farther Arguments in Favour of the Clause,</i>	216
<i>The Clause offer'd for excepting Punch out of the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors is rejected,</i>	220
<i>The Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors pass'd, and sent up to the Lords,</i>	221
<i>Farther Debate on the Quakers Bill,</i>	ib.
<i>Farther Proceedings on the Yorkshire Election,</i>	ib.
<i>Motion for an Address to the King, on the Marriage of the Prince of Wales,</i>	ib.
<i>The Quakers Bill ordered to be engrossed,</i>	*225
<i>Farther Debate on the Quakers Bill,</i>	ib.
<i>The Quakers Bill pass'd,</i>	*230
<i>Debate on a Bill to prevent Smuggling,</i>	ib.
<i>Objections to the Bill,</i>	*231
<i>The Bill against Smuggling committed,</i>	*234
<i>The Yorkshire Petition dropt,</i>	ib.
<i>Debate on a Bill for explaining the Bribery-Act,</i>	ib.
<i>The said Bill passed,</i>	*235
<i>The Bill against Smuggling read a third Time, and sent up to the Lords,</i>	*236
<i>Debate on an Amendment made by the Lords,</i>	ib.
<i>Which is agreed to and the Bill passed,</i>	*237
<i>The King's Speech at putting an End to the Second Session,</i>	ib.
<i>The Parliament prorogued,</i>	*238

The Third Session of the Second Parliament
of King GEORGE II.

	Page
T HE Parliament meet,	225
<i>The Lord Chancellor's Speech, in the Name of the Lords Commissioners appointed by the King, at opening the Session, Feb. 1, 1736-7,</i>	226
<i>The Commons Address of Thanks,</i>	228
<i>The King's Answer thereto,</i>	229
<i>Petition relating to an undue Election for the County of Norfolk,</i>	229
<i>Resolution of the House upon Lists of Controverted Voters, with the Debate thereon,</i>	232
<i>Debate on a Petition complaining of an undue Election for the Borough of Flint,</i>	234
<i>The</i>	

The CONTENTS.

vii

	Page
<i>The Speech of the Lords Commissioners taken into Consideration,</i>	238
<i>Debate on the Number of Land-Forces for the Year 1737,</i>	239
<i>Mr Pulteney's Motion for an Address to the King to settle 100,000 l. per Annum upon the Prince of Wales, with the Debate thereon,</i>	277
<i>Resolutions of the Committee of Supply,</i>	341
<i>Debate on a Motion for granting 10,000 l. for Greenwich Hospital,</i>	ib.
<i>Sir Robert Walpole's Motion for granting to his Majesty 1,000,000 l. for redeeming the like Sum of the increas'd Capital of the South-Sea Company, commonly call'd Old South-Sea Annuities, with the Debate thereon,</i>	347
<i>Sir John Barnard's Motion for enabling the King to raise Money by Sale of Annuities for Years, or Lives, or by borrowing at 3 l. per Cent. Interest, towards redeeming Old and New South-Sea Annuities, with the Debate thereon,</i>	382
<i>Sir John Barnard's Motion for taking off such Taxes as are most burthensome to the Poor, and to the Manufæcturers, as soon as the National Debt shall be reduced to 3 l. per Cent. Interest, with the Debate thereon,</i>	454
<i>Sir Robert Walpole's Motion for laying a Duty upon Sweets made for Sale, with the Debate thereon,</i>	480
<i>Debate on a Bill, intituled, An Act to disable Alexander Wilson, Esq; from taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Place of Magistracy in the City of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain, and for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson, and for abolishing the Guard kept up in the said City, commonly called the Town Guard, and for taking away the Gates of the Nether-Bow Port of the said City, and keeping open the same,</i>	506
<i>The said Bill with Amendments passes into a Law,</i>	545
<i>The King's Speech at putting an End to the Third Session,</i>	ib.
<i>The Parliament prorogued,</i>	546

Directions to the Bookbinder.

After E e follows * F f, * G g. Cancel F f, Page 225. Cancel P. 229, 230, 231, 232, and you'll find one Leaf in this Half Sheet to supply those Four Pages. Cancel S f f 2. P. 507, and you'll find a Leaf to supply it at the End of the *Index*.

ERRATA

PAGE 235, Line 26, *read* proceeded. P. 239, L. 6, *read* Sir William Yonge. *In the Margin read thus*, Sir William Yonge's Motion for 17,704 Forces for the Year 1737. Ibid. *read*, Speech for Sir William Yonge's Motion. P. 287, L. 43. *read thus*, free from Payment. P. 295, L. 6. *read* publick Debts. P. 310, L. 10. *read* Ense rescindendum. P. 321, *read* Lancaster. P. 341, L. 29. *for* 1733 *read* 1737. P. 370, L. 34, *read* Samuel Holden. P. 449, L. 14, *read* Usurers. P. 453, L. 20, *dele* Mr. P. 479, L. 35, *read* Sir Edmund. P. 506, L. 47, *read* Nether-Bow Port. P. 514, L. 28, *for* Gamers *read* Gainers. P. 524, L. 18, *for* Magistrate *read* Magistrates. P. 527, L. 19, *for* through *read* throw. P. 528, L. 2, *add* at. P. 538, L. 40, *for* Erskine *read* Areskine. P. 543, L. 23, *read* Walter Plumer. Ibid. L. 36, *read thus*, It was resolved by 224 against 218. P. 544, L. 39, *read* James Erskine. Ibid. L. 40, *read* Charles Areskine.



MINUTES, &c. of the FIRST SESSION of the EIGHTH PARLIAMENT of Great Britain; by way of Introduction to; and Illustration of, the DEBATES, &c. which follow, to the End of the said Session.

February, the 6th.

IT was Resolved, That in the Petition of any Elector or Order relating to Electors; for any County, City or Place, sending Mem- to Elections: bers to Parliament, complaining of an undue Election and Return, and alledging that some other Person was duly elected, and ought to have been returned; the sitting Member, so complained of, might demand and examine into the Qualifications of such Person, so alledged to be duly elected; in the same manner as if such Person had himself petitioned: Which Resolution was declared to be a standing Order of the House.

The 13th. A Motion for certain Accounts (See Page 48) Dispute about having been made, canvass'd and divided upon, Henry Pel- Order. ham, Esq; moved to adjourn, which brought on a short Debate about Order; because it was said, that when a Question had been moved, and for some Time debated; the House was so much in Possession of it, that it could not be put off by Adjournment, without an unanimous Consent: But Mr. Speaker declared, that, according to the general Opinion, the Rule mentioned was to be observed at all Times before four o'Clock in the Afternoon; but after that Hour, tho' a Question had been for some Time debated, it was thought it might be put off by Adjournment, without any unanimous Consent: Whereupon the Question was put for adjourning, which was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The 14th. Resolved that a Sum not exceeding * 794,529l. votes on the 4s. 7d. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of Supply.

25.744

* By comparing this Sum with the Sum voted for the Year 1734, we shall find an Increase 147,099l. 13s. 4d. and the Sums granted for the Service of the Army in the Year 1734; having exceeded what had been granted in the preceding Year; by the Sum of 35,116l. 5s. 3d. our additional Expence for the Year

25,744 Men, for Guards and Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for the Year 1735. See the Debate, Page 51.

On the 21st of February the House went again into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, when they came to several Resolutions, which were on the 24th agreed to by the House, and were as follows, viz.

That a Sum not exceeding † 215,710l. 6s. 5d. be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the Plantations, Minorca and Gibraltar, and for the Provisions for the Garrisons at Anapolis Royal, Canso, Placentia and Gibraltar, for the Year 1735.

That a Sum, not exceeding 10,273l. 1s. 7d. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying several extraordinary Expences and Services incurred *Anno Dom.* 1734, and not provided for by Parliament.

That a Sum not exceeding 18,850l. 9s. 2d. be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, for Out-pensioners of Chelsea-Hospital, for the Year 1735. See Page 73.

Malt-Act
passed.

On the 28th of February, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and the House of Commons being sent for, his Majesty was pleased to give the Royal Assent to the Bill, entitled, *An Act for continuing the Duties upon Malt, &c. in that Part of Great Britain called England; and for granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt, &c. in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland*, for the Service of the Year 1735; and to one Naturalization-Bill. See Page 89.

Other Votes
on the Supply

On the 7th of March the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, and came to several Resolutions, which were next Day reported to the House, and are as follow:

That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the Sum of one Million, out of such

Year 1735, on Account of the late War, in this Article of our Army only, amounts to 182,215l. 18s. 7d. to which we must add an additional Expence in 1735, in the Article relating to the Forces in the Plantations, Gibraltar, &c. of 11,713l. 9s. 2d. being in the whole 194,029l. 7s. 9.

† By comparing the Sum granted by the first of these Resolutions, with the Sum granted for the same Purposes in the preceding Session, our Readers will see, that our additional Expence upon this Article for the current Year, amounts to 11,711l. 9s. 2d.

as have arisen, or shall or may arise from the Surplusses, Excesses, or Overplus- Moneys, commonly called the Sinking-Fund.

That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the several Duties on Salt, and also on Red and White Herrings, delivered out for Home-Consumption, which, by an Act of the 7th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, were continu'd and granted to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, until the 25th Day of March, 1742, be further continu'd from the 24th Day of March, 1741, to the 25th Day of March 1746.

And Bills were brought in soon after, pursuant to these Resolutions.

On the 12th of the same Month, a Petition of George Herriot, Provost of the Royal Burgh of Haddington in Scotland, Robert Forrest, Brewer there, John Hay, Sadler there, George Hunter, Wheelwright there, and George Walker, Skinner there, was presented to the House, alledging, That, upon Application made the 24th of October then last, by James Ereskine, John Claddel, Andrew Wilson, and others, assuming to themselves the Name of Magistrates in the said Burgh, and complaining that the Petitioners had disturbed them in the pretended Exercise of their Offices; the Hon. Andrew Fletcher of Miltoun, one of the Judges of the Court of Justiciary, and also of the Court of Session in Scotland, though there was evidently no Foundation for such Complaint, without any Jurisdiction to judge of the Merits of the Election of Magistrates of the said Burgh, without any Notice given to the Petitioners, or any of the other Persons concerned; and so, without hearing them, or calling them before him, gave forth a summary Warrant, directed to all Officers whom it concerned, Civil or Military, to search for, seize and apprehend the Persons of the Petitioners and many others, to the Number of forty Burgeses and Inhabitants, whereof seventeen were acting Magistrates or Counsellors of the said Burgh, where-ever they should be found in Scotland, and to imprison them within the nearest sure Prison; that this Warrant was lodged in the Hands of Humphry Colquhoun, one of the Macers or Messengers of the Court of Justiciary, without the Privy of any other of the Judges of that Court; and, as the Petitioners have Reason to believe, the said Andrew Fletcher order'd the said Macer to take Directions from Patrick Lindlay, Provost of Edinburgh, as to the Manner of executing that Warrant; and such Directions were accordingly given, as the Petitioners have Reason to believe, in Writing; that this Warrant was accompany'd by an Order from Brigadier-General Moyle, then acting

ing as Commander in chief of the Forces in Scotland, to the commanding Officer of the Dragoons then quarter'd in Haddington, to assist with his Dragoons in the Execution of the Warrant; that upon the 25th Day of the said Month of October, the Petitioners were seized by the said Humphry Colquhoun; and though the next sure Prison was that of Haddington itself, or that of North Berwick, and though the Petitioners desired either to be committed there, or to be carry'd to Edinburgh, the Seat of the Courts of Justice, where they might apply for Redress; yet he told them, that his Orders were to carry them to the Prison of Dunbar, and no other, a Place twenty Miles distant from Edinburgh, and eight Miles from Haddington, and three Miles further from Edinburgh than North Berwick; and though the pretended Crime was bailable, and Alexander Hepburn, the Sheriff's Substitute, to whom the Petitioners apply'd, was by Law impowered, and willing to admit them to Bail, the said Humphry Colquhoun told them, that he could not dismiss them upon Bail, his express Orders being to take no Bail, but to commit his Prisoners to the Prison of Dunbar; where they were accordingly imprison'd from the 25th Day of October, to the 27th of the said Month, till, by Warrant from the Hon. David Erskine of Dun, another of the Judges of the said Courts of Justiciary and Session, the Petitioners were set at Liberty, and Execution of the Warrant was staid against the rest, upon Bail given by the Petitioners and them; and that since that Time no criminal Prosecution has been moved for, upon any of these pretended Crimes charg'd against the Petitioners or the rest; that these Proceedings, as the Petitioners apprehend, and are advised, were utterly illegal and and oppressive on the Part of the said Andrew Fletcher of Miltoun, tending to destroy the personal Liberties of every Subject, the Freedom of the Royal Burghs, and of Consequence the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament for such Burghs; and as the Petitioners can hope for no Redress but from the Justice of Parliament; therefore praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, and to grant such Redress therein as may effectually prevent such Oppressions in Time coming, and as otherwise to the House shall seem meet.

Motion and
Division there-
on. After this Petition was read, a Motion was made for referring it to a Committee of the whole House, upon which there was a long Debate; but the Question being at last put, it was, upon a Division, carry'd in the Negative, by 197 to 155.

Though this Petition relates to a private Affair, yet it is of such an extraordinary Nature, and has such a close Connection

nection with the Freedom of our Government, and with the Liberty of the Subject, that we could not omit taking Notice of it; being of Opinion it will make a very remarkable Episode in the History of the present Age, and will certainly contribute towards the Catastrophe, almost as much as any Incident that has lately happen'd: Besides, it gave Occasion, we believe, to the following Motion, which was made on Friday following.

That Part of an Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1701, intituled, An Act for preventing wrongous Imprisonment, and against undue Delays in Trials, might be read; which being accordingly read, it was moved, 'That Leave might be given to bring in a Bill for explaining and amending the said Act;' and the same being agreed to, Mr. Dundas, the Lord Polwarth, and Mr. Sandys, were ordered to bring it in.

On Monday the 17th of March, the House resolv'd itself again into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, when they resolv'd to grant his Majesty the following Sums, viz.

The Sum of 10,393 l. 5 s. 11 d. to compleat the Sum of 81,568 l. 5 s. 11 d. for Services incurred by augmenting his Majesty's Forces, and in concerting such other Measures, as the Exigency of his Majesty's Affairs required. The Sum of 49,834 l. 13 s. 4 d. upon Account, for reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1735. The Sum of 3780 l. for paying off Pensions to the Widows of such reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, as dy'd upon the Establishment of Half Pay in Great Britain, (and who were marr'd to them before the 25th of December 1716) for the Year 1735. The Sum of 79,760 l. 3 s. 9 d. for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service for the Year 1735. The Sum of 24,693 l. 1 s. 6 d. for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service, not provided for by Parliament. The Sum of 36,405 l. 15 s. 4 d. to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Service of the Year 1734. The Sum of 37,557 l. 13 s. 4 d. for making good the Deficiency of the general Fund. The Sum of 198,924 l. 9 s. 7 d. for the Ordinary of the Navy (including Half Pay for Sea-Officers) for the Year 1735. The Sum of 10,000 l. towards the Support of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. The Sum of 10,000 l. towards the Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company of England, on the Coasts of Africa. The Sum of 26,000 l. towards settling and securing the Colony of Georgia in America. The Sum of 4000 l. towards the Repair of

the Collegiate Church of St. Peter Westminster: And the Sum of 3500 l. for the Repair of the Tower and Roof of the Parish Church of St. Margaret Westminster.

By adding these Sums to the Sums before granted, viz. for Seamen 1,560,000 l. For Land-Forces, 794,529 l. 4 s. 7 d. For Garrisons, 215,710 l. 6 s. 5 d. For extraordinary Expences incurred, 10,273 l. 1 s. 7 d. For Out-Pensioners of Chelsea College, 18,850 l. 9 s. 2 d. And for the Denmark Treaty, 56,250 l. Our Readers will see, that the Supply granted for this Year, amounts to 3,150,452 l. 4 s. 7 d.

On the 19th. it was order'd, that Leave should be given to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons; and Mr. Sandys, Mr. Wortley, Mr. How, Sir John Hind Cotton, Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir William Lowther, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same; which was accordingly presented to the House on the 21st, by Mr. Sandys.

The same Day, the House having resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House on Ways and Means, resolv'd, That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of two Shillings in the Pound, and no more, should be raised in the Year 1735, upon Lands, &c. and that a proportionable Cess (according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union) should be laid upon that Part of Great Britain called Scotland: And a Bill, pursuant to this Resolution, was order'd to be brought in.

Royal Assent given to several Acts. On Monday the 24th Day of March, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the two following public Bills, viz.

An Act to punish Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

An Act to indemnify Persons who have omitted to make and subscribe the Declarations contained in the Act of Uniformity, of the 13th and 14th Years of King Charles II. within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for doing thereof.

And to two Bills for repairing Roads, and two private Bills.

On the 27th, a Committee was appointed to consider the Laws in Being relating to the Maintenance and Settlement of the Poor, and to consider what further Provisions might be necessary for their better Relief and Employment: And the said Committee having consider'd and examin'd this Affair with great Care and Attention, came to several Resolutions as follow.

Resolv'd,

Resolv'd, That it was the Opinion of that Committee,

1. That the Laws in being, relating to the Maintenance of the Poor of this Kingdom, are defective; and notwithstanding they impose heavy Burthens on Parishes, yet the Poor, in most of them, are ill taken Care of. Votes relating to the maintenance of the Poor.

2. That the Laws relating to the Settlement of the Poor, and concerning Vagrants, are very difficult to be executed, and chargeable in their Execution; vexatious to the Poor, and of little Advantage to the Public; and ineffectual to promote the good Ends for which they were intended.

3. That it is necessary, for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor, that a public Workhouse or Workhouses, Hospital or Hospitals, House or Houses of Correction, be established in proper Places, and under proper Regulations, in each County.

4. That in such Workhouse or Workhouses, all poor Persons, able to labour, be set to work, who shall either be sent thither, or come voluntarily for Employment.

5. That in such Hospital or Hospitals, Foundlings and other poor Children, not having Parents able to provide for them, be taken Care of; as also poor Persons that are impotent or infirm.

6. That in such House or Houses of Correction, all idle and disorderly Persons, Vagrants, and such other Criminals as shall be thought proper, be confined to hard Labour.

7. That towards the Charge of such Workhouses, Hospitals, and Houses of Correction, each Parish be assessed or rated, and that proper Persons be empower'd to receive the Money so to be assessed or rated, when collected, and also all voluntary Contributions or Collections, either given or made for such Purposes.

8. That such Workhouses, Hospitals, and Houses of Correction, be under the Management of proper Persons, Regard being had to such as shall be Benefactors to so good a Work.

9. That such Persons as shall be appointed for the Management of such Workhouses, Hospitals, and Houses of Correction, be one Body politic in Law, capable to sue and be sued, and of taking and receiving charitable Contributions and Benefactions for the Use of the same.

10. That for the better understanding, and rendering more effectual the Laws relating to the Maintenance and Settlement of the Poor, it is very expedient that they be reduced into one Act of Parliament.

These Resolutions were reported to the House on the 2d of May, and on the 7th of the same Month, were all agreed to without Amendment, except the 9th, which was amended thus, viz.

Resolved,

Resolved, That such Persons as shall be appointed for the Management of such Workhouses, Hospitals and Houses of Correction, be one Body politic in Law, capable to sue and be sued, and of taking and receiving charitable Contributions and Benefactions, in Money, for the Use of such Bodies politic.

And then this Resolution so amended, was agreed to by the House.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Dundas presented to the House (according to Order) a Bill, for explaining and amending an Act pass'd in the Parliament of Scotland, in the Year 1701, entitled, An Act for preventing wrongous Imprisonment, and against undue Delays in Tryals. Which was read a first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time.

A Petition
of the general
Assembly of
Scotland.

On the 10th of April, a Petition of the then late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, was presented to the House and read, representing, That Patronages have, since the Reformation, been deemed by the said Church a very great Grievance, and not warranted by the Word of God, and have at all Times been struggled against; that, soon after the Revolution, an Act of Parliament was made in Scotland, abolishing the Power of Patrons to present Ministers to vacant Churches; and at the Union of the two Kingdoms, the Establishment of the Church of Scotland, in all its Rights and Privileges, by that and other Acts of Parliament made or ratify'd after the Revolution, was declared to be a fundamental and essential Condition and Article of that Union; and at that Time, it was the Right and Privilege of the said Church to be free from Patronages; but that, by an Act pass'd in the 10th Year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, entitled, An Act to restore the Patrons to their antient Rights of presenting Ministers to the Churches, vacant to that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, the aforesaid Act passed in the Reign of King William, was rescinded, in so far as concerned the Power of Patrons to present Ministers to vacant Parishes, and other Advantages, which had been the chief Things bestow'd on Patrons, in Lieu and Recompence of their former Right of Presentation, were nevertheless suffered to continue with them; and therefore praying the House to pass a Bill for repealing the aforesaid Act of Parliament, pass'd in the 10th Year of Queen Anne, in so far as concerns the Power of Patrons to present Ministers to vacant Churches, in order to restore the Church of Scotland to the Rights and Privileges she was possessed of at the Union of the two Kingdoms.

In Pursuance of this Petition, Leave was given to bring in a Bill for this Purpose, and Mr. Plumer, Mr. Ereskine, Mr. Forbes,

Forbes, Mr. Areskine, Sir James Ferguson, and Mr. Hume Campbell, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same; which Bill was presented by Mr. Plumer on the 18th, but did not pass.

On Thursday the 15th of May, the King came to the Royal Assent House of Peers, and the Commons being sent for, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the following public Bills, viz. several Acts.

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty, by a Land-Tax, to be raised in Great Britain for the Service of the Year 1735.

An Act for enabling his Majesty to apply the Sum of One Million out of the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the Year 1735.

An Act for granting and continuing the Duties upon Salt, and upon Red and White Herrings, for the farther Term of four Years; and for giving farther Time for the Payment of Duties, omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.

An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater and Charles Radcliffe.

An Act to continue several Laws therein mentioned, for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service; for the regulating of Pilots of Dover, Deal, and the Isle of Thanet; for preventing Frauds in the Customs, and to prevent the clandestine Running of Goods, and for making Copper Ore of the British Plantations an enumerated Commodity.

An Act to continue an Act passed in the third Year of his present Majesty's Reign, entitled, An Act for granting Liberty to carry Rice from his Majesty's Province of Carolina in America directly to any Part of Europe Southward of Cape Finisterre, in Ships built in and belonging to Great Britain, and navigated according to Law; and to extend that Liberty to his Majesty's Province of Georgia in America.

An Act to continue some Laws therein mentioned, relating to the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth in Great Britain, and for Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures in this Kingdom.

An Act for regulating the quartering of Soldiers during the Time of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.

An Act to indemnify Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for that Purpose.

An

An Act to indemnify Protestant Purchasers of Estates of Papists, against the Penalties or Forfeitures Papists are liable to, for not having inrolled their Estates, in pursuance of an Act of the 3d Year of King George I. for that Purpose.

An Act to explain and amend an Act passed in the second Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, entitled, An Act for the Relief of Debtors, with respect to the Imprisonment of their Persons.

An Act for the Amendment of the Law relating to Actions on the Statute of Hue and Cry.

An Act for rendering the Laws more effectual for punishing such Persons as shall wilfully and maliciously pull down and destroy Turnpikes for repairing Highways, or Locks, or other Works erected by Act of Parliament for making Rivers navigable; and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

An Act for the public registering all Deeds, &c. within the North Riding of the County of York, after the 29th of September 1736.

An Act for the Encouragement of the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching historical and other Prints, by investing the Property thereof in the Inventors and Engravers, during the Time therein mentioned.

And to ten Road and other Bills of a private Nature, and to sixteen private Bills. For the King's Speech, See page 101.

The Number of contested Elections at the opening of the Parliament was seventy one.

The Account laid before the Parliament of 81568 l. incurred by augmenting his Majesty's Forces, and concerting such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs have required, pursuant to the Vote of Credit, formerly mentioned, is in Substance, viz. 115003 Crowns, being a Moiety of 230000 Crowns payable by Treaty to the King of Denmark for Levy-Money for a Body of 6000 Danish Troops, and 62500 Crowns, being a Moiety of 230000 Crowns, Bank Money of Hamburgh, payable to the King of Denmark for an annual Subsidy, pursuant to the said Treaty, of which a Quarter became due the 19th of December, O. S. The rest of the 81568 l. was for transporting the eight Regiments of Foot from Ireland to this Kingdom, and for Levy-Money to augment the said Regiments, and the sending Six Companies from Gibraltar to Jamaica.

The Expences incurred in the Sea Service, Anno 1734, pursuant to the said Vote of Credit, amounted to 125,142 l.



S P E E C H E S

A N D

D E B A T E S

I N T H E

House of Commons,

D U R I N G

The First Session of the Eighth Parliament
of *Great Britain.*



ON Tuesday, *January 14*, The King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons being sent for and attending, his Majesty's Pleasure was signified to them by the Lord High Chancellor, that they should return to their House and chuse a Speaker: The Commons being return'd accordingly, unanimously chose Arthur Onslow, Esq;

Speaker of the last Parliament.

January 23. The King came to the House of Lords, and the Commons presented their Speaker to his Majesty for his Approbation: His Majesty having approv'd their Choice, open'd the Session with the following Speech.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

The Parliament
meet.

Mr. Arthur Onslow
re-elected Speaker

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

The King's Speech
at opening the First
Session of his Se-
cond Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **T**HE present Posture of Affairs in Europe is so well
“ known to you all, and the good or bad Conse-
“ quences, that may arise, and affect Us, from the War
“ being extinguisht, or being carried on, are so obvious,
“ that I am perswaded you are met together fully prepared
“ and determined to discharge the great Trust reposed in
“ you at this critical Conjunction, in such a Manner, as
“ will best contribute to the Honour and Interest of my
“ Crown and People.

“ I opened the last Session of the late Parliament by ac-
“ quainting them, that as I was no ways engaged, but by
“ My good Offices, in the Transactions that were declared
“ to be the principal Causes and Motives of the present War
“ in Europe, it was necessary to use more than ordinary
“ Prudence and Circumspection, and the utmost Precaution,
“ not to determine too hastily upon so critical and impor-
“ tant a Conjunction; to examine the Facts alledg'd on
“ both Sides, to wait the Result of the Councils of those
“ Powers, that are more nearly and immediately interested
“ in the Consequences of the War, and particularly to con-
“ cert with the States General of the United Provinces,
“ who are under the same Engagements with Me, such
“ Measures as should be thought most advisable for Our
“ common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of Europe.

“ We have accordingly proceeded in this great Affair
“ with the mutual Confidence which subsists between Me
“ and the Republick; and having considered together on
“ one Side the pressing Applications made by the Imperial
“ Court, both here and in Holland, for obtaining Succours
“ against the Powers at War with the Emperor, and the
“ repeated Professions made by the Allies on the other Side,
“ of their sincere Disposition to put an End to the present
“ Troubles upon honourable and solid Terms, I concurred
“ in a Resolution taken by the States General, to employ,
“ without Loss of Time, Our joint and earnest Instances to
“ bring Matters to a speedy and happy Accommodation,
“ before we should come to a Determination upon the Suc-
“ cours demanded by the Emperor. These Instances did
“ not at first produce such explicit Answers from the con-
“ tending Parties, as to enable Us to put immediately in
“ Execution our impartial and sincere Desires for that Pur-
“ pose: Resolved however to pursue so great and salutary
“ a Work, and to prevent Our Subjects from being unne-
“ cessarily involved in War, We renewed the Offer of Our
“ good Offices in so effectual a Manner, as to obtain an
“ Acceptation of them.

“ In

“ In consequence of this Acceptation, and of Our Declaration made thereupon, to the respective Powers engaged in the War, no Time has been lost in taking such Measures, as should be most proper to make the best use of their good Dispositions for re-establishing the Tranquility of Europe: And I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that Things are now brought to so great a Forwardness, that I hope in a short Time a Plan will be offered to the Consideration of all the Parties engaged in the present War, as a Basis for a General Negotiation of Peace, in which the Honour and Interest of all Parties have been consulted, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present Posture of Affairs would permit.

“ I do not take upon Me to answer for the Success of a Negotiation, where so many different Interests are to be considered and reconciled; but when a Proceeding is founded upon Reason, and formed from such Lights as can be had, it had been inexcusable not to have attempted a Work which may produce infinite Benefits and Advantages, and can be of no Prejudice, if we do not suffer Ourselves to be so far amused by Hopes, that may possibly be afterwards disappointed, as to leave Ourselves exposed to real Dangers.

“ I have made use of the Power, which the late Parliament intrusted Me with, with great Moderation; and I have concluded a Treaty with the Crown of Denmark, of great Importance in the present Conjuncture. It is impossible, when all the Courts of Europe are busy and in motion, to secure to themselves such Supports as Time and Occasion may require, for Me to sit still, and neglect Opportunities, which, if once lost, may not only be irretrievable, but turned as greatly to Our Prejudice, as they will prove to our Advantage, by being seasonably secured; and which, if neglected, would have been thought a just Cause of Complaint. This necessary Confidence, placed in Me, has given great Weight to my Endeavours for the Publick Good.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the Accounts and Estimates to be prepared and laid before you, of such extraordinary Expences, as were incurred last Year, and of such Services, as I think highly necessary to be carried on and provided for: And whatever additional Charges shall be found necessary shall be reduced, as soon as it can be done consistently with the common Security.

“ And as the Treaty with the Crown of Denmark is attended with an Expence, I have ordered the same to be laid before you.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

“ I make no doubt but I shall find in this House of Commons the same Zeal, Duty, and Affection, as I have experienced through the whole Course of my Reign ; and that you will raise the necessary Supplies with Chearfulness, Unanimity, and Dispatch.

“ The Sense of the Nation is best to be learned by the Choice of their Representatives ; and I am persuaded, that the Behaviour and Conduct of my faithful Commons will demonstrate, to all the World, the unshaken Fidelity and Attachment of my good Subjects to my Person and Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is our Happiness to have continued hitherto in a State of Peace ; but whilst many of the principal Powers of Europe are engaged in War, the Consequences must more or less affect Us ; and as the best concerted Measures are liable to Uncertainty, We ought to be in a Readiness, and prepared against all Events ; and if Our Expences are in some Degree increased, to prevent greater, and such as if once entered into, it would be difficult to see the End of, I hope My good Subjects will not repine at the necessary Means of procuring the Blessings of Peace, and of universal Tranquility, or of putting Ourselves in a Condition to act that Part, which may be necessary and incumbent upon Us to take.”

Mr Harris's Motion for an Address of Thanks.

Jan. 27. Mr Speaker having reported his Majesty's Speech, Mr Harris, Member for Fowey, mov'd, ' That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to return his Majesty the Thanks of that House, for his most gracious Speech from the Throne : To acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, in pursuing such Measures as tended towards procuring Peace and Accommodation, rather than involve this Nation and all Europe too precipitately in a general and bloody War : To express the just Sense that House had of his Majesty's tender Regard for the publick Repose and Tranquility, and of his unwearied Endeavours in forming, in Concert with the States General, such a Plan of a general Pacification as his Majesty, in his great Wisdom, conceived was consistent with the Honour and Interest of all Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present Posture of Affairs would permit : To assure his Majesty, that that House would chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms : And whatever should be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, would enable his Majesty to act that Part which Honour and Justice,

stice, and the true Interest of his People should call upon him to undertake.' Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Harris being back'd by Mr Campbell of Pembroke-shire, several Members objected to some Expressions in the Motion, which, as they thought, imply'd a too general Approbation of former Measures: And upon this Occasion Sir William Wyndham propos'd, That the last Paragraph should run thus, ' To assure his Majesty that, *after a full State of the Affairs of the Nation had been laid before them, and consider'd by them,* they would chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, *and in Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by the other Powers, who were under the same Engagements with this Nation, and not then involv'd in the War:* And whatever should be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, would enable his Majesty to act that Part, which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of his People should call upon him to undertake.' Debate thereon.
Mr Campbell.
Sir W. Wyndham.

But some Gentlemen disliking the first Part of this Amendment, Sir Joseph Jekyll offer'd an Amendment to the Amendment propos'd by Sir William Wyndham, as follows: ' To assure his Majesty, that that House would chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, *and in Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by the other Powers, who were under the same Engagements with this Nation, and not then involv'd in the War:* And, whatever should be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, would enable his Majesty to act that Part, which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of his People should call upon him to undertake.' Sir J. Jekyll.

The Motion for the Amendment was strenuously supported by Lord Morpeth, Lord Noel Somerset, Mr Shippen, Sir Thomas Aiton, Mr Dundas, Mr Gibbon, Mr Sandys, Mr Walter Plumer, and Mr William Pulteney: The Reasons they gave for their Exceptions to the Address as first propos'd, and for the Amendment offer'd, were as follows: Ld Morpeth.
Ld Noel Somerset.
Mr Shippen.
Sir Tho. Aiton.
Mr Dundas.
Mr Gibbon.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr W. Pulteney.

Mr Speaker,

' As this is a new Parliament, I hope we shall begin with shewing a little more Regard to the ancient Custom and Dignity of Parliaments, than has been shewn of late Years. In former Times, the Addresses of this House, in Return to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, were always conceived in the most general Terms. Our Ancestors would never condescend upon that Occasion, to enter into the Particulars

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Particulars of his Majesty's Speech : When they were to approach the King, and to declare their Affection and their Fidelity to him, they thought it was inconsistent with that Fidelity they were to declare, to approve, upon that Occasion, of any ministerial Measures, and much more so, to declare their Satisfaction with Measures they knew nothing about. This House is the grand Inquest of the Nation, appointed to inquire diligently, and to represent faithfully to the King, all the Grievances of his People, and all the Crimes and Mismanagements of his Servants; and therefore it must always be a Breach of our Fidelity to our Sovereign, as well as a Breach of our Duty to his People, to approve blindly the Conduct of his Servants. When we have examined diligently, and considered deliberately the Conduct of any Minister, and are at last fully convinced that he has acted prudently and wisely for the publick Good, it is then our Duty to return him the Thanks of the Publick, and to represent him as a faithful Minister to his Master; but to make Panegyricks upon the Conduct of any of the King's Servants, before we have examined into it, is more like the Language of Slaves and Sycophants to a prime Minister, than that of loyal and faithful Subjects to their Sovereign.

' I must acknowledge, Sir, that the Motion now made to us is more general, and more adapted to the ancient Custom of Parliament, than most I have heard since I have had the Honour to be a Member of this House. I hope we shall not find that this extraordinary Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Misconduct: For the Sake of the Publick I heartily wish we may find that it proceeds from superior Merit; which is, indeed, generally attended with superior Modesty; but as I have always been, upon such Occasions, against general Encomiums upon Ministers, and as the Proposition now before us, or at least a great Part of it, implies a general Approbation of all our late Measures, particularly those relating to the present War, which the Majority of this House are, in my Opinion, intirely ignorant of, I cannot agree to it; because I have not yet learned Complaisance enough to approve of what I know nothing about, much less to approve of what I violently suspect to be wrong.

' I had the Honour, Sir, to be a Member of this House in the last Parliament; and I remember several Motions were then made, for getting some Insight into the State of our foreign Affairs and our late Transactions; Motions which appeared to me highly reasonable, and even absolutely necessary to be complied with, before the House could reasonably comply with the Demands that were then made upon them;

them: But every one of these Motions had a Negative put upon it. I have always had a Suspicion of the Works of Darknefs; I do not like any Conduct that cannot stand the Light at Noon-Day; and therefore I am afraid some of our late Transactions are such as no Man could approve of, if they were exposed to publick View. We have been long amused with Hopes of some extraordinary Benefits, that were to accrue to the Nation from our many tedious and expensive Negotiations: We have been long in Expectation; but when one Negotiation was over, we have been always told to have Patience, the next was to accomplish all our Desires; we have accordingly had a great deal of Patience; but, so far as I can comprehend, I can observe no Benefits that have accrued, or are like to accrue; but, on the contrary, many Dangers and Disadvantages; So that the whole Train of our late Negotiations really seem to me to have been calculated for no other End, but to extricate a Set of puzzled, perplexed Negotiators, from some former Blunder, by which they have generally been led into a second, of worse Consequence than the first: Every subsequent Negotiation seems to me to have had no other View or Design, but to get rid of some Dilemma we were thrown into by the former; and happy have we thought ourselves, after a great deal of Money spent, if we could but recover our former Condition. In short, Sir, if any Gentleman will rise up and shew me any Addition, or any new Advantage, with respect either to our Trade or our Possessions, that this Nation has acquired by any of our late Transactions, I shall agree to the Motion; but considering the great Expence this Nation has been put to, and the great Losses many of our Merchants have, without any Redress or Satisfaction, sustained, I cannot agree to pass Compliments upon, or declare my Satisfaction with, our late Management in general, 'till it be made appear to me, that these publick and private Losses have been some Way ballanced by National Advantages.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

‘ The second Paragraph of the Motion I am, indeed, surprized at upon another Account, to make our Acknowledgements to his Majesty, for not involving the Nation too precipitately in a bloody War, is, in my Opinion, very far from being a Compliment to his Majesty; It is impossible, it is not to be presumed that his Majesty can do any such Thing; but if it were possible, and if any such thing had been done, to be sure it would have been doing the Nation a very notable Mischief; and according to the Idiom of our Language, at least in private Life, to thank a Man, or to make our Acknowledgements to a Man, for his not doing us a notable Mischief, is a contemptuous way of expressing

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

sing ourselves, and is always an Insinuation, that from such a Man's Malice, or his Weakness, or Imprudence, we expected some notable Mischief; and therefore when we are disappointed, when the Mischief is not so great as we expected, we say, by way of Contempt, that we are obliged to him. If none but Ministers were concerned in this Part of the Motion, I should have let it pass without any Remark, nay, I should readily have agreed to it; but as his Majesty is concerned, I hope the Gentlemen who made the Motion will take Care to have it some way altered, if they are resolved to have it stand Part of the Address. This shews, Sir, how apt People are to fall into Blunders, when they attempt to make extravagant and forced Compliments; and therefore I wish we would resolve to avoid such Dangers, by confining our Address to a general Acknowledgement of Thanks to his Majesty, for his most gracious Speech from the Throne, and a Declaration of our Affections towards him, of our Attachment to his Family, and our Zeal for his Service.

‘ However, Sir, as it has been granted upon all Hands, that nothing contained in our Address can prevent the future Inquiries of this House, or can be a Bar to our censuring what we shall upon Inquiry find to be amiss, therefore I shall propose no Amendment to the former Part of the Motion: But I must take Notice of one Thing which is apparent, without any Inquiry, to every Man in this House, to every Man who knows any thing of publick Affairs; and that is, the great Charge this Nation has already been put to on account of the War, while the other Powers of Europe, not yet engaged in the War, have not put themselves to one Shilling Expence: Nay, even our Allies the Dutch, who, as his Majesty has been pleased to tell us, are under the same Engagements with us, have not put themselves to the least Charge on account of the present War. Now, Sir, as his Majesty has told us, that we had no Concern with the Causes or Motives of the War, we cannot therefore be involved in it, unless it be for the Preservation of the Balance of Power; and as all our Allies are as much interested in this Respect as we are, it is reasonable they should bear their proportionable Share of the Expence: And as they have yet done nothing like it, I think it is become necessary for us to take some Notice of this Matter in our Address to his Majesty, for which Reason I shall move for this Amendment to the latter Part of the Address: viz. ‘ That this House will chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as shall be necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms; *And in Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by the other Powers*

Power, who were under the same Engagements with this Nation, and not then involved in the War ; And whatever shall be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, will enable his Majesty to act that Part, which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of his People shall call upon him to undertake.'

Anno 8. Geo. R.
1734-35.

In Answer to these Objections, and in Support of the Motion, Mr Winnington, Mr Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, Mr Danvers and Mr Oglethorpe urged the following Arguments.

Mr Winnington.
Mr H. Pelham.
Sir W. Yonge.
Mr Danvers.
Mr Oglethorpe.

Mr Speaker,

' As Gentlemen, who have spoke in this Debate, seem to want a much more thorough Reformation in the Motion now before us, than that proposed by the Amendment, I must beg Leave to take Notice of what they have said in general, before I come to speak to the Amendment proposed. We have been told a great deal, Sir, of the ancient Usage and Custom of Parliament, with respect to their Manner of addressing the King, by way of Return to his Speech from the Throne : What the Gentlemen may mean by this ancient Usage, or at what Time they have a Mind to fix it, I do not know ; but I am very sure, that ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I never knew an Address proposed in more general Terms than that now before us ; and therefore I am apt to conclude, that no Address can be proposed in this House, but what some Gentlemen will find Fault with. I shall agree with the honourable Gentlemen, that one of the chief Ends of our Meeting here, is to inquire diligently, and represent faithfully to the King, the Crimes and Mismanagements of his Servants, as well as the Grievances of his People ; but when his Majesty has given us an Account of his Conduct, surely that does not hinder us from making him such general Compliments, for the Accounts he has been pleased to give us, as will not obstruct our future Inquiries, or prevent our Censures, in case we should afterwards find, that any of his Servants had acted unfaithfully or imprudently, even with respect to those very Affairs he had been pleased to give us an Account of in his Speech.

' It has been acknowledged, that the Motion before us is more general than what is usual upon such Occasions ; but it is to be feared, it seems, that this extraordinary Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Misconduct. At this Rate, Sir, the Gentlemen who have the Honour to serve the Crown must have a very hard Task : If they or their Friends propose a long and particular Address, they are then accused of endeavouring to impose upon the Honour and

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Dignity of this House ; and if they propose a short Address, and expressed in the most general Terms, Insinuations are then made, that their Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Guilt ; so that let them chuse which way they will, it is impossible for them to avoid Censure : Yet, even this Address, general as it is, is, it seems, to be looked on as an Encomium upon the Ministers, and as an Approbation of what we know nothing about ; but, in my Opinion, if we examine the several Paragraphs, it will appear to be neither the one nor the other.

By the first Paragraph found Fault with, it is proposed to acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, in pursuing such Measures as tend towards procuring Peace and Accommodation : By this, Sir, we do not declare, that his Majesty has pursued such Measures, nor do we approve of the Measures he has pursued ; but when those Measures are made publick, if it should appear that they were such as tended to procure Peace and Accommodation, surely this House, nay the whole World, ought to acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness and Wisdom in that Respect ; and all that can be supposed to be meant by this Paragraph is, to acknowledge that there is more Wisdom and Goodness in pursuing such Measures towards procuring Peace, than in pursuing such Measures, as might tend to involve the Nation and all Europe too precipitately in War : This then cannot, I think, be supposed to be an Encomium upon any Minister, nor an Approbation of any of the Measures that have been pursued.

By the other Paragraph it is proposed, to express the just Sense we have of his Majesty's Regard for the publick Tranquility, and of his Endeavour to form, in Concert with the States General, such a Plan of Pacification, as his Majesty conceives is consistent with the Honour and Interest of all Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time and the present Posture of Affairs will permit : Here again we approve of nothing : We do not approve of the Plan that is to be offered ; we do not so much as approve of any one Step that has been taken in the forming of that Plan ; we only acknowledge his Majesty's tender Regard for the publick Tranquility, in endeavouring to form such a Plan as may restore it : This surely is what no Man can deny, nor hesitate one Moment in acknowledging ; and I believe that it will be as readily granted, that it was better to form this Plan in Concert with the States General, than to form it without any such Concert. So that I cannot really comprehend how this Paragraph can be interpreted to be an Encomium upon any Minister, or an Approbation of any Measure : And therefore, tho' we knew nothing of the Measures

asures that have been pursued, nay, tho' we even had a violent Suspicion that wrong Measures have been pursued, neither our Ignorance nor our Suspicions can be any Objection to either of those Paragraphs.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' As to our Ignorance of the Measures that have been lately pursued, it is certain we are ignorant of a great many of them, and it is necessary it should be so; for with respect to publick Transactions, especially those with foreign Courts, it is absolutely necessary that many of them should remain secret for several Years after they are passed; nay, there are some that ought for ever to remain a Secret: And that any Transaction can remain a Secret long after it has been communicated to this House, I believe no Gentleman will pretend to affirm; for tho' the Members of this House might perhaps depend upon the Fidelity and the Secrecy of one another, yet we cannot answer for the Strangers that may be amongst us. This, Sir, was the only Reason, why this House was pleased to put a Negative upon the Motions pointed at by the honourable Gentlemen; and as I had likewise the Honour to be then a Member of this House, I heard such Reasons given for not complying with those Motions, as convinced me, that a Compliance with any one of them would have been one of the greatest Injuries we could have done our Country: It was not that the Authors of those Transactions were afraid, on their own Accounts, that the Transactions they had been concerned in should be exposed to publick View; it was impossible it could be so; for if they had been possessed with any such Fears, if they had given the least Ground to suspect they were so, it would have been a good, and I am persuaded a prevailing Reason for this House to have complied with those Motions.

' But, Sir, as to the Suspicions that some Gentlemen may entertain, with regard to all or any of our past Measures, it is impossible to say any Thing of them, unless the Gentlemen will be pleased to acquaint us with the Grounds of their Suspicion: When they do that, it may perhaps be in Gentlemen's Power to shew, that those Grounds are very far from being solid. They talk of our having been for a long Time amused with Hopes, and of our having been desired to have Patience: 'Tis true, Sir, there are some amongst us, not in the House I hope, but in the Nation, I will say, there are a great many who have been long amused with Hopes, who have had a great deal of Patience: They have, indeed, been under a continual Course of Patience ever since the Beginning of the late Reign: They have not yet seen, and I wish they may never see that Event happen, which they have been so long hoping for, which

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

they have waited for with so much Patience : And, in my Opinion, the many Disappointments they have met with, is one of the best Reasons that can be assigned for our having no Cause to suspect any Misconduct in our late Measures.

‘ I do not think it the Interest of this Nation to be fond of adding much to our Possessions ; and considering the Ambition of foreign Courts, and the Disturbances given to our Government by a disaffected Party at Home, our having preserved entire our foreign Possessions, and prevented all Invasions upon our People at Home, is an Argument, that all our late Measures have been concerted and pursued with the utmost Foresight and Prudence. To this we may add, that tho’ our Trade has been sometimes a little interrupted by the ambitious Views of foreign Courts, yet it is certain, it has greatly improved in every Branch within these last twenty Years, and is now, I believe, in as flourishing a State as ever the Trade of Great Britain was in any Age : So that to return the Compliment to the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, if either of them will shew me where the Nation has lately suffered, either in its Possessions, or in its Trade, by any Mismanagement of those at the Helm of our own Affairs, I shall agree to any Amendment they please to propose ; but I cannot think it reasonable to load our own Ministers with the little Disturbances we have met with, or the small Losses we may have sustained by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts.

‘ With regard to the Impropriety of Expression taken Notice of, I cannot think there is any good Foundation for the Criticism ; but if there were, we must see that it proceeds entirely from the great Care the honourable Gentleman, who made the Motion, took, to avoid every Thing that might look like an Approbation of any late Measure : For this Reason he would not propose that we should thank his Majesty for not involving us in the War, because it might have been said, that for what we knew it was necessary, it was incumbent upon us, to have engaged at the very Beginning of the War ; therefore, to avoid this Objection, he only proposes that we should make our Acknowledgements to his Majesty, for not having engaged too precipitately in the War ; and as this might have been done, and would, as the honourable Gentleman says, have been doing a very notable Injury to the Nation, I cannot find that there is any Impropriety in our making our Acknowledgements to his Majesty, for his not having done so.

‘ I come now to that which I take to be the only Question now before us, I mean, Sir, the Amendment proposed, as it now stands amended. I shall readily grant, that all the Nations of Europe are equally concerned with us in supporting

ing the Balance of Power, and that therefore it is very reasonable, that every one of them should bear a proportionable Share of the Expence necessary, or that may become necessary for that Purpose ; and I am persuaded his Majesty will use his utmost Endeavours to prevail with every one of them, to do what is incumbent upon them in that Respect ; but I must leave it to Gentlemen to consider, whether our putting such a Caution into our Address, would not shew to the whole World a sort of Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct. I am convinced we have no Cause, from any Part of his Majesty's past Conduct, to shew any Diffidence in his future ; and I am very certain, we never could have chosen a worse Time than the present, to begin to shew any such Diffidence : The Nation is in great Danger of being involved in a bloody and expensive War, unless his Majesty succeeds in his Endeavours for restoring the Peace and Tranquility of Europe ; and it is certain, that nothing can contribute more towards rendering his Majesty's Endeavours successful, than an established and general Belief, that a perfect Harmony and entire Confidence subsists between him and his Parliament : While they are convinced of this, every one of the Parties now engaged in War will be cautious of giving too great a Scope to their ambitious Views, or of pushing too far the Success they may have, for fear of drawing upon themselves the united Force of the King and Parliament of Great Britain ; but if any Reason should be given for them to believe, that the Parliament puts no Confidence in his Majesty's Conduct, they may then conceive Hopes of disuniting the Power of Great Britain ; and in that Case they will not much regard the most reasonable Terms of Peace, that can be offered to them, by means of his Majesty's Mediation : Nay, I have good Reason to believe, that some of the Powers engaged in the War, particularly Spain, will give no positive Answer to the Instances lately made to them, 'till they hear of the Opening of the British Parliament, and the Addresses made upon that Occasion ; and if any Mistrust in his Majesty's Conduct should appear in our Address, we may believe their Answer will not be such as ought to be wished for : Thus, by acting too cautiously, we may not only prevent the Success of his Majesty's Endeavours for restoring the publick Tranquility, but we may give such Encouragement to the ambitious Views of some of the Powers of Europe, as must necessarily at last involve this Nation in a most expensive, and even a most dangerous War.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ But this, Sir, is not the only Objection against the Amendment proposed ; for though all the Nations of Europe are equally concerned with us in preserving the Balance of Power,

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Power, yet some of them may be blind to their own Interest; nay, it is very probable some of them always will; and are we to neglect what is necessary for our own Security, or to refuse contributing any Thing towards preserving or restoring the Balance of Power, because every one of the other Parties concerned will not contribute their proportionable Share? This, in my Opinion, would be a very odd Sort of Maxim for us to lay down; it is such a one as I hope will never be insisted on in the Councils of Great Britain. Suppose, for Example, our Neighbours, the States General, should be so blind to the real Interest of their Country, as to look quietly on till they saw any one of the Powers of Europe extend their Conquests so far, as to be able to give the Law to all the rest; would that be a Reason for our behaving in the same Manner? No, Sir, let our Neighbours do what they will, it is incumbent upon us to look in Time to our own Security; and I hope we shall always be ready to do what our Honour and our Safety may require, upon every such Occasion; for if ever we should resolve to put ourselves to no Charges for preserving the Balance of Power, unless the States General, or any other Nation in Europe, would agree to join with us, and to bear a proportionable Share of the Expence, we should from that Moment become dependent upon that other State, and consequently should be neglected and despised by all the other Powers of Europe.

‘ Therefore, Sir, as the Amendment proposed tends, in my Opinion, towards shewing a Diffidence in his Majesty’s Conduct; and as it tends towards placing this Nation in a Sort of Dependency upon other Powers, I cannot but be against it.’

To the above it was replied by the same Members, who were for the Amendment, as follows:

Mr Speaker,

‘ Although I have had the Honour to be long a Member of this House, yet I find I never knew the whole of my Duty till this Day; for I always imagined that we met here to do Business, and not to make Compliments. I shall never be against expressing our Loyalty and our Fidelity to our Sovereign; upon every proper Occasion; because I take it to be no Compliment, I take it to be our Duty, and immemorial Custom has established it as such, at the Beginning of every Session of Parliament; but to applaud his Majesty’s Wisdom, his Goodness, and his tender Regard for his People in every Part of his Conduct, which he may be pleased to mention in his Speech, is a Method of expressing ourselves which ought indeed to be called Complimenting; it can be called nothing else, because it cannot be sincere,
when

Ld Morpeth.
Ld Noel Somerset.
Mr Shippen.
Sir Tho. Aston.
Mr Dandass.
Mr Gibbon.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr W. Pulteney.

when we bestow those high Epithets upon what we know nothing about. This, indeed, I never before understood to be any Part of our Duty, and I am sure the Custom is not immemorial ; for if Gentlemen will look but a very little Way back in our Journals they will see when it began ; and I must say, I am sorry it was ever begun ; for, in my Opinion, it derogates highly from the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, and from that Sincerity and Simplicity, for which this Nation was, in ancient Times, so deservedly famous.

Anno 8. Geo. 1st.
1734-35.

‘ The honourable Gentlemen appear under a great Concern for those who have the Honour to serve the Crown : Perhaps my Concern for them is not so great ; and for this Reason it may be, that I do not think their Task so hard ; I confess that when I observe any Modesty in them, I am apt enough to suspect that it proceeds from Consciousness of Guilt, rather than from Consciousness of Merit ; and in their Motions for Addresses they have of late so very seldom shewn any Modesty, that I was surprized to find the least Appearance of it upon the present Occasion. However, Sir, it cannot be said that the Modesty they have now shewn is in any Degree excessive ; for as the Speeches from the Throne are, by the Custom of Parliament, supposed to be Speeches from the Ministers ; and as his Majesty’s Conduct, when it comes to be consider’d in this House, is always supposed to be the Conduct of his Ministers, I cannot allow that those, who propose that we should talk so much in our Address of their Wisdom and Goodness, and of their tender Regard for the publick Repose and Tranquility, have testified any excessive Degree of Modesty, though it may perhaps appear to be a little more than what has lately been usual upon such Occasions. If the Gentlemen had been pleased to have left out the two Paragraphs in which these Compliments are contained, their Modesty surely would have been greater, and their Task would certainly have been easier, because the Motion would have been shorter ; and I am convinced it would have given more Satisfaction to the Majority of the Nation, and I hope, to the Majority of this House.

I must say, Sir, I am not a little surprized to hear any Gentleman undertake to shew, that neither of the two Paragraphs found Fault with, contain an Encomium upon any Minister, or an Approbation of any Measure : I am persuaded, every Man without Doors that reads them will think otherwise ; nay, I am convinced, that all those, who are not acquainted with our modern Refinements in Politicks, will think that we could not with any Sincerity express ourselves so, without having been made acquainted with all the late Measures relating to War or Peace, so as to be able to see

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

see that they deserved those fine Epithets we are to give them: They will not consider that these fine Expressions are designed only as Compliments, and therefore do not require any Sincerity.

As to the first Paragraph, the honourable Gentleman has acknowledged, that if the Words *too precipitately* had not been put in, it would have been a Declaration, at least, that it was neither necessary nor incumbent upon us to engage in the War, which was a Declaration this House could not decently make, without knowing something more of our late Transactions than have been yet communicated to us: And an honourable Gentleman, who spoke before him, has shewed, I think, to a Demonstration, that the putting of those Words in our Address will carry an Insinuation, which I hope no Man will apply to his Majesty, whatever may be done with respect to the Ministers: But the Paragraph, even with these Words, imports a Declaration from us, that it would have been precipitate, it would have been rash, to have involved the Nation in War before this Time; which is a Declaration we cannot, in my Opinion, make, without more Lights than we have at present before us: But suppose that we are convinced of the Truth of this Declaration, what are we then to do? We are to acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, or rather the Wisdom and Goodness of his Ministers, in not having been guilty of a rash Action; and whether such an Acknowledgment be consistent with the Dignity of this House, or even with common Sense, I must leave to Gentlemen to judge?

With regard to the other Paragraph, allow me to suppose, Sir, that we were by the Treaty of Vienna, or otherwise, obliged in Honour to send immediate Succours to the Emperor, would it not look very odd in us, to make our Acknowledgments to those who advised his Majesty to interpose only as a Mediator, when he was in Honour obliged to engage as a Party in the Dispute? Let me suppose again, that there were several Disputes and Differences subsisting between this Nation and any one of the Parties concerned in the present War, which Disputes and Differences we had no Hopes of accommodating in a friendly Manner; and which were of such a Nature as could not be given up, without injuring both the Honour and the Interest of the Nation: In such a Case, could we have had a more proper Opportunity to vindicate our Honour and our just Rights? and if so, can we make any Acknowledgments to those who have advised his Majesty not to lay hold of such a fair Opportunity? Then, as to our Concert with the Dutch, whether there has been any such or not, does not, I am sure, appear from any publick Step they have taken; and therefore I do not see

see how we can make our Acknowledgments on that Account : I hope, however, it is so ; I hope they have acted in every Thing in Concert with us, as well as we have done with them. I believe it is their Interest as well as ours to act in that Manner ; but a Nation may mistake its own Interest, and therefore I may suppose that they have been from the very Beginning of this War, and even before it broke out, engaged in a separate Interest ; if so, can we make any Acknowledgments to those who have advised his Majesty to concert any Measures with them ? All these Suppositions may be true, for what we know ; and yet by agreeing to this Paragraph we must presume every one of them to be false, otherwise we must appear to be inconsistent with ourselves.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Thus, Sir, even to take these two Paragraphs in the Sense that the honourable Gentleman has put upon them, we must suppose we were no way engaged, either in Honour or Interest, to take a Share in the present War ; that it would have been precipitate and rash in us to have engaged in it, and that the Dutch are engaged in the same Interest, and have acted in every Thing in Concert with us ; which are Suppositions we have not, I am afraid, any great Reason to make : But our Constituents, the People who sent us hither, and whose good Opinion we ought to preserve, will go farther : They will, from these two Paragraphs in our Address, suppose, that the Measures pursued by the Ministers, for procuring Peace and Accommodation, have been wise and good ; that the Plan of Peace is such a one as it ought to be, and that the most prudent Measures have been taken to make it effectual ; and if they should afterwards find themselves mistaken, what Opinion can they have of our Wisdom and Goodness ? I am afraid it will be but a poor Excuse, to an honest, sincere Country-Gentleman, that he is never to look for Sincerity in the Addresses of this House, and that we never mean any Thing but Compliment by any general Expressions in them.

From what I have said, Sir, I think it will appear, that both our Ignorance and our Suspicions are good Arguments against our making such high Compliments to the Ministers ; for it is upon them these Compliments are, by the Custom of Parliament, presumed to be bestowed : His Majesty has no Concern in the Debate, and therefore we may treat the Subject with the more Freedom. Our Ignorance, as to all our late Transactions, is very great, and if future Parliaments should be always of the same Opinion the last was of, we are like to remain for ever in the most profound Ignorance ; for I did not hear one Argument made Use of in the last Parliament against the Motions then made, for some Insight into our Foreign Affairs, but what will for ever be as strong as it

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1714-25.

was at that Time : The Motions then made were not for a Discovery of any of the Transactions then upon the Anvil : These Motions were only for some Papers, relating to Transactions that had been quite finished several Years before ; and the only Reason I heard given for refusing us that Favour was, that the publishing of such Papers, the discovering of such Transactions, might open old Sores, they might relate some way or another to the present Transactions, and therefore it was not proper they should be laid before us ; nay, we were not so much as allowed to call for them, in order to have had that Answer from his Majesty, from whom only it was proper for this House to take any such Answer. At this Rate, Sir, we shall never have any Account of the Transactions of any Minister 'till some new Favourite starts up, and resolves to disgrace his Predecessor, by exposing the Wickedness or the Folly of his Conduct.

‘ That our late Conduct has not been quite so prudent is, I am sure, very much suspected by the Generality of the Nation, whatever it may be by the Majority of this House. We have been long amused, Sir, we have had a great deal of Patience, but it is not, Sir, that Sort of People, meant by the honourable Gentlemen, who have been so amused : It is not the Disaffected, the Enemies to his Majesty’s Family and the present happy Establishment, who have been obliged to have Patience ; no, Sir, such Men are, I believe, glad to see such Measures pursued : It is those who are well affected towards his Majesty, those who are real Friends to the present Establishment, who have been lately amused, and it must be acknowledged they have had a great deal of Patience. That the Nation has been affronted, that our Trade has been interrupted, that our Merchants have been plundered, and our Seamen most cruelly used, are Facts not to be controverted. Whether they have proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, or from the Blunders of some of our own People at home, is a Question this House ought to look into ; and for that Purpose we ought to insist upon having all necessary Lights laid before us. But for the present, I shall suppose, that they have all proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts : What Satisfaction then have we obtained for the Insults and Indignities we have suffered ? What Reparation have our Merchants got for the Losses they have sustained ? Is this Nation brought so low, that we must submit to suffer, to be disturbed, by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, without daring once to insist upon an adequate Satisfaction, a full Reparation ? I hope not, Sir ; and ’till an adequate Satisfaction and full Reparation be obtained, I shall not be ready to agree to pass Compliments upon our late Conduct. If we
have

have met with so few or so small Disturbances, if our Trade has so greatly increased, what Advantage hath the publick reaped from the happy State we have been in ? What Part of the publick Debts have we discharged ? What Taxes have we relieved the People from ? Surely, Sir, if we have been for so many Years in such a happy State, a great Part of our Debts might have been discharged, and several of our most grievous Taxes taken off. But the Fact is otherwise ; we have been every Year keeping up great Armies, fitting out great Fleets, and putting the Nation to a vast Expence. In short, Sir, we have been for these several Years in a very odd Sort of State ; we have had War without Hostilities, and Peace without Quiet ; and while the Nation continues in the same mongrel Sort of State, shall this House pass high Compliments on the Conduct of our Ministers ?

ANNO 5. GEO. II.
1734-35

To pretend, Sir, that the Amendment offered will shew a Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct, is to tell this House, that we must never recommend any Measures to our Sovereign, or rather to the Ministers of our Sovereign ; which is a Maxim no Member of this House will, I hope, admit of. Surely, Sir, we are not to neglect our Duty to our Country, or to our King, for fear of giving foreign Courts Cause to think that we have a Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct : Such Surmises we are always to disregard, even tho' the Nation were in much greater Danger than it is at present ; and for this we have many Precedents, but one I shall take Notice of, which I think directly to the Point. I believe it will be granted, that in the Year 1702 this Nation was in greater Danger than it can be supposed at present ; we had then actually declared War against France and Spain, who had at that Time in Alliance with them the King of Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Bavaria, whereas we had none but the Emperor and the Dutch ; yet in that Year this House not only recommended to the late Queen, to prevail with the Dutch to prohibit Trade with France and Spain ; but actually made it one of the Conditions of the Power they gave her to augment her Forces, and that no foreign Troops she should take into her Service, should enter into English Pay 'till that Condition was complied with. I do not doubt but the House was then told, that such a Recommendation, much more such a Condition annexed to this Grant, would shew a Mistrust in her Majesty's Conduct ; but they thought it their Duty to do so, and therefore they had no Regard to such Insinuations ; and we all know, that their Behaviour was attended with no bad Consequence.

Anno 3. Geo. II.
1714-35.

' The Balance of Power in Europe is certainly of as much Consequence to other Nations as it is to this; and when it comes to be really in Danger, it is not to be questioned but we shall find other Powers as ready to join with us as we are to join with them, for its Preservation; and unless we shew too much Readiness to bear all the Expence, it is also certain, that those who are in equal Danger will never refuse to bear their proportionable Share of the Expence. But if ever this Nation should set itself up as the Don Quixote of Europe, we may then expect that most of the Powers of Europe, who are not immediately attacked, will leave the whole Burden upon us; and this, I am afraid, is too much the Case at present; for as our Neighbours the Dutch are more exposed to the Danger than we are, I must conclude from their Inactivity, that either they do not think the Balance of Power in Danger, or otherwise we have given them Room to believe that we will take upon us the Defence of this Balance, without putting them to any Trouble or Expence; and for this Reason I think it is become absolutely necessary for us to give some such Recommendations to his Majesty, as is proposed by this Amendment, in order to convince the World, that we are resolv'd not to set ourselves up as the Dupes of Europe. Such a Resolution can subject us to no Dependency, because it is a Resolution we can alter whenever we have a Mind; for if such a Case should happen, as it is hardly possible it ever will, that most of the Nations in Europe should resolve to look tamely on, and see the Balance of Power quite overturned, I should then think it the Duty and the Honour of this Nation, rather to play the Don Quixote of Europe, than to see our own Liberties swallowed up in the Ruins of those of our Neighbours.'

Then the Question being put for agreeing to the Amendment, it passed in the Negative by 265 to 185. Whereupon the Address was agreed to, without any farther Debate; and a Committee was appointed to draw up the same.

An Address of
Thanks agreed to;

Jan. 28. The Address was reported to the House by Mr Hedges, and agreed to.

And presented.

Jan. 29. The same was presented to the King as follows.

The Address.

Most gracious Sovereign,
WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return Our humblest Thanks, for Your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne; and to acknowledge, in the most grateful Manner, Your Majesty's tender and affectionate Concern for the Well-
fare

‘ fare of Your People, in steadily pursuing such Measures
 ‘ as have tended towards Peace and Accommodation, ra-
 ‘ ther than to involve too precipitately this Kingdom, and
 ‘ all Europe, in a general and bloody War.

Anne 8. Geo. II.
 1734-35.

‘ Among so many differing Interests and contending Pow-
 ‘ ers engaged in the present War, it is Your Majesty’s Wis-
 ‘ dom and Goodness alone, which could have secured to
 ‘ Us Our present happy Situation; and the Crown of Great
 ‘ Britain could never appear with greater Honour and Lu-
 ‘ lure, than by Your Majesty’s interposing Your good Of-
 ‘ fices between the contending Parties: And as they have
 ‘ received them with due Respect, we cannot but hope,
 ‘ their own Prudence will help to compleat so desirable a
 ‘ Work.

‘ It is our Duty, and we beg Leave to express the grea-
 ‘ test Gratitude to Your Majesty, for the Care and Con-
 ‘ cern, which must have attended Your unwearied Endeav-
 ‘ ours, both in beginning and carrying on these good Of-
 ‘ fices, which being accepted, have brought Things to so
 ‘ great a Forwardness, that a Plan, in concert with the States
 ‘ General, may in a short Time be offered to the Considera-
 ‘ tion of all the Powers engaged in the War; which, not-
 ‘ withstanding the great Difficulties that must attend so great
 ‘ a Work, may serve for the Basis of a general Negotiation
 ‘ of Peace, consistent with the Honour and Interest of all
 ‘ Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the pre-
 ‘ sent Situation of Affairs will permit.

‘ If these Measures, concerted for the common Repose
 ‘ and Tranquility of all Europe, should unhappily meet with
 ‘ any Disappointment, Your Majesty’s Wisdom and Care
 ‘ must be acknowledged to have deserved that Success,
 ‘ which the wisest Counsels cannot always command. But,
 ‘ whatever the Event may be, We beg Leave to assure
 ‘ Your Majesty, That this House will Chearfully and Ef-
 ‘ fectually raise such Supplies, as shall be necessary for the
 ‘ Honour and Security of Your Majesty and these King-
 ‘ doms, and enable Your Majesty to act that Part, which
 ‘ Honour, and Justice, and the true Interest of your Peo-
 ‘ ple shall call upon Your Majesty to undertake.’

To this his Majesty made the following Answer :

Gentlemen,

“ I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Ad-
 “ dress. I depend entirely upon Your Fidelity and Af-
 “ fection, and Your due Regard to the publick Welfare,
 “ that I shall be supported in such Measures, as I may be
 “ obliged to pursue. And You may be assured, that the
 “ Honour

His Majesty’s An-
 swer thereto.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

“ Honour and Interest of My Crown and People shall
“ be the Rule and Guide of all My Actions and Re-
“ solutions.”

Motion, in the
Grand Committee
on the Supply, for
granting 30,000
Men for the Sea-
Service, for the
Year 1735.

Debate thereon.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Oglethorpe.

February 7. The House being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, a Motion was made, That 30,000 Men be employ'd for the Sea-Service for the ensuing Year : But some Members declaring that they thought 20,000 Men sufficient, a great Debate ensued ; and the Motion for 30,000 Men was supported by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Mr Oglethorpe as follows :

Mr Speaker,

• With respect to the Question now before us, I hope no Gentleman expects, that for his Satisfaction his Majesty should be obliged to disclose to this House all the Secrets of his Government, all the Negotiations he is now carrying on with foreign Powers, and all the private Informations he may have received, in relation to the Views and Designs of the several Powers now engaged in War : Nor can it be expected that his Majesty should now declare positively to us what he is resolved to do, in relation to his engaging or not engaging in the present War : If any such Thing could be done, I believe it would very soon put an End to the Question, but no such Thing has ever yet been practised, nor has this House ever thought such a Practice necessary, for inducing them to agree to any Demand made by the Crown, and I hope it never will. For if ever this should come to be thought necessary, it would lay this Nation under a very great Disadvantage ; because it cannot be expected that what is once disclosed, in such a numerous Assembly, should continue long a Secret ; from whence this Inconvenience would necessarily ensue, that foreign Powers might, at all Times, proceed with great Secrecy in their Measures, for the Destruction or Disturbance of this Nation, while we could do nothing to annoy our Enemies, nor even be provided for our own Defence, but in the most open and publick Manner. Nay, if our King should at any Time get Information of the Designs of our Enemies, he would be obliged to discover to this House, that is to say, he would be obliged to tell our Enemies, from whom he had that Information, and on such a Supposition 'tis certain no Information would ever be given to us ; we could never know any Thing of the secret Designs of our Enemies, till the very Moment of their Execution ; and therefore we must conclude, that such a Maxim in this House would be absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of our Country. For this Reason we must, in the present Case, and in all such Cases, take the Argument entirely from what appears in his Majesty's

Majesty's Speech, and from those publick Accounts, which are known to every Gentleman in the House. Upon this Footing, Sir, and upon none other, shall I presume to give my Reasons for agreeing to the Augmentation proposed; and, indeed, upon this Footing the Reasons are, in my Opinion, so evident and so strong, that there is no Occasion for inquiring into any Secrets, in order to find other Reasons for our agreeing to this Augmentation. From what has as yet appeared we are not, 'tis true, obliged to engage in the present War; for as the Motives, or at least the pretended Motives of the War, relate entirely to the Affair of Poland; and as that is an Affair in which the Interest of this Nation is no Way concerned, we are not obliged to engage in the War upon that Account: The Emperor has, indeed, called upon us for the Succours, which he pretends are stipulated by the Treaties subsisting between us; but as we are not, by any Treaty, engaged to support either one Party or the other in Poland, or to support his Imperial Majesty in his Views relating to that Kingdom, therefore we do not think ourselves obliged, by any Treaty subsisting between us, to furnish him with Succours in a War, which has been occasioned, as is pretended at least, meerly by the present Dispute about the Election of a King of Poland. If we were absolutely certain, that the Motives assigned were the real and the only Motives for the present War; if we had a full Assurance that the Parties engaged would carry their Views no farther, I should readily grant that there would have been no Occasion for our putting ourselves to any Expence, nor would there be now any Necessity for the Augmentation proposed; but this is what we neither could at the Beginning, nor can yet depend on. Foreign Courts may have secret Views which cannot be immediately discovered; but his Majesty, by offering to interpose his good Offices, has taken the most effectual Method for discovering the secret Views of all the Parties concerned; and if, by the Interposition of his good Offices he should discover, that either of the Parties engaged in War will accept of no reasonable Terms, we may from thence conclude, that the Affair of Poland was not the only and real Motive for the War; but that under that Pretence there was a Design formed to overturn the Balance of Power in Europe; in which Case we should be obliged, both in Honour and Interest, as well as by Treaty, not only to take a Share in the War, but to join with all our Force against that Party, who we found had formed such a Design.

' In the Formation of every Design for overturning the Balance of Power in Europe, the Party that forms it must not only have great Ambition, but, before he dares attempt
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Anne 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Acto 8. Geo. II.
1733-35.

to put it in Execution, he must have some Hopes of Success : The Ambition of our Neighbours, Sir, is what we cannot prevent, but we may, by proper Precautions seasonably taken, deprive them of all Hopes of Success ; and by so doing we shall always prevent their attempting to put their Design in Execution. From this Maxim we may see the Wisdom of the Measures taken last Year : His Majesty did not find himself obliged to take any Share in the War, but as the Ambition of either of the Parties engaged might at last involve this Nation in the War ; therefore he offer'd to interpose his good Offices for bringing about an Accommodation : Whatever might have been the Views of the Parties engaged at the Beginning of the War, yet upon seeing this Nation put itself in such a Posture of Defence, they all thought proper to drop any ambitious Views they might then entertain, by accepting of the good Offices his Majesty had offered : Their ready Compliance in this respect, can be attributed to nothing but the Preparations we made last Year, and the Powers that were granted by last Session of Parliament to his Majesty ; for by these we deprived them of all Hopes of succeeding in any of their ambitious Views. It was this, Sir, that produced an Acceptance of the good Offices his Majesty had offered ; and if we should slacken in our Measures, if we should discontinue our Preparations, it would render us despicable in the Eyes of all the Parties engaged in War, and would consequently disappoint the good Effects we have Reason to expect from that Acceptation. At the Beginning of last Session it was very well known, that the French were fitting out a large Squadron at Brest, and were providing Transports and a Land-Army to be sent along with that Squadron, under Pretence of relieving Dantzick. In such a Situation, Sir, I should have thought those, who had the Honour to advise the King, very imprudent, or very unfaithful Counsellors, if they had not advised him to put the Nation immediately into a State of Defence ; for though it was probable, neither the French nor any other Power would attack us while we continue neutral, yet it is certain it was then, and always will be, very much the French Interest to have this Nation of its Side ; and if they had then seen, or should upon any such Occasion see, that it would be easy to overturn our Government, by our not being sufficiently provided for Defence, and could, by overturning our Government, get Numbers of this Nation to join with them, it would then have been, and always will be, worth their while to make the Attempt ; therefore, in order to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, we ought always to be upon our Guard, and ought to make some additional

tional Provision for our Defence, when any of our Neighbours are fitting out large Squadrons, which may possibly be made use of to attack or invade this Nation: This, Sir, was the Reason, and this was then, I think, a sufficient Reason for his Majesty's desiring 20,000 Men the last Session of Parliament, for Sea Service; but from what has since happen'd, this Reason seems to have gathered a little more Weight; for tho' there was no particular Reason to suspect, that the French Squadron was designed against us, yet there was no other Place in the World for which it could be designed, except Dantzick; and whether it was designed for Dantzick; or not, it is certain it did not go to Dantzick; for we all know it continued at Brest the whole Summer.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

After the last Session of Parliament had agreed to the 20,000 Seamen desired by his Majesty, he had an Account, that besides the Squadron fitting out at Brest, both the French and the Spaniards had given Orders for fitting out all their Ships of War, lying in any of their Ports, from Toulon round to Brest; from whence his Majesty, with great Reason, thought it absolutely necessary to make a farther Addition to his Naval Force; for which Purpose he applied to his Parliament for a Power to do so; and in Pursuance of the Powers granted him upon that Application, he has since made an Addition of 7000 Men to the Sea Service, so that our present Naval Establishment consists of 27,000 Men; 7000 of which must be reduced, if we should agree to grant but 20,000 Seamen for the ensuing Year.

' Having thus, Sir, laid the present State of our Naval Force before you, let us consider the present State of the Affairs of Europe, the Circumstances our Neighbours are in, and the Circumstances we are in ourselves. As to the Affairs of Europe, it is certain they seem to be in no less dangerous State than they were last Year; his Majesty's good Offices are, indeed, accepted of, but that Acceptation has not as yet produced the wish'd-for Effect, nor can it be expected it should, if his Majesty should appear to be less powerful when he comes to offer Terms of Peace, than he was when he made the Offer of his good Offices; we cannot therefore, from the present State of the Affairs of Europe, draw any Argument for diminishing our Naval Force. Then as to the Circumstances of our Neighbours, it is very certain, that not only all the Ships of War, fitted out either by the French or Spaniards, are continued in Commission; but both these Nations are with the utmost Application rebuilding and repairing every Ship of Force they have in their Dominions, and are besides building new Ships of

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

War as fast as they can ; from whence I think it is evident, that instead of making any Reduction of the Naval Force we had last Year, we ought to make some Addition, and the Addition proposed, which is properly but 3000 Men, is, in my Opinion, the least that can be thought of.

‘ This, Sir, must be thought still more reasonable, if we consider our own particular Circumstances, and the Difficulty there is of getting our Seamen together after they are once dispersed. In Countries where absolute and arbitrary Government prevails, they have all their Seamen registered, and they always know where they may find them when they have Occasion for them : Their Seamen, as well as all their other Subjects, are under a Sort of martial Discipline, they cannot absent themselves without a Furlough, and they must remain absent no longer than their Furlough gives them Leave ; by which Means the Government always knows what Number they may depend on upon any Emergency. But in this happy Country, where every private Man enjoys his full Liberty, we cannot command our Seamen to stay at Home, nor can we call them Home when we have a Mind ; for, notwithstanding the Difficulties which every one knows we found last Summer, to man the Fleet then fitted out, yet it was computed there were at least 11,000 British Sailors employed all last Summer, on Board of British Ships in the Service of Foreigners, either as Transports or as trading Ships. In this Country we never have any way of providing Sailors for our Fleet, upon any sudden Emergency, but by pressing those Seamen we find by Chance at Home, or upon our own Coasts ; and this Method is always attended with so many Inconveniencies, that, in order to prevent our being at any Time reduced to that Necessity, every Man who has a due Regard to the Liberty and the Happiness of the Subject must agree, that we ought, upon every Occasion, to begin early to provide against any Danger we think we have Reason to apprehend.

‘ In all the Measures we have hitherto taken, relating to the present War, our ancient and natural Allies, the Dutch, have cordially joined with us in every Thing : They joined heartily with his Majesty, in offering their good Offices for composing the present unhappy Differences in Europe, and they have likewise joined with his Majesty in concerting a proper Plan for a Pacification. It may perhaps be insinuated, that they have put themselves to no Expence on account of the present War ; but this is neither a just nor a true Insinuation ; for it is very well known, that before this War broke out, they had resolved to have made a very considerable Reduction of their Land-Forces. Every one knows, that soon after the Peace of Utrecht they reduced their

their Army to 32,000 Men, and for several Years after they kept it at that Number ; but upon a Change which happened in the Affairs of Europe, they augmented it again to 52,000 Men, and at that Time we likewise found it necessary to increase our Army to 26,000 Men. The War with which Europe was then threatened was happily prevented ; and as soon as it was, we immediately began to reduce our Army ; we reduced at first 5000, and soon after 3000, of the Number we had increased it to ; but the Dutch made at that Time no Reduction ; they never thought of making any Reduction till the very Year before the present War broke out ; then indeed, a Resolution was actually taken in some of the Provinces to reduce 10,000, and that was soon to have been followed by the Reduction of another 10,000, in order to have brought their Army to its former Standard of 32,000 Men ; and both these Reductions have been put off, merely on account of the present War : So that, to speak properly, they have put themselves to the Expence of maintaining 20,000 Men ever since the War began ; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd if they have made no Addition to their Fleet, especially if we consider, that they are in no Danger of being attacked by Sea, and the bad Condition their Navy happens to be in at present, which is occasioned by the vast Expence they were put to during the late War, in which they were obliged to maintain a much greater Number of Land-Forces than we maintained, and were farther obliged to be at the Expence of all the Sieges that were undertaken during the War.

Ann 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' The Dutch, 'tis true, Sir, concluded a Treaty of Neutrality with France, with regard to the Austrian Netherlands ; but it is not from thence to be concluded, that they are engaged in any Interest separate from us. They were no way concerned in the Affair of Poland, no more than we ; if their Barrier was secured, and the Balance of Power not brought in any Danger, they had good Reason to think themselves no way concerned in the War ; the first they provided for by their Treaty of Neutrality, and the last could be in no Danger, as long as the Parties engaged in War confined their Views to what they then publicly declared ; but if either of them should begin to extend their Views, and thereby bring the Balance of Power into Danger, the Dutch would be then at Liberty, and would certainly do what was incumbent upon them in such a Conjunction ; and till that Conjunction happens, we can have no more Concern in the War than they : Nay farther, in the concluding of that Treaty of Neutrality, so careful were the Dutch to preserve to themselves a Liberty of doing afterwards what they should find proper ; that by an

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

express Provision in the Treaty, they have reserved to themselves a Power of sending the stipulated Succours to the Emperor, in case they should find it necessary so to do.

Thus, Sir, it appears that the Dutch are so far from having fallen into any Measures separate from us, that they have continued a heavy Charge upon themselves, in order to be ready to join with us in any Measure that may hereafter appear necessary, for preserving the Balance of Power in Europe; and for that Reason, as well as a great many others, I think it is incumbent upon us to put ourselves in such a Condition, as may enable us to act that Part which Great Britain ought to undertake, in the glorious Cause of preserving and securing the Liberties of Europe.'

Sir J. Barnard.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr W. Pulteney.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Willmot.

In Opposition to the above Motion, and to shew the Sufficiency of 20,000 Men for the Sea-Service, Sir John Barnard, Sir William Wyndham, Mr William Pulteney, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr Willmot, Member for London, urged following Arguments.

Mr Speaker,

' I believe it was never pretended to be laid down as a Maxim in this House, that, in order to induce us to agree to the Demands made by the Crown, the King was obliged to disclose to us all the Secrets of his Government; but when we are to lay heavy Taxes upon the People we represent, I must think some other Reasons ought to be given us than those we meet with in Publick Gazettes, and common News-Papers; such Accounts I shall always think below the Notice of a British House of Commons; but since we have at present none other before us, I shall condescend, or rather beg Leave, to argue from such Informations, as well as the Gentlemen who seem to differ from me in Opinion: However, I hope this Practice will not be drawn into Precedent, for I shall always think it inconsistent with the Honour of this House, and with the Duty we owe to our Constituents; we ought never to ground our Opinions upon any Informations, but such as we receive directly from the Throne, or such as are laid before us in the most solemn Manner; and if in any Case we ought to be cautious in this Respect, it ought surely to be in Matters, which may any way relate to the loading the Subject with Taxes.

' As no Account has been laid before us of any of our late Treaties or Negotiations; as we have had no Account how this Nation stands engaged, with Respect to either of the Parties now at War, it is certain, that the Argument now before us must be taken up intirely upon the Footing of his Majesty's Speech, and of those publick Accounts, which every Man knows who is a Member of any Coffee-house Club, as well as every Gentleman who has the Honour to be

be a Member of this House. If we look into his Majesty's Speech, we there find that he has not yet engaged himself any way but by his good Offices, for reconciling the Differences at present subsisting in Europe : From his Majesty's Speech it cannot therefore be pretended, that we are now in any greater Danger than we were last Year, unless these good Offices have been employed in such a blundering way, by those his Majesty has entrusted, as to make us Parties in the Dispute, which I hope no Man in the least suspects ; and therefore, from his Majesty's Speech, there cannot be drawn any Show of an Argument for the Augmentation proposed.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' The Argument then, Sir, must rest wholly upon the Accounts we have from publick Gazettes and News-mongers ; and if any Credit can be given to such Informations, I must now think, as indeed I have always thought, that 20,000 Seamen were more than sufficient for the Service of this Nation last Year ; for, considering that those from whom we have any thing to fear by Sea, were then deeply engaged in War, it could not be supposed that they would insult or invade us, unless they had found that we were to have engaged against them. I shall grant, that it would have been very much for the Interest of France to have had this Nation join with them ; but considering the great Standing Army we then had in Britain and Ireland, considering the Number of Ships we then had in Commission, and considering how generally well affected this Nation is to the present happy Establishment, can we suppose that France would have attempted to overturn our Government with a Squadron of 18 or 20 Men of War, and an Army of 4 or 5 Regiments ; when by making such Attempt, and failing in it, they would have drawn the highest Resentment of this Nation upon themselves ; and that at a Time when they were deeply engaged in War with another Power, and when without such a Provocation they had, in all Appearance, nothing to fear from this Nation ? Apprehensions founded upon such odd Suppositions can never be wanting ; and if this House should give way to such Apprehensions, we must never expect to be relieved from the Load of Debts and Taxes we now groan under.

' But, Sir, we had the last Year so little Reason to fear that France had any Design against us, that it was certain, their Fleet which was fitted out at Brest, was at first designed for the Relief of Dantzick, and would probably have failed thither time enough to have prevented the Ruin of that trading Protestant City, if it had not been for our extraordinary, and, I think, unnecessary Armaments in Britain. The honourable Gentleman took Notice, that the Brest Fleet did not go to Dantzick, and seemed from thence

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Anno 8. Geo. II.
1714-35.

to insinuate, that it was designed against this Country, if the Design had not been prevented by our Preparations ; but it is very well known, that it was our Preparations that prevented that Fleet's sailing to Dantzick, as it was really designed ; it is very well known, that Spain imagined our Fleet was designed for the Mediterranean, in order to prevent their Expedition against Naples and Sicily, and therefore they insisted upon it, that the French Fleet should remain at Brest, in order to watch the Motions of the Fleet we were fitting out. This, Sir, was, I believe, the true and the only Reason why that Fleet did not fail to the Relief of Dantzick ; but this was not the only Effect of our voting 20,000 Men for Sea-Service : Neither France nor Spain could imagine, nor could they, I think, have any Reason to imagine, that we were putting ourselves to such a vast Expence, for no other End but to make a Show at Spithead or in the Downs ; they both began very reasonably to suspect, that we had some Design against them ; and, upon this Account they both began to add to their Naval Preparations : This again we find, increased our Jealousies and Fears, and produced that memorable Vote of Credit, with which the last Parliament, I may say, expired ; and, in Pursuance of that Vote of Credit, we are now told, this Nation has been charged with maintaining 7000 idle Seamen, besides the 20,000 voted last Session of Parliament : Thus one unnecessary Expence produc'd another, and both are now join'd together, not only to be continu'd, but also to produce a third.

However, Sir, though I am still of Opinion, that 20,000 Men was a Number much greater than was necessary for the Service of last Year, yet I shall not propose to lessen that Number for the Year ensuing ; but I am really surpris'd to hear an Augmentation of one half of that Number called for, and that without his Majesty's having signified to us, either in his Speech or by a particular Message, that some Designs were hatching against this Nation in particular, or against the Liberties of Europe in general. His Majesty having made an Addition last Year of 7000 Men, by Virtue of the Powers granted to him last Session of Parliament, cannot be any Argument with me, as a Member of this House, for continuing that Number, unless his Majesty had been pleas'd to communicate his Reason for making that Addition : As his Majesty has not been pleas'd to do so, and as I am of Opinion that 20,000 was too great a Number, I must consequently be more strongly convinced that 27,000 was too great a Number ; and as I cannot see that we are in any greater Danger this Year than we were the last, I must therefore be against loading my Constituents with maintaining that additional Number for the Year ensuing.

‘ It may be true, that the French and Spaniards have continued their Ships of War in Commission ; but if we can rely upon publick News-Papers, and these, it seems, are the only Accounts we are to have, the French have dismissed all or most of the Seamen belonging to their Breſt Squadron ; and neither they nor the Spaniards are making any extraordinary Naval Preparations, nor are they fitting out any considerable Squadron at any Port in either of those Kingdoms ; so that we have this Year really less Reason to apprehend any Danger by Sea, than we had the last ; because it cannot now be said, that a foreign Squadron, with a Land-Army on Board, is to pass by our very Doors : They may perhaps have a little more Command over their Seamen than we have, tho’ I cannot allow they have a great deal, considering our Method of Pressing ; but it is not possible for both these Nations joined together, to fit out a Fleet, suddenly and privately, stronger than any we can send against it, as long as we have 20,000 Seamen in actual Service ; for it is very well known that if a Man of War has two Thirds Sailors on Board, and another Third Land-Men, she is always sufficiently manned, either for Sailing or Fighting ; so that from a hot Press among our Coasters, Colliers and Inland Trade, we could in a very few Days increase the Number of Men on Board our Ships of War to 40,000 at least, which is a greater Number than we ever had Occasion for during the last heavy War, 32,000 Seamen and 8000 Marines being the greatest Number that was ever provided in any one Year during that War.

‘ Whether the Motives for the present War relate entirely to the Affair of Poland, or whether we had any Concern in that Affair, is what I shall not, Sir, take upon me to determine ; but I think it is pretty plain, that the Motives of the Kings of Spain and Sardinia could not any way relate to the Affair of Poland ; their Motives certainly proceeded chiefly from some late Transactions between the Emperor and them, in which, I believe, we had some Concern : And even with respect to the Affair of Poland, if we give Credit to common Reports, which are the only Grounds of our present Debate, we had some Concern in that too ; for it has been confidently reported, that when Augustus, late King of Poland, was first taken ill, which was a Year or two before his Death, the French Court, with which we were then in very good Terms, desired to know of us, whom we inclined to have for Successor to Augustus, as King of Poland ; that we did not then give them any positive Answer, but told them negatively, we did not incline that any German Prince should be raised to that Dignity ; and that some Time after there were positive Instructions
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Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

sent to our Minister in Poland, to co-operate with the French Minister, in bringing about the Election of King Stanislaus: This, Sir, is only a common Report, and therefore I shall not take upon me to aver the Truth of it; but as the Letters and Instructions sent upon that Occasion to our Minister in Poland, were moved for in last Parliament, tho' a Negative was then put upon it, I hope it will hereafter be complied with, in order to clear our Conduct from that Imputation.

To deprive our Neighbours of all Hopes of Success in any of their ambitious Views, is, without doubt, the most effectual Way to prevent their forming any such, or at least their attempting to put them in Execution; but how is this to be done, Sir? It is to be done by a wise and frugal Management of our Affairs in Times of no Danger, by avoiding all Occasions of needless Expence, and by reserving our whole Strength for the Day of real Danger: Our Ships of War may soon be fitted out, our Armies may soon be raised and brought into the Field, if we have but Money enough for these Purposes; but if we have thrown away our Money upon idle and unnecessary Armaments; if, by vain Fears and ridiculous Apprehensions, we have run ourselves in Debt, or neglected to clear those Mortgages our former Misfortunes had subjected us to, our ambitious Neighbours will look upon us with Contempt; and will certainly conclude, that it is not in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Designs. In this View, Sir, is it not evident, that the more Money we spend in unnecessary Armaments, and before the Danger calls upon us, the less able we shall be to deprive our Neighbours of the Hopes of Success in any of their ambitious Projects? Neither this Nation nor the Liberties of Europe are, at present, in any apparent and immediate Danger, but a Time may come, a Conjunction may happen, when we, and perhaps the greatest Part of the World, will be necessarily involved in a most dangerous and a most bloody War: If the present Emperor should die before the Affairs of Germany are fully settled, may not every Gentleman foresee what must be the Consequences? The Princes of the Empire all tearing one another to Pieces, and every one of its Neighbours endeavouring to take hold of some Part of the Austrian Dominions: The Turks attacking it on one Side, the French attacking it on the other, and the Balance of Power in Danger of being lost, let whatever Side be the Conqueror. This, Sir, is an Event that may happen, I hope it never will, but as it is possible, we ought to provide against it; and for that Reason we ought not to exhaust the Money and the Strength of the Nation in needless Expences or unnecessary Equipments: Whereas
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we seem to be pursuing a quite contrary Measure. Tho' it be now, with respect to this Nation, a Time of profound Peace and Tranquility, yet I reckon our Expences for next Year will amount to three or four Millions, which is a most prodigious Expence, a greater Expence than the Nation was put to in any one Year of that heavy War in King William's Reign; for the Expences of that War never exceeded three Millions a Year: And even during the War in Queen Anne's Reign, that War which proved so glorious to this Nation, and so beneficial to every one of our Allies, there never was a greater Number of Seamen provided for by Parliament, than what is now proposed in a Time of profound Peace: For 30,000 Seamen, and 8000 Marines was, as I have already taken Notice, the greatest Number that was provided for by Parliament, in any one Year of that glorious and successful War.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

To pretend, Sir, that the Preparations we made last Year, or the Powers granted the last Session of Parliament to his Majesty, produced the Acceptation of our good Offices, is something very surprizing, especially when we consider what Sort of an Acceptation we have been favoured with: The Emperor has accepted of our good Offices under this express Provision, that his Acceptance should not be looked on as a passing from those Succurs, which he insisted on we were obliged to furnish him, by the Treaties now subsisting between us: And the Allies have likewise made their Acceptation conditional; for they have accepted of our good Offices under this express Condition, that we should continue neutral, with respect to the present Disputes between them and the Emperor. Can it be imagined that warlike Preparations were necessary, or that extraordinary Powers granted by Parliament were necessary, for producing such limited Acceptations? Can any Man doubt but that we should have obtained such an Acceptation of our good Offices, tho' no such Preparations had ever been made, tho' no such Powers had ever been granted? But even supposing that this Acceptation was produced by the warlike Preparations we made last Year, must not every Man agree, that this conditional limited Acceptation has cost us a terrible Price, when he considers, that it has cost this Nation at least a Million Sterling: And if the Plan we are to offer, in Pursuance of this Acceptation, should at last be rejected, what Benefit, what Honour can we receive from the Expences we have put ourselves to?

For our Encouragement to go on with these peaceful Preparations, we are told, Sir, that the Dutch have joined cordially with us in all our Measures: This Assertion, Sir, I am surpriz'd at; it really amazes me. How far

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

they have joined with us in the Tender of good Offices, or in concerting a Plan for a Pacification, I shall not pretend to determine: In this they may perhaps have complimented us a little, because it cost them nothing; and they may easily excuse themselves in case the Plan should prove disagreeable to either of the Parties concerned; but that they have put themselves to the same Expence we have done, or that they have put themselves to any Expence on account of the present War, cannot surely with any Justice be pretended. To tell us, that just before the War broke out, one, or perhaps two, of the seven united Provinces had come to a Resolution, to reduce 10,000 Men, and to conclude from thence that 20,000 would certainly have been reduced, if the War had not broke out, must appear to be a very extraordinary Sort of Reasoning to every Man who understands any Thing of the Constitution of that Republick: By their Constitution, every one of the seven Provinces must have consented, before that Resolution could have taken Effect; and tho' the Interior Provinces, who lie remote from Danger, were perhaps for that Reduction, yet the Frontier Provinces, whose only Defence against sudden Invasions consists in the Multitude of their fortified Towns, the Strength of their Fortifications, and the Numbers of Men in the several Garrisons, would never have consented to such a Reduction; so that the Resolution taken by one Province would probably have been of no Effect, even as to the 10,000; but to argue from thence, that they would certainly have reduced another 10,000, is really such Reasoning as I am amazed to hear in this House: It really looks as if some Gentlemen thought, we wanted only a Pretence for agreeing to what they have a Mind to propose!

'Tis true the Dutch did, immediately after the Peace of Utrecht, reduce their Army to about 32,000 Men; but at that Time they knew, that all the Kingdoms and States in Europe were sick of War; they could easily foresee, or at least they thought so, that there was not the least Danger of any Rupture for several Years to come; and therefore their Frontier Provinces then easily consented to that great Reduction: But considering the vast extensive Frontier they have to guard, and the Multitude of Garrisons they are obliged to keep in their own Frontier Towns, as well as in the Barrier-Towns they have in the Austrian Netherlands, such a small Number of regular Troops is almost at all Times inconsistent with the Safety of their State; and moreover it is, and always was, inconsistent with, and contrary to, the Treaties and Alliances they have both with the Emperor and us. Accordingly, both the Emperor and we complained heavily at that Time of the great Reduction they had made; and this

this Nation in particular had like to have suffered by it ; for upon the Rebellion, which broke out soon after in this Kingdom, it is well known that the Dutch could not send us the Quota of Troops which, upon that Occasion, they were obliged by Treaty to send us, 'till we got Troops marched down from Germany to replace their Troops, before a Man of them could stir out of the Garrison he belong'd to : Nay farther, Sir, it is very well known, that the Emperor, by Treaty, pays them yearly 5 or 600,000 Crowns out of the first and readiest of his Revenues in the Netherlands ; in order to enable them to maintain their Barrier, and to keep at all Times a sufficient Body of Troops in their Service ; so that if they should make any great Reduction in their Army, the Emperor would have very good Reason to stop the Payment of that Subsidy.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' Upon the Whole we must conclude, that if the Dutch had made any Reduction in their Army, and much more the two Reductions talked of by the honourable Gentleman, they would have acted contrary to the Treaties subsisting between them and their Allies, and inconsistently with the Safety of their Country ; therefore we ought certainly to presume that all the seven Provinces would never have consented to it, tho' no War had broke out ; and I am apt to believe the Resolution talked of, which was a Resolution of the Province of Holland only, was a Piece of meer Policy, without any Design that the Resolution should actually take Effect.

Thus, Sir, I have, I think, made it evident, that the Dutch have put themselves to no Expence on account of the War, no, not even in the Sense the honourable Gentleman was pleas'd to insist on ; and indeed they have not, of late, seem'd to join cordially with us in any Thing but good Offices, which they are sure can neither put them to any Expence, nor do them any other Injury. Their Treaty of Neutrality, it is certain, they concerted and concluded without our Participation ; and, I believe, without our Privity ; and tho' they have reserv'd a Power of sending the stipulated Succours to the Emperor, yet that does not much alter the Case, if we consider what is meant by these Succours.

' The Succours there meant are those stipulated by the late Treaty of Vienna, in which we, 'tis true, got them named principal contracting Parties ; but this to me seems to have been nothing but a poor Expedient, contrived by some of the Ministers concerned in that Negotiation, on Purpose to make the World believe, that we did nothing but in Concert with our ancient and natural Allies the Dutch : For in the negotiating and concluding of that Treaty, they were so far from acting cordially, or in Concert with us, that

Anne 3. Geo. II.
1734-35.

after we had gone at once over Head and Ears into the Treaty ; and had thereby obliged ourselves to guaranty the Pragmatick Sanction, *totis viribus*, it was with great Difficulty they were, after a long Negotiation, brought in to accede to that Treaty, tho' we had then a noble Lord at the Hague as our Minister, who was as able a Minister, and as good a Negotiator as any we ever had in any Part of Europe : And even at last they were very far from coming plumb into that Treaty or Guaranty ; for the Succours they then stipulated were then limited to 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse, or a Number of Ships in Proportion to that Number of Troops, at their own Option ; so that we may believe the French gave themselves very little Trouble about admitting that Reserve in the Treaty of Neutrality, afterwards concluded between them and the Dutch.

' Nay, farther, Sir, notwithstanding this limited Manner of the Dutch Accession to the Treaty of Vienna, yet so clearly did they foresee the Consequences of that Treaty ; that the very next Day after the Accession was signed, their Pensionary came to that noble Lord, who was then, as I have said, our Minister at the Hague, and proposed to him, to enter with us into a Treaty of Neutrality, not only with respect to Flanders, but also with respect to several other Countries in Europe, about which Disputes might arise. And, I suppose, upon our neglecting or refusing that Proposition, they afterwards resolved upon the Treaty of Neutrality with France, and concluded it without letting us into the Secret. Thus, Sir, the Dutch have, in all their late Negotiations, taken particular Care of their own Security, without rashly disobliging any Power in Europe ; whereas we, by our hasty and inconsiderate Conclusion of the Treaty of Hanover, and the Measures thereafter pursued, disobliged both the Emperor and Spain, without gaining one Advantage to ourselves. By the Treaty of Seville, by which we endeavoured to reconcile ourselves to Spain, we still farther disobliged the Emperor, without obtaining any Advantage to ourselves, or even Satisfaction from Spain for the Depredations committed upon us. And by the Treaty of Vienna we again disobliged Spain, and highly affronted France, still without obtaining any Advantage for this Nation, but on the contrary engaging in a very dangerous Guarantee : This, indeed, neither France nor any other Power had Reason to be angry at, but France had some Reason to be affronted at the Manner in which it was done ; because by the Treaty of Hanover, in which France and we were the two principal contracting Parties, both were expressly obliged to enter into no Negotiation or Treaty, without communicating the same to the other.

' From

‘ From what the honourable Gentleman said, about our having reduced 8000 Men out of the 26,000 our Army was increased to after the late famous Treaty of Hanover, he seems to think, that this Nation is always to be loaded with an Army of 18,000 at least, even in the Times of the greatest Tranquility. But I must beg his Pardon for observing, that in a Time of profound Tranquility, an Army of 7 or 8000 Men is not only sufficient, but as great as ought to be kept up in this Nation, if we have a Mind to preserve our Liberties ; and therefore I must conclude, that if this War had not broke out, we should certainly have reduced 10,000 of our regular Troops last Year : For it is as much inconsistent with the Safety of this Nation to keep up more than 8000 in Time of Peace, as it is inconsistent with the Safety of the Dutch to keep less than 52,000 ; because we have no Frontier to defend, nor any Garrison to support : There can be no Reason assigned for our keeping up any greater Number in Time of Peace, unless it be to support a hated Minister against the Resentments of an injured People, which I hope will never be the Case of this Nation : But if ever it should, I am sure it would then be ridiculous to call ourselves a free People. In this View, Sir, let us consider the Charges we have been at on account of the present War ; we have been at the Charge of this 10,000 Land-Forces, which we might otherwise have reduced ; we have been at the Charge of 6 or 7000 Land-Forces which have been added to our former Number ; and if we have at present 27,000 Seamen in our Pay, we have been at the Charge of adding no less than 19,000 Men to our Naval Force. So that if it were true, that the Dutch have kept up 20,000 Men, which they intended to have reduced, yet the Expence they have been at would not be equal to what we have been at, nor could it be any Argument for the Augmentation now proposed ; because it is not so much as pretended, that the Dutch intend to put themselves to any greater Charge for the Year ensuing, than they were at in the Year past : And therefore I must think the honourable Gentlemen, who are for the Augmentation proposed, would have done better not to have mentioned the Dutch in this Day’s Debate ; for let them put the Conduct of the Dutch in what Light they will, it can no way answer the present Purpose.

‘ As for that material Question, Whether or no we ought to engage in the present War ? It is indeed a material Question ; but, Sir, it is a Question which no Gentleman in this House, nor any Man in the Nation can answer, without being let into the Secret of all our late Treaties and Negotiations. Thus much I shall say, that considering the melancholy Situation of this Country, the great Load of Debts, and

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

and the heavy Taxes we already groan under, it is certain we ought not to involve ourselves in War, but in a Case of the extremest Necessity; and 'till that happens I am very sure, that every Article of Expence ought to be most cautiously avoided, that we may be the more able to support a War, when fatal Necessity drives us into it whether we will or no. If neither the Liberties of Europe in general, nor the Interest of this Nation in particular, be in Danger by the present War, we have already gone too far; for, besides the great Expence we have put ourselves to, the great Preparations we have made may disappoint and prevent the Effect of those good Offices, his Majesty is employing for restoring the Peace of Europe; because they may give one Side Reason to hope that we are to join with them, which will of course prevent their hearkening to those Terms of Peace they would otherwise have been glad to have accepted of; or they may give a Jealousy to the other Side that we are to join against them, which will of course make them suspect every Thing we can propose, for bringing about an Accommodation.

' Besides these Disadvantages, Sir, it is certain, that the great Naval Equipment we made last Year, put a very great Damp to our Trade, and gave all our Neighbours, but more particularly the Dutch, a very great Advantage over us: It is true, we exported a great Quantity of Corn last Summer, but that was owing to the Situation and Circumstances of our Country, and not at all to our Management: For while our Merchants were paying double Freights for Ships, and double Wages to Seamen, the Dutch, the Hamburghers, and all other Rivals in Trade, were carrying on their Trade at the usual Rates; which gave them a great Advantage in every Branch of Trade, more particularly in the Corn-Trade, where the usual Freight bears such a great Proportion to the prime Cost: Nay, such a Scarcity was there at last of Seamen in this Kingdom, that our Merchants could not really get Ships to carry out the Cargoes of Corn which they had ready to have been exported; and while a Stop was thus put to our Exportation, the Dutch and others, who had by this Time got an Account of the Demand, sent out their Ships, and glutted the Markets for Corn, both in Spain and Portugal as well as in Italy. So that if we had not made such a great Naval Equipment, it is certain a much greater Quantity of our Corn would have been exported than really was.

' But if the Balance of Power in Europe, or the particular Interest of this Nation, was really in Danger, surely, Sir, we ought to have engaged at first; we ought not surely to wait till those, whose Interest it is to join with us in the Defence of either, be so far disabled as to be rendered incapable

ble either to assist us, or to defend themselves. As to the particular Interest of this Nation, whether it be in Danger or not from the present War, must entirely depend upon our late Negotiations ; and therefore it is, at present, impossible for me to form any Judgment in that Respect, because I am intirely ignorant of our Situation, so far as relates to our foreign Affairs : But from our not having joined in the Beginning of the War, I must conclude, that the particular Interest of this Nation is no way concerned in it ; and therefore I must think it was quite unnecessary to put ourselves to any Charges on that Account.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

As for the Balance of Power, it ought certainly to be preserved : In this, Sir, all the other Princes and States of Europe are as much, nay, more nearly concerned than we ; therefore they ought to bear their Share in the Expence, and will certainly do so when they find it necessary. But if, upon this Pretence, we run ourselves headlong into every Broil that happens in Europe, the Dutch, as well as the rest, will very probably leave the whole Charge upon us : They will neglect providing in Time even for their own Defence, when they find us such Dupes as to be ready, upon all Occasions, to make that Provision for them. Whether our late Preparations have given them any Ground to think so, I shall not pretend to determine ; but as I look upon the Dutch to be a very wise People, I must either conclude that they think so, in which Case we ought not, by any new Augmentation, to encourage them in that Opinion ; or I must conclude, that the Balance of Power is not in any Danger : For though it could be supposed that the chief Magistrates in Holland were inclined to sacrifice the Interest, or the Safety of their Country, to their own Safeties, or their own little private Views ; yet, if the Balance of Power were in any Danger, the People would force them to join in the War. The Magistrates of that Republick are not protected either by Riot-Acts, or by regular Troops quarter'd in the very Bowels of their Country ; and therefore the People might and certainly would force them to do their Duty, or would massacre them as they have done heretofore : For this Reason I am inclined to think, that the Balance of Power is not yet in any Danger, and if the Balance of Power be as yet in no Danger, nor the particular Interest of this Nation in any Danger, there was no Occasion for our being at any Expence on account of the present War ; much less is there any Occasion for our putting ourselves to the Expence of the Augmentation proposed ; for which Reason I must be against it.

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for the Motion for 30,000 Men, as follows,

Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Oglethorpe.

Sir

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Sir,

Gentlemen have of late fallen into a Method of departing from the Question in Hand, and throwing out a great many Things no way relating to the Subject they speak to. This I suppose they do with Design to make an Impression upon some that hear them ; and conscious that they cannot convince by Reason, they endeavour to persuade by Oratory, and by florid Expressions no way relating to the Affair in Dispute. Tho' it be irregular even to follow them in these Deviations, yet, as such Things ought not to pass without some Sort of Answer, I hope the House will give me Leave to make a few Remarks upon some Things that have been said; notwithstanding their having no Relation to the Affair now before us ; but first I shall endeavour to speak to the Question in Hand. The only proper Question now before us, Sir, I take to be, What is the Number of Seamen necessary for the Security of this Nation during the ensuing Year ? Which is a Question that, in my Opinion, no way relates to our past Conduct, to the Conduct of any of our Allies, nor to the Question, whether or no we ought to take a Share in the present War ?

With relation to the Question now before us, his Majesty has given us, from the Throne, all the Information that is proper or necessary, and all the Information that can; I think, be desired by any Man who wishes well to his Country. He told us at the Beginning of last Session of Parliament, that he was no way engaged in the present War, nor had any Part, except by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the Causes and Motives of it : But that he could not sit regardless of the Events of this War, nor could he be unconcerned for the future Consequences of it ; and I am sure no Man, who has a Regard to the Welfare of this Nation, or to the Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, can desire he should. At the Beginning of this Session his Majesty told us, that he is not yet any farther engaged, than by employing his good Offices, in Conjunction with the Dutch, for restoring the Peace of Europe ; but that his good Offices have not as yet had the desired Effect : We are therefore in the present Question to suppose, that this Nation is not as yet any way engaged in the War ; but, as his Majesty has told us, the bad Consequences, that may arise and affect us by the War's being carried on, are obvious ; and they ought certainly to be provided against, let the Charge be what it will. Where Facts are notoriously known to the whole World, where Consequences are obvious to every Man of common Capacity, surely Gentlemen do not expect that his Majesty, either in his Speech, or by particular Message, should

should give this House a long and particular Detail of such Facts or of such Consequences ; the bare Mention of them is enough, and that his Majesty has sufficiently done, both at the Beginning of the last, and at the Beginning of the present Session of Parliament.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' The Balance of Power in Europe may perhaps not be as yet in Danger : Nay, Sir, we are to suppose it is not in Danger ; for if it were, his Majesty would certainly have acquainted his Parliament with it, and we should have been now providing for a vigorous War, instead of providing only for our Security and Defence. Both Parties as yet profess their sincere Disposition to put an End to the present Troubles, upon honourable and solid Terms, and these Professions may at present be truly sincere ; but the Events of War may make them alter their Professions, or may render their Professions insincere ; and these Events may be so sudden and so extraordinary, that without our joining immediately in the War, one of the Parties engaged may be utterly undone : Two or three signal and entire Victories might, in a few Months, have such Consequences, as might put it out of our Power to relieve the Party conquered, or to stem the Torrent of Success on the Side of the Conqueror. And I am sure it cannot be pretended, that in a few Months we could raise and discipline such Armies, and fit out such Fleets, as would be necessary, both for the Defence of our own Dominions, and for assisting effectually the Party in Danger of being quite undone : Armies, 'tis true, may be soon raised ; but according to the exact Discipline now observed, it requires many Months before those Armies can be made fit for Service, or proper to engage against an Army of veteran well-disciplin'd Troops. I shall likewise grant, that our Ships of War may be manned with one Third Land-Men or Marines, but even these Land-Men or Marines must be some Time on Board, before they can either know or perform their Duty in the fighting of a Ship ; for, I believe, a Man of War, with a third Part of her Men just taken from the Plough, would make but a poor Figure against a Ship of equal Force, provided with able Sailors and well disciplined Marines. For this Reason, Sir, when the Affairs of Europe are brought to such a Crisis, that an unlucky Accident may render it absolutely necessary for us to engage immediately, and without Delay, in the War, I must think it is incumbent upon us to provide in Time, in order to have a sufficient Number of well-disciplined Men, both for Sea and Land-Service, so ready and so much at Command, as to enable us to perform immediately that Part, which a sudden Emergency may make requisite, both for our own Safety and the Safety of Europe ; and this cannot

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

be done but by Augmentations seasonably made, both to our Fleets and Armies.

As the Preservation of the Balance of Power is of so much Consequence to this Nation, and so intimately connected with our Safety, it is very certain, that whatever Power in Europe may project the overturning of that Balance, that Power must expect to have Great Britain for her Enemy, as soon as her Project comes to be discover'd : We may therefore be assured, that when any one of the Powers of Europe begins to entertain such ambitious View, they will of course endeavour to make a Diversion, by invading this Island ; and this they will the more readily attempt, because we have always a strong Party among us, who are ready to second any foreign Attempts, for the Accomplishment of their own selfish Views, especially if at any Time they find us not properly provided for our own Defence. Because one of our neighbouring Powers is engaged in War with another, we are not from thence to conclude, that neither of them will make any Attempts upon this Island ; for if either of the Parties engaged in War has really a Design to overturn the Balance of Power, they will certainly conceal that Design, and endeavour to cover it with Professions of Justice and Moderation as long as they can : But when they find they can conceal it no longer, when they find that we begin to smoke what they aim at, can we believe they will wait till we attack them, or join with their Enemies against them ? On the contrary, ought we not to expect that they will endeavour to divert us, by giving us some Business at Home ? and how do we or can we know but this may be the Case at present ? Ought not we therefore to provide against such Attempts in Time, that we may be at Liberty to do our Duty, when we find the Balance of Power is really struck at ?

Gentlemen cannot, it seems, distinguish, or at least, Sir, I find they will not distinguish between those Events which might have happened, and Events which, by proper Care and Precaution, were perhaps prevented : If by not providing in Time for our Defence, some signal Misfortune should happen to the Nation, such Men would then have a just Reason for finding Fault with those employed in the Administration. And if any such Thing had lately happened, I do not doubt but that it would have been propagated with great Industry, that our Surprise was entirely owing to the two blundering Brothers ; but when all such Accidents are prevented by the prudent Measures that have been pursued, and by making seasonable and proper Provisions for our Defence, then it is pretended we never were in any Danger ; and from thence they take Occasion to find Fault with the Expences

Expences that have been wisely and necessarily incurred by the making of such seasonable and proper Provisions; and thus, Sir, some Gentlemen will always find plausible Pretences for decrying those Measures that have been pursued, let them be what they will. However, I shall always think they act the best and the wisest Part, who chuse to give us Time and Leisure to roast them in this House, for their expensive and extravagant Measures, rather than to have our Attention diverted from them by a civil War kindled up, or a foreign Army actually landed in the Island. And when a War was broke out, in which this Nation might very probably be involved; when our Neighbours, and those Neighbours too from whom we have most to fear, were leading out great Armies, and fitting out powerful Squadrons, I must think that it was at least prudent in us to make those Provisions for our Security which were made last Year; and as we are in the greater Danger of being involved the longer the War continues, I cannot be against the small Augmentation now proposed.

Anno 8. Geo. 11.
1734-35.

‘ To pretend to tell us, Sir, what France and Spain intended to have done last Year, or to pretend to tell us what they intend to do this next Year, with the Ships of War they have continued in Commission, is, I think, something extraordinary. We may perhaps guess at some of their Designs, but I shall always think it very imprudent, to leave the Peace and Quiet of this Nation to depend upon such Guess-work; especially when we consider, that they have no Occasion to fit out any great Fleet against any Power in Europe but ourselves; and therefore it is not to be presumed, that they would put themselves to such a great Expence, unless they were suspicious that the Measures they have resolved to pursue, may make this Nation engage in the War; and in such a Case, I think it is natural to believe, they would take the first Opportunity to invade or disturb us: They have such an absolute Command over all the Seamen of their Country, they have always such Numbers of regular Troops upon their Coasts, or within a few Days march of their Sea-Ports, that when they have their Ships ready equip’d and fit for sailing, it would be easy for them to clap Seamen and Land-Forces on Board; and they might arrive upon the Coasts of this Kingdom, before it would be possible for us to man and fit our Fleet sufficient to engage them, if we had not made some extraordinary Provision beforehand: This every Man must be convinced of, who knows the Difficulty we had to procure Seamen enough for the Squadron we fitted out last Summer, notwithstanding the long Time we had to look for them, and the Method of Pressing which we were even then obliged to make use

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

of. Nor does it signify to tell us, that at this Rate we shall always be obliged to fit out Squadrons, and put ourselves to a great Expence, whenever any of our Neighbours begin to fit out one ; for I take it to be a right Maxim, I really think we ought to prepare and fit out a Squadron, whenever we see any of our Neighbours doing so, unless we very well know the Purposes their Squadron is designed for. The Expence bestowed upon fitting out a Squadron may be an Expence to the Publick, but it is little or no Loss to the Nation ; the whole is expended among our own People, and it not only improves our Seamen, by making them acquainted with the Service on Board a Man of War, but it increases their Number ; for every Fleet we fit out encourages a Number of Land-Men to engage in the Sea-Service : Whereas, if by neglecting to do so, the Kingdom should be invaded, and a civil War kindled up, the Nation would in that Case suffer a real Loss, a Loss which might far surmount the Expence the Publick could be put to by the fitting out of twenty Squadrons ; so that We may suffer by neglecting this Maxim, but can never suffer by observing it.

I shall readily grant, that this Nation would be more formidable, if we owed no publick Debts, and had the same Fleet and the same regular Army we have at present ; but if we had no Squadron ready to put to Sea, nor any regular Troops ready to take the Field, I cannot admit that we should then be so formidable as we are at present, even tho' we did not owe a Shilling in the World. We all know, that what now makes a Nation formidable, is not the Number nor the Riches of its Inhabitants, but the Number of Ships of War provided with able Seamen, and the Number of regular well disciplined Troops they have at Command : And, whatever Gentlemen may think of the Acceptation of his Majesty's good Offices, I am persuaded they would not have been so readily accepted, if the Parties had not seen us preparing to do them bad Offices, in Case they had refused to accept of our good. The accepting of our good Offices will, at least, furnish us with an Opportunity of making ourselves better acquainted with the Views of all the Parties concerned ; and there is no Condition annexed by either Party, but what was and must have been understood when we made the Offer. For surely, when we offered the Interposition of our good Offices, we were not to suppose that the Emperor was, by his Acceptance, to pass from any Demands he thought he had upon us ; nor were we to suppose that the Allies would or could accept of our good Offices, unless we continued neutral : And while we do so, our Preparations can give no Encouragement to either Side to insist upon unreasonable Terms ; nor can they give the least
Jealousy

Jealousy to either Side, unless one or the other have Views, which they know to be inconsistent with the Preservation of the Balance of Power in Europe.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ I find, Sir, some Gentlemen have got into a very odd way of talking, when they have Occasion to mention the publick Expence ; for if it the least exceeds a Million it is to be called two, if it exceeds two it is to be called three : and because it may probably this Year a little exceed three Millions, therefore it is to be called four : So that a Million with these Gentlemen seems to be of very little Consideration ; yet when we talk of English Money, I cannot but think that a Million, or near a Million, is a Sum not to be despised, and one in four is surely a material Difference. What the publick Expence was, during the War in King William’s Reign, or what the Number of Seamen was that was kept up during the late War, I shall not now inquire ; I believe both were as the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to represent, but I think neither material at present ; for we are not to proportion our yearly Expence, or our Number of Seamen, by past Times, but by present Necessities. When our Neighbours increase their publick Expence, or their Numbers either of Seamen or Land-Soldiers, we must increase ours, otherwise we may happen to fall a Sacrifice to our Frugality : And as both France and Spain, but especially the latter, have very much increased their Naval Force since last War, if we should be obliged to engage against those two Powers, which I hope will not be the Case, it is certain we should be forced to maintain a greater Number of Seamen, than we had at any Time during the late War ; and the sooner we begin to provide, the less Harm shall we do our Merchants, the less Stagnation shall we make in our Trade.

‘ This, Sir, naturally leads me to take Notice of the Damage done to our Trade, by the fitting out a Squadron last Summer. I shall allow, that our Merchants thereby suffered some Inconvenience, and were put to greater Charge than usual for the Freight of Ships and Wages of Seamen : But when the Whole is in Danger, the private Interest of particular Persons must yield to it ; and the Stop that was put to our Trade last Summer, is, in my Opinion, the strongest Argument that can be thought of for the Augmentation now proposed, and for our laying it down as a Maxim, always to begin early to fit out Squadrons, as soon as the Danger of War begins to appear : For if we should never think of any Augmentation of Seamen ‘till we come upon the very Brink of a War, we must take or press 30 or perhaps 40,000 Seamen all at once into the Service of the Publick : And if the raising of 12 or 15,000 Seamen last Summer

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Summer put such a Damp to our Trade, surely the raising of 30 or 40,000 all at once would put an entire Stop to it: Whereas if we begin early, and raise our Seamen by Degrees, fresh Men encouraged by high Wages, will be daily entering into the Merchants Service; those that enter this Year will be Seamen against the next, and thus every Year will afford a new Fleece for the Navy, so that in a little Time we may have our Navy fully provided, even for the most heavy War, without putting at any Time any great Stop to our Trade.

As for the Dutch, Sir, I do not think it necessary to enter into a Disquisition about what they have done, what they ought to do, or what Number of Land-Forces may be necessary for the Safety of that Republick? For tho' they are our natural Allies, yet surely we are not in every Thing to be directed altogether by their Conduct: We are a distinct Nation, and tho' our Interests be generally the same, yet in some particular Cases they may happen to be different; and when it so happens, we must certainly follow different Measures. The Dutch are, 'tis true, a wise People, but, as wise as they are, they may perhaps neglect or mistake their own Interest, as well as the general Interest of Europe; and if they do so, must we necessarily do the same? I hope no such Thing will be pretended; for in such a Case we should become in some manner a Province to Holland, we should become a meer Cypher in all publick Transactions, and should be no way regarded by any of the Powers of Europe; for if they could but secure the Dutch, they might always depend upon getting us into the same Measure; and when the Dutch found we had such a thorough Dependence upon them, as good Allies as they are, they might perhaps, now and then, make use of it in a Way which would no way contribute either to our Interest or Honour.

Permit me now, Sir, to take some Notice of the Reflections that have been thrown out upon our late Negotiations and Treaties. As for the Treaties of Hanover and Seville, we had certainly very good Reasons to enter into them at the Time they were negotiated and concluded: And as they were approved of by both Houses of Parliament, I think I have no Obligation to say any Thing in Favour of either; for the Approbation of a British Parliament I take to a more authentick Proof of their Utility, than any thing that can be said by a private Gentleman in their Commendation; and all the Objections to them have been already so often answered, that 'tis needless to repeat them: But when Gentlemen give us such a terrible View of the Consequences, that may ensue in Case the present Emperor should hap-
pen

pen to die before the Affairs of Germany are fully settled, I am surpris'd to hear them find Fault with the late Treaty of Vienna, which was concluded for no other End but to prevent that fatal Catastrophe : Fatal it would certainly be to the Affairs of Europe in general ; and therefore I must think we had the strongest Inducement to enter into the Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, in the most unlimited Manner, as being the only Expedient by which that fatal Catastrophe may be prevented. What Reasons the Dutch might have for their Backwardness or Caution about entering into that Treaty, I do not know ; but if I were to judge of their Wisdom from their Behaviour in that Respect, I cannot say I should have the best Opinion of it.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ With regard to the Attack made upon the Emperor in Italy, by the Spaniards and the King of Sardinia, it is certain, that this Nation has neither given them any Encouragement nor any Provocation to do so ; and whether the Imperial Court has given them any just Provocation, is an Affair, which the Mediators must of course inquire into, when they come to offer a Plan for a Pacification. As to the Affair of Poland, where the honourable Gentleman had his Information, with respect to what he has been pleased to relate to us about that Affair, I shall not pretend to guess ; but I must believe, that his Majesty knows nothing about any such Answers having ever been given to the French, or about any such Instructions having been sent to his Ministers in Poland : This I must believe from what his Majesty told us in his Speech, at the Opening of last Session of Parliament ; and if there ever was any such Thing, I am very sure that I am not to answer for all the Measures that have been lately pursued, for that is one Article I know nothing of.

‘ To conclude, Sir, the Nation has already been put to a great Expence, and must be yet put to a farther Expence on account of the present War ; perhaps too some private Men may have been expos'd to some Inconveniencies, by the Preparations we have already made ; but these Expences and these Inconveniencies ought to be born with Patience, when we consider the Difference between our Situation and that of some of our Neighbours : I believe I may justly compute, that by the bloody and obstinate Battles, Sieges and Skirmishes, which have already happened since this War first broke out, each of the Parties engaged has lost at least 50,000 Men ; so that while the Trade of our Neighbours is interrupted, while a Stop has been put to all sorts of Manufactures and Improvements among them, while their Lands are laid waste, such Multitudes of their Men destroyed, we have carried on our Trade with Security ; our Manufactures have
been

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

been improved, and extraordinary Quantities of our Corn exported ; no British Farmer has been disturbed, not an Acre of Land laid waste, not a Drop of British Blood spilt : Therefore, while we enjoy so much Safety and Quiet, I can't think any Man has Reason to complain of the Charge the Nation has been put to, or of the few Inconveniencies he has suffered, for the Preservation of that Safety and Quiet which he has enjoyed : And as I am fully satisfied, that what is now proposed is absolutely necessary, for securing our future Enjoyment of the same Safety and Quiet, I shall most heartily give my Consent.'

30,000 Men voted
for the Sea-Service
for the Year 1735.

Then the Question being put, That 20,000 Men be employ'd for the Sea-Service for the Year 1735 it passed in the Negative by 256 to 183. After which it was resolv'd, without dividing, that 30,000 Seamen be employ'd for the said Service.

Mr Sandys's Motion for an Address to the King, for an Account of the Expences incur'd in consequence of the Vote of Credit pass'd last Session.

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole.
Mr H. Pelham.
Sir W. Yonge.
Col. Bladen.
Mr Winnington.
Mr Danvers.

Feb. 13. Mr Sandys moved, ' That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would give Directions to the proper Officer to lay before the House an Account of the Expences incurred, in Consequence of the Vote of Credit passed at the End of last Session of Parliament.'

But this Motion was oppos'd by Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, Col. Bladen, Mr Winnington, and Mr Danvers, who alledg'd, ' That the House had then before them what was propos'd to be desired by the Address moved for ; for in one Account they had the whole of the Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Sea-Service, in Consequence of that Vote of Credit ; in another they had an Account of the whole Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Land-Service ; and in a third they had an Account of what had been incurred on occasion of the Treaty lately concluded with Denmark : Besides all which, they had an Account of what Monies had been issued from the Treasury, for all or either of these Services in Pursuance of a Clause in an Act of Parliament, pass'd last Session, for enabling his Majesty to apply any Part of the Money granted for the Service of last Year, towards the Expence of making such Augmentations of his Forces by Sea or Land, or of concerting such other Measures as he should judge necessary for the Safety of this Nation : That from these Accounts any Man might easily see what Expences had been incurred, in consequence of that Vote of Credit ; for that as to the Sea-Service, whatever appeared from that Account to have been incurred, over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for maintaining the 20,000 Seamen then voted for last Year's Service, must appear to be an additional Expence, incurred in consequence of that Vote of Credit ; And as to the
Land-

Land-Service; whatever appeared from the Account then before them, relating to that Service, to have been incurred over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for the 17,704 Land-Forces then voted to be kept up in Great Britain, Guernsey and Jersey, for last Year, must be an additional Expence incurred, in consequence of that Vote of Credit; And as to what had been incurred on Occasion of the late Treaty with Denmark, it was certain the whole was to be placed to the Account of Expences incurred, in consequence of that Confidence, which was so reasonably vested in his Majesty in the last Session of Parliament. So that they could not possibly expect any farther or new Accounts by the Address proposed; and the presenting of such an Address would, in their Opinion, shew a want of Respect to his Majesty, and a sort of Jealousy and Diffidence in what he had already ordered to be laid before them.

Hereupon Mr Sandys proposed an Amendment to his Motion, by adding thereto the following Words; viz. *Over and above those, of which Accounts had already been laid before the House*; and was supported by Mr Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: But the Members who opposed the Motion as first proposed by Mr Sandys, objected likewise to the Amendment offered. 'That it was not to be supposed that any other Expences had been incurred, than those contained in the Accounts then before them: That they could assure Gentlemen, that no Money had been issued from the Treasury, by Virtue of the Clause they had mentioned, but what was stated in the Accounts already laid before the House; nor had any Expences been incurred but what were contained in the three Accounts relating to the Sea-Service, the Land-Service, and the late Treaty with Denmark: That the presenting of such an Address was really in some manner provoking the Crown to make farther Demands upon them: And that if what was then proposed should come to be a Precedent, it would become necessary for the Crown to add a Certificate to every Account to be given in hereafter to Parliament, certifying, *That these are all the Expences that have been incurred*, or some such Words to that Purpose, which they thought would look a little absurd: That therefore they could not agree to the Amendment, but when it was disagreed to, as they hoped it would, they would propose that the following Words should be added, by way of Amendment to the Motion, viz. *Notwithstanding that full Accounts of all Expences, that had been incurred, had been already laid before that House*: That this was the most natural Amendment that could be made to the Motion, because, by the Addition of these Words, it would appear in its proper and true Light, and in that

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Sandys.

Mr Pulteney.
Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Walpole.
Mr Pelham.
Sir W. Yonge.
Col. Bladen.
Mr Winnington.
Mr Danvers.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Sandys.
Mr Pulteney.
Sir W. Wyndham.

Light they were persuaded the House would not agree to it."

To this it was answered by the Members, who were for the Motion, ' That they could not but think that the Motion, as it stood at first, was a very proper Motion, because it would be much better and more distinct, to have all these Expences fairly and fully stated in one Account, than to have them dispersed in several Accounts, and confounded with a great many other Articles : That this Method of stating those Expences would be attended with this Advantage, that it would clearly shew to Gentlemen, how sparing his Majesty had been in making use of that unlimited Credit given him the last Session, which would be a great Inducement to that House to renew that Credit, whenever his Majesty should please to demand it : This they thought the honourable Gentlemen would not have obstructed, because it might perhaps be of great Advantage to them upon some future Occasion ; but as those Gentlemen did not seem to like that Way of stating the Account, therefore they were willing to make the Amendment proposed to their Motion, in order to prevent a Negative's being put upon a Question of such Moment : That they hoped no Expences had been incurred, in consequence of that Vote of Credit, but what appeared upon the several Accounts then before them ; but it would be a great Satisfaction to the House, to have a direct Answer upon that Subject from the Crown ; for tho' they were persuaded that the Gentlemen, who had taken upon them to assure the House that no other Expences had been incurred, or Money issued, but what were contained in these Accounts, really believed it to be as they had declared ; yet in such Cases that House was not to take an Answer from any Member, for were he the greatest Subject in the Nation, his Word or his Declaration was no Parliamentary Satisfaction, nor could it be taken as such : That with respect to the Certificate mentioned, it was in the present Case so far from being absurd, that it was absolutely necessary : When certain Sums were granted by Parliament, and those Sums appropriated by Parliament to certain Uses, such a Certificate would, 'twas true, be quite unnecessary, it would be ridiculous to insist upon any such ; but when an unlimited Credit had been granted by Parliament, and that Credit unlimited likewise as to the Uses it was to be applied to, it was absolutely necessary to have a Certificate in the Manner mentioned by the honourable Gentlemen, certifying that such Sums, and no more, had been taken up on that Vote of Credit ; and that the Sums so taken up had been applied to such Uses, and none other : For, without such a Certificate, it would be impossible for that House to know how the
Accounts

Accounts of the Nation stood; they could not know but every succeeding Year might bring a new Demand, to provide for some Expence incurred, or some Debt contracted, in consequence of the unlimited Credit they had formerly given: That therefore it was incumbent upon them, as Members of that House, to demand such a Certificate; they were bound in Honour, and in Duty to their Constituents, to insist upon having such a Certificate, and such a Certificate could not be had any other Way than by presenting the Address proposed: That as to the Amendment intended to be added by the worthy Gentlemen, in order to make their Question appear ridiculous upon the Journals of that House, it did not at all deter them from insisting upon their Question, nor from insisting upon the Amendment they had proposed: That they had no Cause to suspect, that that House would agree to the Amendment intended by the worthy Gentleman; but if they had, it would give them no Pain; for whatever that House might do, the World without Doors would judge rightly, and would fix the Ridicule where it properly belonged: That they would, upon that Occasion, put the Gentleman in mind of what appeared upon their Journals: They remembered a certain great Man was, in a former Parliament, accused of some very high Crimes, and a Question was actually moved and seconded in that House for a Resolution in these Terms, 'That it appears to this House, that such a great Man [*naming him*] had been guilty of several heinous and fraudulent Practices, &c.' That this was the Question as first moved; but the Friends of that great Man, in order to defeat the Question by rendering it ridiculous, proposed that the Words, *it appears to this House*, should by way of Amendment be left out of the Question: That upon a Division this Amendment was approved of by a corrupt Majority, and that the Question, so made ridiculous by the Amendment, stood to that Day upon their Journals, as the worthy Gentlemen might see if they pleased; but that the thus rendering the Question ridiculous, was far from rendering ridiculous those who had at first proposed it: On the contrary, the Ridicule fell upon those, who made the Question ridiculous by their Amendment; and accordingly at the Elections for the very next Parliament, most of them were neglected by their Country, and justly refused the Honour of continuing any longer the Representatives of the People in that House.'

Anno 3. Geo. 11.
1714-15.

The Question being at last put upon the Amendment, it was carried in the Negative, by 167 to 106.

Feb. 14. The House being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, Mr Andrews mov'd, That the Number of effective

Debate concerning
the Number of
Land-Forces, for
the Year 1735.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Andrews
Sir W. Yonge.
Col. Bladen.
Mr Winnington.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir R. Walpole.

Men, to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, Guernsey and Jersey for the Year 1735, be 25,744, including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men for the Service of the Highlands. Mr Andrews's Motion was supported by Sir William Yonge, Col. Bladen, Mr Winnington, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole, as follows :

Sir,

Though we are not as yet any way engaged in the present War, yet such Events may happen, as may make it absolutely necessary for us to engage of one Side or the other. The Affair of Poland, which is the only Motive, the only Bone of Contention hitherto publicly avowed, is an Affair this Nation has very little to do with ; but if that should appear not to be the real Motive, or if Success should encourage either Side to extend their Views, the Balance of Power may at last be brought into real Danger ; and then, for the Sake of preserving the Liberties of Europe, upon which the Liberties of this Nation will always depend, we must take a principal Share in the War. This Danger may not perhaps be so remote as some People imagine ; which has made his Majesty become a Mediator for reconciling the contending Powers, before Conquests of either Side shall take away all Hopes of Success in that Way ; and his Majesty has already pushed his Negotiations with so much Vigour, that a Plan of Peace will soon be offer'd ; a Plan so well adapted to the Honour and Interest of all Parties concerned, that whoever refuses it will thereby shew, that their secret Views are more extensive than they have hitherto been declared.

From hence, Sir, I must conclude, that we shall be very soon able to determine, whether we must engage in the War or not : If that Plan be accepted, then we shall attain our Ends ; the Peace of Europe will be restored, the Balance of Power will be preserved, without our engaging in the War, without subjecting this Nation to any Inconvenience, or to any Expence ; but if reasonable Terms should be haughtily rejected by either Side, we must then necessarily take a Share in the War. It is therefore very much our Interest at present, to take every Measure that may contribute towards rendering his Majesty's Endeavours successful ; that may contribute towards inducing, or even compelling, every one of the contending Powers to accept of that Plan, which his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, is to offer to them : And, in my Opinion, nothing can contribute more towards these great Ends, than our having such a Standing regular Force, as may convince all Parties that we are in earnest, and that we have it in our Power to alter the Scale whenever we have a Mind. For this Reason I can hardly imagine, that any Gentleman in this House will

will oppose the small Augmentation of our Land-Forces now proposed, when he considers how many Millions we may be obliged to expend, if, by refusing such a seasonable Expence, we should at last make it necessary to involve ourselves in a heavy War.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ The Prosperity of this Nation, Sir, or at least our Security, depends upon the Tranquillity of our Neighbours: While they are at Peace, they will always consume more of our Manufactures than when they are involv’d in Blood and Confusion; and consequently we shall always, in Times of Peace, have a greater Demand for the Manufactures of our Country than in Time of War. Besides, while they continue at Peace, the Balance of Power can be in no Danger, but the Events of War no Nation can depend on; and therefore this Nation among the rest, may be deeply affected by the extraordinary Success of any one Power in Europe. Let us not therefore grudge a small Expence, when it may evidently contribute towards restoring Peace among our Neighbours, upon which our own Prosperity and Security does and always must depend.

! Our House is not as yet on Fire, but our Neighbour’s is all in a Flame; and then certainly it is Time for us to prepare the Engines necessary for preserving our own: These are a powerful Fleet, and a sufficient Body of regular well disciplined Troops, ready to march at the first Word of Command. This, Sir, will give Weight to his Majesty’s Negotiations, it will make all the Parties concerned give a due Attention to what may be proposed, by his Majesty’s Ministers, for restoring the Peace of Europe; for a Minister, whose Equipage consists of a large Body of good Troops, will always be better hearkened to, than one whose Equipage consists only of a great Number of fine Pages and useless Footmen.

‘ By agreeing to the Augmentation proposed, we may expect, Sir, that the Parties now at War will be prevented from forming any ambitious Views, either against this Nation or against the Balance of Power; and if any such Views have already been formed, the Projectors will find themselves under a Necessity of laying them aside; by which Means we shall be able to restore the Peace of Europe, and establish the future Security of this Nation, without exposing ourselves to the Inconveniences, the Misfortunes and the doubtful Events of War. From a contrary Behaviour, let us consider what we are to expect: Will not France and her Allies from thence conclude, that they may go on and conquer; that they may place upon the Imperial Throne a Prince of the House of Bourbon; and that England is not now, as formerly, apprehensive of the growing Power of France,

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

France, or concerned about the Preservation of a Balance of Power in Europe. These are Conclusions which, I am sure, no Englishman ought to give them an Opportunity to make; for the Continuance of the War is a certain Consequence of such Conclusions, and if it should continue, we must engage in it, or we, as well as the rest of Europe, must submit to be Slaves to the Conqueror. Thus the Danger of not agreeing to what is proposed, is infinitely great; but in agreeing to it there is no Danger, and the Expence is inconsiderable: If it procures a Re-establishment of the publick Tranquility, the Usefulness of it must be acknowledged by all; but if it should fail of the Effect desired, it will enable us to join speedily and with Vigour in the War.

‘ To me, Sir, it is evident, that the small Expence, now proposed, may prevent an infinite Expence and an infinite Danger; and therefore I must think we are at present something in the Case of a Gentleman, suppose in the Isle of Ely, whose Estate is in great Danger of being overflowed by the Decay of, or some Breach in, those Dykes and Mounds which were made to prevent Inundations: In such a Case, suppose the Gentleman’s Stewards and Managers should come to him, and tell him of his Danger; and that the Dykes might then be repaired for a small Expence, but that one Flood or two might make such a Breach as would cost him near the Value of his Estate to repair: Would not that Gentleman be very much in the wrong, would he not be mad, not to hearken to such Representations, and put himself to a small immediate Charge, in order to prevent the entire Ruin of his Estate?

‘ Our present Case, Sir, is the very same; one successful Campaign, two or three compleat Victories, would make such a Breach in those Barriers, by which the Liberties of Europe are preserved, as would cost an infinite Treasure and a vast Effusion of Blood before it could be made up. This is a Danger apparent from the Circumstances publickly known; but there may be particular private Transactions concerted, or now carrying on, which would demonstrate the Necessity of what is now proposed: These his Majesty may probably have discovered; and from the Experience we have of his Majesty’s great Regard for the Ease of his People, we may, I think, conclude, that he would not have proposed to have made any Augmentation of his Land-Forces, or to have put his Subjects to any additional Charge, without an evident Necessity for so doing: I hope therefore Gentlemen will depend upon his Majesty’s Wisdom and Conduct in an Affair, which is of such a Nature, as may render it impossible for his Majesty to lay his particular Reasons before this House, without running the Risk of disappointing

pointing all the Measures he has concerted for defeating any ambitious Projects, that may have been formed ; and for restoring the Peace of Europe, and thereby preventing this Nation's being obliged to engage in the War.'

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Andrews's Motion was warmly oppos'd by Lord Morpeth, Mr Gibbon, Lord Noel Somerset, Sir John Barnard, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Pulteney, and several other Members, who gave the following Reasons against it.

Lord Morpeth.
Mr Gibbon.
Ld Noel Somerset.
Sir J. Barnard.
Sir Jos. Jekyll.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

I wish every Gentleman would be more cautious of bringing his Majesty's Name into every Debate in this House. I am persuaded, no Gentleman in this House doubts of his Majesty's sincere Regard for the Ease of his People, or of his Wisdom and Conduct in all Matters which are honestly and fairly laid before him : These are Questions which can never be properly brought before us. Upon this Occasion, as well as all other Occasions of the same Nature, it is not his Majesty's Regard for the Ease of his People, but the Regard his Ministers have for the Ease of the People, that we are to consider ; it is their Wisdom and Conduct that are now under our Consideration : And, in my Opinion, this House has no great Reason to depend much upon either. I am sure the Generality of the Nation have no great Confidence in either ; and therefore, if we speak the Language of our Constituents, which I hope will always be the Language of this House, we cannot depend so much upon their Wisdom and Conduct, as to load the People with any additional Expence, for no other Reason but only because the Minister has told us it is necessary. This is a Method of Proceeding, which no Man ought to agree to in any Case ; but especially in a Case which is of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of our Country.

' The honourable Gentlemen, Sir, were very much in the right to argue from general Circumstances, and such as are publickly known ; for particular Care has been taken that we should not have any Thing else to argue from : But if we argue only from such Circumstances, we must conclude, that we are neither concerned in the War, nor can be concerned in the Event. If we have nothing to do with Poland, if we are no way engaged to protect the Emperor's Dominions in Italy, surely we have no Concern in the War ; and as to the Event, France has declared they will not pretend to keep any of the Conquests they make : They have declared, they have no Intention to make any Conquests or to extend their Dominions, but that their only Aim is to establish Stanislaus upon the Throne of Poland ; and the other

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

two Allies have declared, that they have no other View but to establish and preserve the Neutrality of Italy : These are the only Circumstances publickly known ; and from these neither this Nation, nor the Balance of Power, can be in any Danger.

‘ What particular Reasons we may have not to trust to those Declarations, I shall not pretend to determine ; but all the other Princes and States of Europe, not already engaged in the War, seem to put their Trust in them, because none of them have as yet made any Preparations. Nay, even the Princes of Germany seem to think their Country in no Danger, for some of the chief of them still continue neutral ; and those who have joined in the Declaration of War, have great Numbers of Troops unemployed, which certainly would be all sent to the Rhine, if they thought their Country were in any real Danger, or that France had a Design to impose an Emperor upon them. While they remain so secure, while they give themselves so little Concern about the Event of the War, why we should be so terribly frightened, why we should imagine that France has a Design to conquer Germany, and to place one of the House of Bourbon upon the Imperial Throne, I cannot comprehend : I am sure no such Intention can be presumed from any Circumstance yet publickly known ; and I hope we do not think that either Spain or Sardinia has a Mind to conquer Germany, or that France would allow them, if either or both were able to accomplish such a Design. From publick Circumstances, therefore, I can see no Reason we have now, or indeed ever had, to put ourselves to any Charge, or to make any Preparations ; and if there be any private Reasons, they must be such as concern us in particular, because, if they related to Europe in general, the other Courts of Europe, particularly the Dutch, would certainly have discovered them as well as we ; nay, if they had not, it would have been the Duty of our Ministers to have discovered them, not only to the Dutch, but to all the Princes of Europe ; for whatever Danger there might be in discovering them to this House, there could not surely be any Danger in discovering them to those Courts, which have as deep a Concern as we have in the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe.

‘ As no Part of our late Transactions has ever been laid before this House, as all such Lights have been denied us, I do not know, Sir, but there may be private Reasons for our being particularly concerned in the Event of the present War : If there are any such, they must proceed from some of our late Transactions ; and in that Case, those Transactions ought to have been laid before this House at the

the very Beginning of the War, that we might from them have seen our Danger, and might have provided for our Safety in Time. But to insinuate, that either of the Parties now engaged in War may have ambitious Views against the Liberties of Europe, is an Insinuation that is contradicted by the Behaviour of all the Princes and States of Europe not already engaged in the War; and therefore cannot, in my Opinion, have any Weight.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

‘ We are next told, Sir, that tho’ neither Party at present have any ambitious Views, yet they may form such Views, and in order to prevent their forming any such, we must make great Preparations; that this will shew them we are in earnest, and will make them give Ear to the reasonable Plan of Peace which his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, is to offer: Whereas, if we make no such Preparation, that France will conclude we have lost all Apprehensions of the growing Power of that Kingdom, and that we have no Concern for the Preservation of the Balance of Power. For God’s Sake, Sir, can Gentlemen be serious when they argue at this Rate? Can France, or any Power on Earth, imagine that we will look tamely on, and see the Liberties of Europe overturned; or can the Addition of 7 or 8000 Men to our Army add any thing to their Dread of our Power? They all know, and France in particular has Reason to know, the Strength and Power of this Nation, when wisely managed and prudently exerted; if therefore they form any ambitious Views, if they reject the just Terms of Peace that are to be proposed by his Majesty, or if they despise the Mediation that has been offered, it cannot proceed from any Contempt they have of the real Strength of this Nation, but from a Contempt of the Councils by which that Strength is to be exerted: This is a Contempt which, I am afraid, they have already conceived; and if we should agree to the Proposition now before us, without seeing Reason for so doing, I am sure either the Wisdom or Integrity of this House will suffer considerably, in the Opinion of the World both abroad and at home.

‘ Another terrible Thing we are this Day taught to apprehend, is, that Success may inspire one of the Parties engaged in War, with an ambitious View of overturning the Balance of Power: That two or three complete Victories may make it absolutely necessary for us to engage immediately in the War; and that therefore we ought to prepare in Time, that we may be ready to fly to the Relief of the Unfortunate, before they are quite overwhelmed: Upon this, Sir, I shall only ask if any Gentleman in this House can imagine, that Germany, Poland and Muscovy, for I think I may now say they are united, can be conquered in one Campaign;

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

or supposing the other to be the unfortunate Side, can they imagine that France, Spain and Italy can be conquered in one Campaign ? If any Gentleman can imagine such a Thing, with him I shall not pretend to argue ; but with those who cannot, which I believe are the Majority of this House, I think I may contend that neither Side can in one Campaign be reduced so low, but that the united Force of Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, thrown in early the next Campaign, will be sufficient for their Relief, and for obliging the proudest Conqueror to submit to reasonable Terms ; in which Case we shall have the whole Winter to prepare, and till then 'tis certainly quite unnecessary to put ourselves to any Expence.

As this Day seems to be a Day of Paradoxes, among the rest we have been told one with respect to our Trade. We are told, Sir, that the Prosperity of this Nation depends upon the Tranquility of our Neighbours ; and that in Times of Peace, there is always a greater Demand for the Manufactures and Produce of this Country, than in Time of War. This, Sir, is so far from being a just Maxim in Trade, that the direct contrary is true. The chief Part of the Produce of this Country consists in the Necessaries, and not the Luxuries of Life ; and consequently our Neighbours will always consume as much of such Sort of Things in Time of War as in Time of Peace : But the Difference is, that when their Heads are not distracted, nor their Hands diverted, by any foreign or domestick War, they have Time to apply themselves to Tillage ; they have Time to apply themselves to Manufactures of all Kinds ; they have Leisure to think of and to improve all the Arts of Peace ; and by so doing they furnish themselves at home with a great many of those Necessaries which, in Time of War, they are oblig'd to purchase of us. This is not only evident in Theory, but is confirmed by Experience ; for our Trade has suffered more by the Domestick Improvements made by our Neighbours, during the last long Tranquility in Europe, than it has done by any other Means ; except the heavy Duties we have laid upon ourselves, and the great Trouble and many Fees and Perquisites we have subjected our Merchants to, both in importing and exporting their Goods and Merchandize : These Incumbrances will in Time most certainly ruin every Branch of our Trade, if we do not take Care to remove them speedily, by paying off those Debts by which they have been occasion'd. And as to our Security, it can never be disturbed by any Broils among our Neighbours, unless the Balance of Power should be brought into real Danger, which our Neighbours upon the Continent would take better Care of than they do, if we did not upon
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all Occasions shew ourselves so mighty officious as to do it for them.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734 11.

It is an easy Matter, Sir, for any Man, who has a quick Invention and a strong Imagination, to form imaginary Dangers. In Time of Peace we are frightened with Invasions, because our Neighbours have their Troops quartered upon their Coasts, and have nothing else to do with them ; and in Time of War, because our Neighbours have great Armies in the Field, tho' no Power in Europe has any Quarrel with us. In Time of Peace we must keep up a more numerous Army than is consistent with the Liberties of a free People, in order to prevent a War's breaking out ; and in Time of War we must add to that Army, and put ourselves to great Expence, in order to restore the publick Tranquility, and preserve the Balance of Power, tho' no other Nation in Europe appears to be in the least apprehensive of its being in Danger. Thus, Sir, we are always in a Fright, and, for what I know, our Apprehensions may at last become so extravagant ; that if Angria, the East-India Pirate, should fit out any greater Number of Grabs than usual, we must fit out a Squadron and augment our Land-Forces, for fear of his coming to make an Invasion upon us. By this, Sir, I do not mean to insinuate that we are now in no Danger ; I do not know but we may : But whatever Danger we may be in, I am very sure it does not appear from any Circumstances yet publickly known, nor from any Thing that hath as yet been communicated to this House ; and therefore I cannot agree to load the People with any new Charge. If the Danger is such as cannot be immediately communicated, it must be such as cannot be immediately apprehended ; and if we are only like to be in Danger, we ought to follow the Example of our wise Neighbours the Dutch, in putting our People to no Expence, and in reserving our whole Strength to be vigorously exerted against those, whose future Designs shall seem any way to threaten the Safety of Europe.

' We have been told, Sir, that the Danger of not agreeing to what is proposed is infinitely great ; but that in agreeing to it there is no Danger ; Sir, in my Opinion, it is directly otherwise. It is certain, that the Regard we are to expect from Foreigners must always depend upon the Esteem they have of the Strength of the Nation, and of the Wisdom of those Councils by which that Strength is to be directed. The Strength of the Nation does not surely consist only in the Troops we have on Foot, or the Squadrons we have at Sea, but upon the Number of Troops we are able to raise and maintain, and the Squadrons we are able to put to Sea. Therefore it is certain that the Adding 7 or 8000 Men to our Land-Forces, or to the Squadrons we have already

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

fitted out, can add nothing to the Opinion Foreigners have of our Strength : But the putting ourselves to such needless Expence, when no Man can say that we are in any real Danger, will certainly give Foreigners a very mean Opinion of our Councils. The Armaments we have made can oblige neither of the Sides engaged in War, but may probably give great Offence, by which we may draw a War upon ourselves ; our Armaments may very probably unite several of the Powers of Europe against us, while by the Inaction of those Armaments we may be deprived of every Ally.

But, Sir, with regard to our domestick Affairs, the Danger is more apparent and much more terrible. The keeping up of a numerous Standing Army, in Time of Peace, is absolutely inconsistent with the Liberties of this Nation. The Gentlemen, or at least some of them, who supported this Motion, talk of an Army of 18,000 Men as always necessary to be kept up within this Island. This, Sir, is the true Secret of this Day's Motion ; those Gentlemen know that when Peace is restored, the Nation will insist upon a Reduction's being made, therefore, think they, let us now increase the Army, that when Peace is restored we may stop the Mouths of the Disaffected, (as they call them) by making a Reduction of the Troops we are now to add. And thus, Sir, we shall have a Standing Army of 18,000 Men saddled upon us for ever. As I am of Opinion, that an Army of 18,000 Men is at least 10,000 more than we ought to have in Time of Peace ; as I am of Opinion that such a numerous Army can be necessary for no End, but that of enabling a Minister to trample upon the Liberties of his Country ; therefore I think the Motion ought to be rejected with Disdain.

As for Ministers, they must not expect Regard and Esteem from their Equipage, but from the Wisdom and Address of their Negotiations ; for a Minister with a blundering Head, or one that is sent upon ridiculous Errands, will make as sorry a Figure with an Equipage of regular Troops, as an Equipage of Footmen ; and I am afraid the Ass's Ears will appear much more conspicuous under a well-burnished Head-piece, than ever they did under a well-powder'd Peruke.

The other Parallel, Sir, that has been drawn is very much to the present Purpose, if it had been properly related. We are in the very Case of a Gentleman, who is told by his Steward and the Workmen employed by that Steward, that his Estate is in great Danger of being overflowed by the Breach in those Dykes and Mounds, which, as they say, were made to prevent Inundations. The Gentleman is surpris'd at this, knowing that there were never any Dykes
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or Mounds made upon his Estate for preventing Inundations, but what were made by Nature ; and that his Estate could not be overflowed without some artificial Inlets made, or even Windmills or Fire-Engines prepared and set up for that Purpose. He answers, you really surprize me, I can hardly believe there is a Possibility in what you relate ; however, I'll go along with you and examine every Part of my Estate, and will then take such Measures as may be proper for preventing the Danger : Upon this the Steward and his Workmen are in a Fright, they know that the Inlets were made or the Windmills set up, either by themselves or by some of their Master's Neighbours, with their Connivance ; and therefore they reply, O Lord, Sir ! you must not examine into Particulars, the Breaches are of such a Nature that if you but look upon them they will become irreparable ; give us but a small Sum of Money, and an Order for such of your Tenants as we shall name, to attend and assist us, we can now easily make up the Breach ; but if you delay, or offer to examine into it, the Reparation will cost you more than the Value of your Estate : If such a Gentleman should comply blindly with such a Demand, I am sure, Sir, it must be granted, that if he was not mad, he was very much under the Management of his Steward.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

' While the Dutch, and all the other States of Europe not yet engaged in the War, shew so little Concern about it ; while even the Princes of Germany shew so little Inclination to exert their whole Strength upon the Occasion ; I cannot think the Balance of Power in any imminent Danger : And if any Danger threatens this Nation in particular, in God's Name let it be told ; when we know what it is, or from whence it is to be apprehended, we may easily take such Measures as may prevent it ; but do not let us, under imaginary Pretences of distant foreign Dangers, subject our Constitution to a real, an imminent domestick Danger ; for what will it avail us to preserve the Liberties of Europe, if under that Pretence we destroy our own ? '

To this it was replied by the same Members who supported Mr Andrews's Motion, as follows :

Sir,

' Whatever Advantage we may draw from the Tranquility of others, it is certain we must always draw great and many Advantages from our own ; and it is as certain, that let the Designs of the Parties engaged in War be at present what they will, we may be deeply concerned in its Event. If either the present Designs should be pushed too far, or new and ambitious Designs encouraged and set up by Success, we must necessarily at last be involved ; and this is what

Sir W. Yonge,
Col. Bladen.
Mr Winnington.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir R. Walpole.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

what we ought if possible to prevent. This I take to be the true and only Design of the Augmentation now proposed; it is so small that I cannot look upon it as designed to engage us in the War, but to prevent our being engaged; and for this Reason, I think, we may the more easily agree to it.

‘ Whether the Balance of Power be now in Danger, or whether this Nation in particular be now in Danger, is not the Question before us; but whether both may not be in Danger by the Event of the present War, and this I really think can’t be made a Question. In such a Case we are not to be directed by the Behaviour of other States: At least, I am sure, the Resolutions of this House ought as little to be regulated by the Example of the Dutch, or of the Princes of Germany, as they ought to be regulated by the Advice of our own Ministers. In the War which was commenced before the Death of the late King William, I believe it will not be denied but that the Balance of Power was really in Danger, and yet, for some Time after it commenced, the Dutch seemed, to all publick Appearance, as quiet as they seem at present; the Princes of Germany seemed as little concerned, nay, some of them actually engaged against the Liberties of Europe, and of their Country. ‘Till we declared ourselves, no Prince in Europe would venture to stir to the Relief of the House of Austria; and therefore I must think, that the outward Behaviour of all, or any of the Princes of Europe, can never be made use of as any Argument in this Debate. Besides, Sir, the other Princes and States of Europe have no Occasion to make any Augmentation of their Forces till they are just ready to take the Field: They have, all of them, great Bodies of Land-Forces in continual Pay; there is hardly an Electoral Prince of Germany, but what maintains as great a Number of Land-Forces as are now in this Island; and yet, I hope, it will not be said, but that if we were to engage, we not only could, but ought to take the Field with a much greater Army than either of them can maintain; for which Reason we are always under a Necessity to begin to prepare much sooner than any of our Neighbours.

‘ We may talk what we will of the Number of Men in our Country, and the Numbers of Ships in our Harbours; but from such Calculations the Strength of a Nation is not now to be computed. It is from the Number of regular, well-disciplin’d Troops, and from the Number of Men of War provided with experienced Seamen, that the Strength of a Nation is always now computed: A Number of regular well-disciplined Troops is now become as necessary, either for Offence or Defence, as a well-disciplined, well-armed Militia

Militia was of old ; and the Regard a Nation is to expect from its Neighbours, depends now as much upon the former, as it depended of old upon the latter. 'Tis true, Regiments may be soon raised, Regiments may be soon augmented ; but a Regiment newly raised must be exercised for many Months, before it can expect to engage successfully against an old, well-disciplined Regiment ; and even an old Regiment newly augmented, cannot pretend to enter upon immediate Action, it must have some Time to discipline the new Men that have been incorporated. This is the Reason, Sir, and, in my Opinion, a convincing Reason, why we should always begin to increase our Land-Forces, at least, some Months before there may be a Necessity for entering upon Action : And by what is now proposed, the Increase is to be made in the most proper, and the least expensive Way ; that is, by adding a Number of private Men to each Company in the Service, without raising any new Regiments or Companies, which could not so speedily be made fit for Action, and would, by increasing the Number of Officers, be more expensive to the Nation.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ I am none of those, Sir, who imagine that Germany, Poland, and Moscovy, can be conquered in one Campaign ; and much less do I imagine that France, Spain, and Italy, can be conquered in one Campaign. And yet I do verily believe, that a compleat Victory or two, gained in the very Beginning of a Campaign, especially by that Side which has hitherto had the best Success, might be attended with such Consequences, and might bring the unfortunate Side so low, if they met with no Relief or Assistance before the Beginning of the next Campaign, that to recover the Losses of that Campaign, and compel the Conquerors to accept of reasonable Terms, would most certainly cost this Nation a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure ; even though we were immediately joined by Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, neither of whose Assistance, even in such a critical Conjecture, we can pretend to depend upon with Certainty. For upon such an Occasion, some of them might expect to make an Advantage by joining the victorious Side ; and if we should be obliged to engage singly, and without the Assistance of either of the three Powers I have mentioned, one unfortunate Campaign might involve us in a tedious, an expensive, and even a doubtful War : Whereas, if we put ourselves in such a Condition as to be able to give immediate Relief to the unfortunate Side, or to engage immediately against that Side whose Views shall hereafter be discover'd to be inconsistent with the Safety of Europe, we may then easily cast the Balance, and give Law to the Conquerors.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that France and her Allies have made the Declarations mentioned by the honourable Gentleman ; and I do not know but they may be sincere, but I am sure they are not to be trusted to : For even granting that these Declarations are sincere, that they have really no other Views but what they openly profess, yet we know that Success may elate the Minds of the Conquerors, and may make them conceive new Designs, which they could not at first have thought of. And against these we are to provide, as well as against any Designs they may have at present which we have not yet discovered ; for if France and her Allies should over-run all Germany, establish Stanislaus upon the Throne of Poland, and oblige the Czarina to submit to their Terms, I am very far from thinking that either of them would abide by the Declarations with which they began the War : I am sure, our Constitution would be exposed to much greater Danger, than it can be from the small Addition now proposed to be made to our Army.

‘ This leads me, Sir, to consider that terrible, that imminent Danger our Liberties are exposed to, by keeping up a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace ; which is a Danger that has been much exaggerated, upon this and many other Occasions, by the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question. I could easily shew, that an Army kept up from Year to Year, under the Direction of Parliament, and commanded by Gentlemen of the best Families, and some of them of as good Estates as any in the Kingdom, can never be dangerous either to our Constitution or to our Liberties, were it much more numerous than it is, or is now proposed to be ; but the keeping up a Standing Army in Time of Peace is not the Question under our Consideration. Will Gentlemen say, that when all Europe is in a Flame, we ought not to begin to make Preparations ? Will they say, that we ought never to make any Augmentation, or to prepare for War, till it is publicly declared ? Can this, Sir, be a safe Maxim for any Nation ?

‘ I do not know, Sir, that any Gentleman has in this Debate declared, that 18,000 is the Number of Land-Forces which must always be kept up in this Nation, even in time of the profoundest Tranquility : However, it has been discovered, it seems, that this is the Opinion of some Gentlemen ; and that the Addition now moved for, is proposed for no other Reason, but only that these Gentlemen may have an Opportunity of stopping the Mouths of the Disaffected, by reducing that additional Number as soon as the publick Tranquility is re-established. Sir, if no Reason had been assigned for the Addition proposed, there might have been some Room for this Presumption ; but as other Reasons have

have been assigned, as those Reasons are apparent from the present Circumstances of Europe, I cannot see how such a Presumption can be made : But suppose this were really the Design of some Gentlemen in this House, will not every other Gentleman be at Liberty to oppose that Design when the Peace is restored ? May not every Gentleman, who shall then have the Honour to be a Member of this House, propose as great a Reduction as he pleases ? Is it not as easy to propose the Reduction of 17,000 as of 7000 ? And when we are so happy as to have an Opportunity to make a Reduction, the Question will then come properly to be argued, what Number of Land-Forces is necessary to be kept up in this Nation in Time of Peace ? Upon that Question, I hope as great a Number will be reduced, without any regard to the Addition now made, as the Safety of the Nation can admit of ; for I shall join with the honourable Gentlemen in Opinion, that we ought never to keep up a greater Number than is absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Nation, and the Support of his Majesty's Government ; and whoever is against keeping up that Number, shall always be looked on by me as a Person disaffected to both.

ANNO 8. GEO. II.
1734-35.

' Before I conclude, Sir, I must take Notice that from this Debate it appears to me, that the Gentlemen employed in the Administration of our Affairs are always in the most ticklish Situation. If they propose to make Provisions against Dangers, by which Provisions the People must be put to an Expence, they then are charged with raising imaginary Dangers, in order from thence to take an Opportunity to load the People with new Taxes : And their Misfortune is, that the more careful they have been in time past, the Argument grows every Day stronger against them ; because People begin at last to believe, that the Dangers which were never felt were imaginary, tho' in Reality they were prevented only by the Provisions that were made against them. However, many People may come at last to be confirmed in this erroneous Opinion, by which the Ministers may be at last refused those Provisions that are actually necessary ; and if, by such Refusal, any signal Misfortune should befall the Nation, the Ministers would be sure to be loaded with the Blame of it, tho' they had done all that was in their Power to warn us of the Danger.

' I cannot really comprehend, Sir, what Sort of Information it is that Gentlemen want upon this Occasion ; would they have his Majesty send to tell us, that there is a bloody War carried on by France, Spain and Sardinia against the Emperor ? Surely they do not expect that his Majesty should send us a particular Message, in order to acquaint us with a Piece of News that is known to the whole World ! Pro-

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1714-35.

bably his Majesty has not yet discovered, whether any of the Parties engaged in War have any farther Views than what they publickly avow ; this I say may not probably have been yet discovered, because no Plan of an Agreement has yet been offered to the Parties concerned : Or perhaps his Majesty has already discovered, that some of the Parties concerned have some secret and ambitious Views, which will oblige him to declare very soon against them. In the first Case, his Majesty can give us no farther Information than what he has already given ; but suppose the last to be the Case, ought his Majesty, either by Message or otherwise, to disclose to us the Secrets he has discovered, or the Resolutions he has taken upon such Discovery ? Would not such a Message be an open and a publick Declaration of War ? And will any Gentleman say, that it would be wise in his Majesty, or in those who have the Honour to advise him, to make any such publick Declaration, before he has made all the necessary Preparation, and is just ready to enter upon Action ? In short, let us put the Case what Way we will, it is impossible we can have, or ought to have, any farther Information than what every Gentleman without Doors, as well as within, fully knows from the Circumstances Europe is in at present. And as these are, in my Opinion, more than sufficient for inducing every Man, who regards the Safety of his Country, to agree to the Augmentation now proposed, I shall very little regard what may be thought of the Wisdom or the Integrity of this House ; for I am very sure, every Man whose good Opinion is worth desiring, will, from our agreeing to this Question, be convinced of both.'

Mr Howe,

Some Members, who agreed to the Necessity of an Augmentation of our Forces, thought it more eligible to hire foreign Troops than increase the Number of our Army at Home : And in Support of this Proposal, Mr John Howe stood up, and spoke as follows :

Sir,

' It is with great Diffidence and Confusion, that I stand up to speak on this Occasion : I think it one of more Difficulty, a more critical Conjuncture, than ever I knew under the Consideration of this House. I cannot, Sir, but with the greatest Reluctancy think of adding to the heavy Burthen my Country already labours under ; and yet it would be the greatest Concern imaginable to me, if through an ill-tim'd Piece of good Husbandry, I should suffer the Nation to be involv'd in Calamities, which some Expences might have prevented. In this Streight I should be glad to give no Opinion ; but yet must now offer such as occurs to me.

me. Peace is the greatest Advantage that can be desired by a free and trading Nation : Any Expence which will contribute to continue that Blessing to us, will be Money well employed ; and what is now proposed to us, I see in the Light of a Measure for Peace : The Increase of our Forces in general appears to me, to be with an Intention, not to make, but to prevent War. We are now in the rightest Situation possible : We take on us the Part of Mediators, not of Principals or Parties in the War : May our good Offices be effectual ? All I can do to make them so, I am sure I wish : God send they may be so ? But we must put ourselves into a Condition to be a Weight in whichever Scale we may throw ourselves ; for bare Reasons, Persuasives alone, will, I fear, have little Effect. But if the stronger Party is made sensible, that if it refuses to come into reasonable Terms, it will not long continue the stronger Party, our Mediation will be more regarded ; and a Minister will be best hearkened to, whose Equipages, instead of a great Number of fine Footmen, consists of a large Body of good Troops : I am therefore, Sir, free to declare for arming ourselves, convinced that an unarmed Mediation must prove an unsuccessful one. But, Sir, as the shewing what a contrary Measure would produce, does best illustrate Things, let us consider what would be the natural Effects of our declining to make any warlike Preparations. Would it not be declaring to the French that they may go on and conquer ? That they may place upon the Imperial Throne a Prince of the House of Bourbon ? That England is not now, as formerly, apprehensive of the Increase of the Power of France ? This would certainly be the Conclusion the French would naturally draw from our not arming : A Conclusion no Englishman surely would give them an Opportunity to make. Warlike Preparations will, I hope, conduce to making Peace ; and if they fail of making Peace, they will enable us to make War : The Expence will neither way be lost. A noble Lord was pleased to say, that the Prosperity of this Nation depended on the Peace and Tranquility of our Neighbours ; I join with him in Opinion ; at least so far that it may be disturbed by their Want of Tranquility : But surely then we ought not to repine at any Expence to procure that Peace and Tranquility to them, upon which our own Prosperity is thought to depend. Some Gentlemen seem to apprehend, that arming will engage us in War, without the Dutch ; far from it ; for if it should fail of its desired Success, we are still at Liberty to act as we think best : But upon that Article, I think it most proper to be silent at present. We may, as the Country People express it, when the Time comes, do like our Neighbours.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

But now, Sir, as I have given my Consent to the Increase of Forces in general, I must likewise declare, that for the Method, now proposed, of increasing them, by raising more national Troops, I can by no Means approve of it. After which it will be expected of me to say in what Manner I would have them increased ; for to oppose a Measure, and propose no other in its Place, is certainly very unjustifiable. On this Occasion therefore, I am not shy of declaring that the warlike Preparation I mean, is by making Contracts with foreign Princes for their Troops, in case we call for them. To this Method there is no Objection but the unavoidable Expence ; and yet the Expence of national Troops is still greater : Even the disbanding of national Troops does not free us from the Expence of them ; their Half Pay remains ; and 'tis remarkable, that Half-Pay Officers, tho' they hardly live, they never die. But other Objections arise to national Troops ; the Burthen they are otherwise, and the Danger from them is likewise greater ; not that I look on them, as another noble Lord does, as a Standing Army ; for it is not to be supposed, that this can be the Number to be kept up : That is not my Objection ; but I object to the Increase of national Forces, as a Method in no Circumstance so easy or safe, as the engaging foreign Ones. Arming in general I think absolutely necessary ; and were there no other Method, I would consent to this. Our House indeed is not on Fire, but our Neighbours is in a Flame ; I therefore approve the increasing of our Forces in general, and only oppose the Method now proposed of raising national Ones, as there is a more easy and more convenient one of doing it, by engaging foreign Troops.'

Mr Lindsay.

To this Speech of Mr Howe's it was replied by Mr Lindsay, ' That by the Augmentation proposed, it was not intended to add new Officers, but only so many private Men to each Company ; so that when Peace was restored, the Augmentation then made could be reduced, without leaving any Charge upon the Nation : That in a Time of such publick Danger it was necessary to augment our Forces within the Kingdom, and therefore any small Inconveniencies that might from thence arise must be borne with : That by increasing our own Troops no Money was carried out of the Kingdom : That it would add to the Number of our trained Soldiers, which, if any future Danger should arise, would be an Advantage to the Nation : That by a Man's becoming a Soldier his Labour and Industry was not quite lost, for many of them were as industrious after listing as ever they had been before : That old and infirm Soldiers must always of course be dismissed, and new Recruits raised in their Stead, tho' no Augmentation were ever made.

Mr

Mr John Drummond, in Support of the Motion for the Augmentation, took Notice of the Number of Forces the Dutch had on Foot, and their Disposition to act in Concert with Great Britain.* Then Mr Robert Dundas stood up, and spoke against the Augmentation, and mention'd the bad Purposes for which the Forces were employ'd, and instanc'd the drawing up of the Regiment in the Abbey Close at Edinburgh, to over-awe the Election of the Scots Peers, or over-awe the Elections of Commoners; and to induce such Places as were conceiv'd to wish for Troops, to vote for Courtiers, or otherwise to have the Troops remov'd from them.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr J. Drummond.

Mr Dundas.

To this Mr Duncan Forbes* answer'd, 'That the Drawing up the Troops in the Abbey Close was an ordinary Muster or Exercise of Arms; and the Abbey Close an ordinary Place for such Musters; and that there was great Need of armed Force in Scotland; without which the notorious Inclination there to Smuggling and Cheating the Revenue, and to mutiny and resist the Execution of legal Procefs, could not be quell'd; and concluded with disapproving the Proposal for hiring Foreign Troops.' Hereupon Mr James Erskine stood up and said,

Mr D. Forbes.

Mr Erskine.

Sir,

'I am loth to take up the Time of the House, now it is so late, but as the Affair of the Troops at the Election of the Sixteen Scots Peers has been misrepresented; and as I am fully acquainted with the Truth of that Transaction, I hope the House will indulge me.

'I believe no Member of this, or any other former Parliament, has ever asserted that a Standing Army was consistent with our Constitution, or even attempt to deny but it is dangerous to our Rights and Liberties. A Standing Army has been kept up, it is true, from Year to Year, and sometimes augmented, by pretending the Exigencies of the Times; but such Exigencies, that the same, or other such, may to the World's End be pretended: So that if the same mean and low Spirit continues in Britain, a Standing Army is for ever to be the Oppression of this once flourishing Island. These Arguments are indeed too general to be dwelt on, when the Question is not, Whether to have an Army; but, Whether to augment it? Since it seems granted on all Sides, that we must have an Army for this Year; that Britain must for one Year longer submit to that Badge and great Mean of Slavery: But if it is so dangerous to have any, it is still more dangerous to add to it; and if Exigencies requir'd such an Army as we had last Year, yet it behoves us to see the Exigencies, that requir'd so large an Addition as 8000 more, before we ought to consent to it.

The

* Lord Advocate for Scotland.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

The Pretext made use of is, that we and the Dutch are to be Mediators between the contending Powers of Europe, and that unarmed Mediators cannot effectually mediate; yet the Dutch are to be unarm'd, not only by Sea, but are to add nothing to their Land-Forces, as was but now acknowledged: Tho' the other Day we were told, That as we should increase our Fleet, the Sea being our natural Barrier; so would the Dutch augment their Troops, their Barrier being by Land. But now we see that our Neighbours are to share with us the Honour and Advantage of Mediating, and we are to bear all the Burden: Yet it seems neither they nor we are indeed to be Mediators; for his Majesty's Speech says only, that his good Offices, and the good Offices of the States General, had been accepted of; and as some Gentlemen had openly in the House deny'd that we were to be Mediators, they explain'd the accepting of these good Offices to be no more than barely to allow us to make Proposals to the Powers in War. And is this all the mighty Matter for which our domestick Army is to be augmented so greatly? If a strong Army is necessary for this Purpose, the Augmentation is too little: But any Augmentation in our present Circumstances is not the Way to make us to be regarded by the Potentates at War. They know our Case, that we are under vast Debts, much whereof was contracted for no Purpose, or for bad Purposes: And to see us acting wisely and frugally, and to have Money and Credit as formerly, would give Britain the Weight it formerly had; and they know that then we could raise Troops at Home, and hire Abroad: But they would never believe us noticeable for having 25,000 or 26,000 Men in our Army at Home, with not a Farthing in our Pockets. After all, it seems hard to be believed that it is in earnest said we are to be Mediators, or at all to interpose, or that we are any ways afraid of the Consequences of the present War in Europe: For some Years ago we were offer'd the Mediation, and then refus'd it; no doubt to shew our Modesty, and that we were not so vain as to take on us to offer Laws to France, a Nation superior to Britain, and whom then we obsequiously courted. And to say, we now dread the Progrès of the Arms of the French and their Confederates, one must be tempted to think but a Pretext: For so wise Men as administer the British Affairs did certainly foresee it, and can not be frighted at the Consequences of their own Actions; since all flow'd from the Introduction of Don Carlos into Italy, which was done by our own Fleet. I am, in my own private Opinion, so little persuaded of the Wisdom of that Expedition, that I hope the 30,000 Seamen, voted the other Day, are design'd for

for a better Purpose ; yet it is better to make an ible, tho' expensive Show of them at Spithead, than send them Abroad to do Mischief. And all this appears from our succeeding Conduct ; for it would be a high Reflection to suppose the Intelligence of our Ministry so bad, that they knew not of the Alliance when forming betwixt France, Spain and Sardinia, and they could not but see the Consequences of it. Yet they did nothing to stop that Treaty ; nor, when it was finish'd, to stop their powerful Armies from entering Italy, where they have had so great Success ; and our Trade to which Country is now as precarious as our Trade to Spain : They likewise must have foreseen the Progress of the French Arms on the Rhine ; for who did not know, that the Emperor, having a great Army in Italy, was over-power'd by a greater ; and that France, in the German War, having nothing to apprehend from Italy or Spain, as in former Wars, could not but be an Over-match for the Emperor on the Rhine ? Therefore as all this has happen'd, having been foreseen and help'd on by our own Ministry, the Fear said to arise from thence must be but an affected Pretence, as well as the Mediation which we had formerly refused, and now did not pretend was offer'd to us : Nay, if it was otherwise, yet this Augmentation of our Army is not the right Way to make us considerable in the Mediation, nor a good Way to act for ourselves, since we are not like to be attack'd this Year.

' I can't help taking Notice of what was said by the Gentleman who spoke last, [*Mr Duncan Forbes*] relating to the Use of Troops in Scotland. I am sorry that such Things should be said of that Country, by a Gentleman whom I regard so much, and whose Worth and Learning I am not a Stranger to : I dare assert the Law, and the Execution of legal Process, in Scotland has free Course without the Assistance of Troops : I have heard of no remarkable Instance of the Interposition of Troops in such Cases ; but when it was done illegally by those in Power and Office, to the Oppression of the Subjects, and Overthrow of our Liberties, and contrary to Law ; Instances of which I can give, and I hope will in due Time be adverted to, and meet with deserved Rebuke. There are more Instances of Mutiny and Tumult in England than in Scotland ; and more Running of Goods in a few Days on the Thames, than in all Scotland for a Year. [*Here he related the Manner of drawing up the Regiment in the Abbey-Close at the Election of the Sixteen Peers.*] For my Part I know no Good the Army has done in Britain, but making Roads thro' the Mountains of the Scots Highlands, which was performed by a Handful.'

Colonel Handasyde took up Mr Erskine, as if what he had said about the Regiment in the Abbey-Close had reflected

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

Col. Handasyde.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

reflected on him, whose Regiment it was ; and endeavour'd to shew that it was but an ordinary Meeting there, and that nothing could be meant by it, since the Regiment march'd from Town at Mr Dundas's Election : That he deserv'd Thanks, and not Blame, for his Conduct by the Gentlemen of that Country ; but that some wish'd there had been Mobs and Tumults, and from their Disappointment proceeded their Complaints.'

Mr Erskine.

Sir J. Campbell.

Mr Erskine rising up to reply, Sir James Campbell stood up likewise, and endeavour'd to shew the Necessity of Troops in the Highlands ; Urging, ' That they ought to be continued though the Highlanders were, at present, mostly well affected ; and gave for Instance the Advantage of having Troops in Scotland in the Year 1715, when the Rebellion was rais'd and carried on by the Earl of Mar, Brother to the honourable Member who had spoke last against the Motion.' Several Members, resenting this Expression as a Reflection on Mr Erskine, call'd out, To Order : Hereupon Mr Erskine stood up again, and said, ' That when he last rose up to speak, it could not be to answer the Member who had now spoke, [*Sir James Campbell*] for then he had said nothing ; and that he might for the same Reason pass by all that the worthy Gentleman had spoke since. Here Sir James Campbell got up again ; but the House would not allow him to interrupt : Then Mr Erskine went on, and said, ' That the honourable Gentleman, who spoke before, [*meaning Colonel Handasyde*] could not, on the least Reflection, imagine that any Thing said was meant against him, who he had never, that he knew of, seen in his Life till now ; and that the Colonel was not then in Scotland, and therefore could not be blam'd for any Thing done by his Regiment : That he blam'd not even his Officers present, not doubting but they had Orders : That this was not the Time to argue that important Matter and flagrant Encroachment on the British Liberties, which might come to be inquir'd into afterwards ; yet the Account he had given of it was just, notwithstanding the Answer : That the Regiment had been muster'd, and in the Field but a Day or two before, and therefore the Meeting on that Day was not an ordinary one : That it could not be without a Design, and a bad one too : That on such a Day the three Companies at Leith were march'd to join those at Edinburgh, and kept altogether under Arms during the Election, and then march'd back to Leith : And that other Facts, equally or more gross, could in due Time and Season, be made appear to shew that it was done on a bad Design : That their marching from Edinburgh at the Election for the County, proves only they were not in the Wrong at that Time, tho' they were prodigiously wrong at the Election

Sir James Campbell call'd to Order, for reflecting on Mr Erskine, on account of his Brother the Earl of Mar's being concern'd in the Rebellion, *Ann* 1715.

Election of the Peers : That the Accusation of wishing for Mobs and Tumults was injurious, and as weak as unjust: That if it was meant against the Majority, what could they gain by it? And still less could the Minority reap any Advantage from it, except to put themselves in the Wrong, when they had no Reason to hope they would meet with Pardon and Indulgence: That Mutiny was the stale Pretence of those, who wanted a Handle to oppress by superior Power: That by Mobbing, the Minority could only expect such Ruin to themselves, as had befallen his Kinsman by the Rebellion, which an honourable Member had, with so much Discretion and Justice, objected to him: That the Objection was so entirely from the Purpose, he would pass it by unanswer'd, as well as the rest of what that honourable Gentleman had said, did not the high Nature of it require him to speak to it: That he had suffer'd more by it than any Man, except his deceas'd Friend and Relation, who was at the Head of it: That his Principle and Conduct, with respect to the present Establishment, ever since he enter'd on the World and Business, had been uniform and firm in all Times and Situations, as every Body knew, who knew him; and as the Objector and his Friends had often acknowledg'd: And if now his greatest Enemies could bring an Instance to the contrary, he consented to have it reckon'd that he had always been a Traitor: That, therefore, if the Occasion of flinging out this at him, and the Air with which it was done, had not look'd so unfavourably, he must, in Justice to the Gentleman who spoke it, have thought he intended to do him Honour; by shewing his Loyalty to have been so unconquerable, that his nearest Relations, and with whom he had so great Connection, could not shake or diminish it.

Atmo 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Mr Charles Areskine * stood up next, and said, ' That the Abbey and Parliament Close were so far distant, † that the Regiment drawn up in the former could not over-awe the Election at the latter.'

Mr Cha. Areskine

Then the Question being put on the Motion made by Mr Andrews, it pass'd in the Affirmative by 261 to 208.

Feb. 17. Mr Walter Plumer mov'd, That the Postmaster General might lay before the House a Copy of the King's Warrant, whereby Letters were permitted to pass Post-free.

Mr Plumer's Motion for laying before the House the King's Warrant for permitting Letters to pass Post-Free.

Feb. 19. The said Warrant was laid before the House.

Feb. 24. Several Resolutions of the Committee on the Supply, having been agreed to by the House, Sir William Wyndham mov'd, ' That the Journal of the House of the

VOL. IV

K

5th

* Solicitor General for Scotland.

† The Distance is little more than Half a Mile.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.



5th of December 1690, in the second Year of William and Mary, in relation to the Report from the Committee, to whom the Consideration of the Estimates and Accounts relating to the Army, Navy and Treasury were referred, might be read ; which was done accordingly. Then he mov'd for reading the Journal of November 9th, 1691, in the third Year of the same Reign, in relation to appointing a Committee to inspect the Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1692, which having been also read, Sir William Wyndham stood up again, and spoke as follows :

Mr Speaker,

Sir W. Wyndham's
Motion for refer-
ring the Estimate of
the Navy for the
Year 1735, to a
select Committee.


‘ When I reflect on the long Peace this Nation has enjoy'd, I am surpris'd how small a Part of our publick Debts has been paid off ; but when I consider the vast Sums that have been yearly rais'd, that the People have not been made quite free of any one Tax which the preceeding War brought upon them, nor any Tax, except one only, in the least diminished ; I cannot comprehend how it was possible, in every Year of this long Term of Peace, to find Pretences for putting the Nation to such a vast Expence : And I must think, If our Parliaments, for these twenty Years past, had followed the Example laid down in the Precedents now read to you, and had always appointed a select Committee, to examine the Estimates yearly laid before them, it would not have been possible to prevail with them to agree that such an Expence was necessary.

‘ This, Sir, I wish had been done by every Parliament since the Revolution ; and as this is the first Session of a new Parliament, I hope we shall begin to follow that Example which was shewn by the first Parliament after the Revolution. I hope it will not be said, but that Parliament had as good Reason to put a Confidence in the Administration as this Parliament has, or as any Parliament had since that Time ; and yet we find that Parliament, in their very first Session, passing an Act, and by Ballot appointing Commissioners, for taking and examining the Account of all publick Money, and resolving that no Person should be one of those Commissioners, who had any Office of Profit, or was accountable to their Majesties ; and their Care of the publick Money, in their second and third Sessions, we may collect from the Journals now read to us. For this Reason I am convinced, that what I am now to propose cannot be thought shewing the least Disrespect to his Majesty : It is only shewing that prudent Care of the People's Money, which we ought always to shew as their Representatives, even tho' there were no particular Reason for our being so careful.

‘ But

‘ But at present, Sir, we have a melancholy Reason for refusing the ancient Usage of Parliament; It is well known that Estimates have been every Year laid before this House of all the Expences, which were then supposed to be necessary for the ensuing Year; and notwithstanding those Estimates were much larger than were ever before usual, yet in every Year ample Provision has been made for the Expences of the ensuing Year, conformable to the Estimates laid before the House: This is known to almost every Man, and every Man that does know it must think it very odd, that in so small a Number of Years such a great Debt should be contracted as is at present due upon Account of our Navy; but it must appear still more surprizing when we consider, that in every Session of Parliament Accounts have been laid before this House, of the Deficiencies of all former Grants, and likewise of all Services incurred and not provided for by Parliament. If such Accounts had been rightly considered, they would certainly have been made good, and the Services, if found to have been necessarily incurred, would certainly have been provided for, out of the first and readiest of the Grants made for the Service of the next ensuing Year.

Anno 3. Geo. II.
1734 5.



‘ This, Sir, is the only proper Way of providing for all Services incurred and not provided for in the former Session of Parliament: While this Method is regularly pursued, the Strength of the Nation is not impaired by loading Posterity with Debts and Mortgages; nor can the People be so easily prevailed on to submit to any unnecessary Expence; and the Facts being fresh in every Man’s Memory, if any Fraud be couched under any of the Articles of the Accounts given in, it may be easily discovered; but when the Nation is thus secretly run in Debt, the People being ignorant of their Expence, cannot find Fault with any of those extravagant Measures which occasioned that Expence; and when Accounts are brought into this House in a Heap, and after the Transactions to which they relate are all forgotten, it is then impossible for Gentlemen to discover the Fallacies that may be practised in the Manner of stating these Accounts.

‘ Upon such a slight View, Sir, as I have taken of the Accounts now upon the Table, it is not possible for me to enter into the particular Articles; but I cannot help taking Notice of one which to me appears very extraordinary. There is near 250,000 l. charged, not for the Building of Ships, but for the Building of Houses; whether such Houses were necessary I shall not now pretend to determine; but if they were, I think it is too large a Sum for any Administration to have expended, without a previous Authority

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

from Parliament ; and that I am sure was never asked for. What the present Age may think of such a Sum, I do not know, but I am sure our Ancestors, even of the very last Age, would have been extremely shy of loading the People with at least Six-pence in the Pound upon all the Lands in Great Britain, for building Houses for the Officers belonging to the Admiralty ; and I must think it a little extraordinary to see Ministers, of their own Heads, undertake to do that which even Parliaments of old would scarce have undertaken to have done. 'Tis true, Parliaments have of late become very good natur'd, they have put great Confidence in Ministers, and have generally, I shall not say blindly, approved of all ministerial Measures : This may perhaps have made Ministers presume a little farther than they would otherwise have done ; but I am very sure, that till very lately, no Minister would have dared to have drawn the Nation into such an Expence without an Authority from Parliament for so doing.

' This Article would, I believe, Sir, have appeared a little extraordinary, in the most flourishing Circumstances that ever this Nation was in ; but when the People are groaning under heavy Taxes, when most of those Taxes are already engaged for the Payment of our Debts, I must think it highly extravagant. We ought to make our Estate our own, we ought to free it from Mortgages, before we think of beautifying it with costly Buildings. However, Sir, let me suppose that this Expence was absolutely necessary, yet still it ought to have been provided for by Parliament before it was undertaken, or at least the next Session after it was laid out : In that Case the Parliament would probably have taken Care to have saved as much upon some other Article : By that means our being involved in so heavy a Debt as we are at present would have been prevented, and we might have been in a Condition for acting that Part, which the present Circumstances of Europe may make incumbent upon us to undertake.

The Revenues of a Nation, Sir, which always arise from those Taxes the People are to pay, may be compared to the Revenues of a private Gentleman's Estate ; and every Gentleman who has a Regard to his Family, or to his own Credit, will certainly proportion his Expence to the Revenues of his Estate, taking Care to save as much yearly as may be necessary for providing for younger Children, and for answering future Accidents or Misfortunes : Such a Gentleman will consider that if, by his Way of Living, he spends more than the yearly Revenue of his Estate may, according to this Computation, answer, he must yearly destroy a Part of his Estate ; and that the greater this Surplus is, the sooner his

his Estate and Family will be ruined. Let us suppose then that such a Gentleman should order his Steward to compute the Manner how he was to live, so as not to spend yearly more than the Revenue of his Estate could bear, allowing so much yearly for Childrens Fortunes, paying off Mortgages, or future Contingencies : Suppose this Steward had prescribed such a Manner of living, and had for several Years sed him with a Notion that he was spending no more yearly than his Estate could bear ; but at last brings him in a terrible Account of Debts contracted, by that Manner of living which he himself had prescribed, and gravely tells him, he must sell or mortgage one of his best Manors for paying off those Debts : What would such a Steward deserve ? Surely he must at least expect all his Accounts to be examined in the strictest Manner, and his Master would never place a Confidence in any of his Calculations for the future.

Anno 8. Geo. 2.
1734-35.

‘ The Case, Sir, is the same with this Nation at present : We have been made to believe, that what we were spending yearly was no more than the yearly Taxes would answer : These Taxes have been chearfully granted by Parliament, and as chearfully paid by the People, in full Expectation that these were all that were necessary for answering our annual Expence ; but now, Sir, when we are in Danger of being brought into a great and unforeseen Expence, we are told that we have run much in Arrear, that a great Debt has been contracted, and that for the Payment of this Debt, we must either mortgage those Funds which ought to be reserved for a Time of Danger, or we must lay violent Hands upon those Funds which have been long ago declared sacred, and religiously appropriated for relieving us from those heavy Burdens we at present groan under. While we are Members of this House, Sir, we are the Trustees of the People ; and when the People have been insensibly run into a heavy and unexpected Arrear, shall we approve of the Accounts of those Services by which that Arrear has been occasioned, without examining strictly into every Article ? I must think we are, both in Honour and Conscience, bound to examine them in the strictest Manner ; and therefore I shall beg leave to move, That the ordinary Estimate of his Majesty’s Navy, for the current Year, may be referred to the Consideration of a select Committee, and that they do examine the same, and report the Facts, with their Opinion thereupon, to the House.’

Sir William Wyndham being seconded by Mr Sandys, the same occasion’d a great Debate, in which Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Winnington, Sir William Yonge

Debate thereon.

Mr Sandys.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Winnington.
Sir W. Yonge.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

Col. Bladen.

Yonge, and Colonel Bladen, urg'd the following Arguments against the Motion.

Sir,

' The Affairs of Europe, and the various Incidents that have occurred since the famous Peace of Utrecht, are so fresh in every Man's Memory, that I think it sufficient to observe in general, that every Man, who knows any Thing of the History of Europe for these last twenty Years, may easily give a Reason why we have not been able to pay off any considerable Part of the publick Debts. There was no Method of paying off honestly and fairly any of our Debts formerly contracted, but by increasing the publick Revenue, or saving a Part yearly of that which had before been established; and every Gentleman must acknowledge, that both these Methods have been pursued as much as it was possible. We could not increase the publick Revenue by imposing any new Taxes, for our People think they are already burdened with too many; and if any such Method had been proposed, it would certainly have been opposed, perhaps by some of those Gentlemen who now find Fault with so small a Part of our Debts having been paid off: The only other Method of increasing the publick Revenue was, by having the Taxes carefully collected, and thereby endeavouring to increase the Produce of each; and this has been pursued with the utmost Care, so that most of our Taxes produce more now than they did twenty Years ago.

' With respect to the saving a Part of the publick Revenue which had been before established, it could be done no other way but by reducing the Interest payable to the Creditors of the publick, or by reducing the publick annual Expence: The first of these Methods has been pursued, and luckily for the Nation, with great Success; and no Man can with Justice say, that for these twenty Years the Nation has been put to any Expence but what was absolutely necessary, according to the Circumstances which the Affairs of Europe, or the Affairs of the Nation were in at that Time; nor has it been put to any Expence but what was regularly laid before the Parliament, and always approved of by Parliament; so that the finding Fault with any Part of our Conduct for these twenty Years past, is not really finding Fault with the Conduct of our Ministers, but with the Conduct of King and Parliament.

' I shall agree with the honourable Gentlemen, Sir, that Estimates have been every Year laid before the House, of what was then suppos'd to be necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year; and I hope they will agree with me that it was right to do so; but I never heard that the Gentlemen, who computed those Estimates and laid them before the Parliament

liament pretended to be infallible. The Estimates they have given in have been found to be deficient, some of the necessary Services have been sometimes omitted, or the Sums thereby allotted have been found not sufficient for answering the Services for which they were appointed, and this is one of the Reasons why so large a Debt now appears to be due on account of the Navy: Another Reason is, that the Funds appointed by Parliament for raising those Sums, which were yearly granted by them for the Service of the Navy, have been always found deficient; and a third Reason is, that the Parliament have often found it necessary for the Safety of the Nation, to give his Majesty Votes of Credit, in Pursuance of which some additional Expences have been incurred, above what were mentioned in the Estimates yearly given in at the Beginning of the Session: And as such Expences were generally incurred by making Additions to our Navy, which is the natural Defence of this Nation in all Times of Danger, it has greatly increased the Debt due on account of our Navy, and is one of the chief Reasons why that Debt is now become so considerable.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

‘ Some of those Accounts relating to the Navy-Debt, have been for several Years successively laid upon your Table, and all of them, except some few Articles which have lately accrued, were laid before the last Session of Parliament; and for what Reasons, I shall not pretend to determine, the Parliament never thought fit to provide for those Deficiencies, or to pay off any Part of that Debt which had been thereby occasioned; ‘tho’ I must suppose that, as the Accounts were regularly laid before the Parliament, when the Transactions to which they related were fresh in every Man’s Memory, if an Error or Fallacy could have been pointed out, or if any Objection could have been made to any one of the Articles, it would not only have been taken Notice of in this House, but would have been made a Subject for Clamour over the whole Nation; for there always have been, and I hope there always will be, a great Number of Gentlemen in this House not only capable, but ready and willing to discover any Fallacies that may be artfully foisted into our publick Accounts; and if any such Discovery had been made, those who are disaffected to his Majesty’s Government might, and would certainly have from thence endeavoured to have raised a popular Clamour against the Administration: For this Reason I may suppose, that all the Accounts upon your Table have already been sufficiently canvassed, and therefore I cannot think there is any Occasion for appointing a select Committee for that Purpose.

‘ As for the Article, Sir, which the honourable Gentlemen have been pleased to distinguish by a particular Remark,

Anno 8. Geo. 11.
1734-35.

mark, it is certain that Houses, Docks, Dock-yards, and Magazines, are as necessary for the Support of our Navy as Ships of War ; and it is as necessary to rebuild the former, when fallen to Decay, as it is necessary to rebuild the latter. To pretend that Ministers, by Directions from his Majesty, ought not to order a Dock, Dock-yard, or Admiralty-Office to be repaired or rebuilt, without having first laid the same before Parliament, seems to me very extraordinary ; it may be as well pretended, that they ought not to order a Man of War to be rebuilt or repaired, without first having laid the same before Parliament : In this respect the Sum can make no Difference ; it is the Nature of the Service only we are to regard, when we are to determine, whether it ought to be laid before Parliament before it be undertaken ; and surely no Man will say, but that his Majesty, or his Ministers by his Direction, may give Orders to rebuild a Man of War, or to repair or rebuild a publick Office, without having first laid the Affair before Parliament for their Approbation. I believe it will be granted, and if it were inquired into it would be found, that no Money has been laid out in this way, nor any House built, but what were absolutely necessary ; and if there had been any Fallacy in the Accounts relating to that Expence, as they have been long upon the Table, it would certainly before now have been taken Notice of.

Thus it must appear, Sir, that the Story we have been told of a Steward's running his Master in Debt, is no Way parallel to the present Case ; for this Nation has been run into no extraordinary Expence, but what had not only the Authority of Parliament before it was undertaken, but the Approbation of Parliament after it was laid out : And if any Debt has been contracted, if the Funds appropriated for the Service of the Year have proved at any Time deficient, or if any Services have been incurred which were not provided for by Parliament, those Deficiencies and those Services have been regularly laid before Parliament as soon as they could be brought into an Account : And it is very certain, if a Steward should run his Master into no Expence but what he had a previous Authority for, and should fairly and honestly lay before his Master every Year, or as often as it could possibly be done, a full Account of the Debt he had contracted in the preceding Year, that Steward could deserve no Censure from his Master.

Now, Sir, as the naming of a select Committee, to inquire into Accounts and Estimates, is a very extraordinary Method of Proceeding, a Method which has not been practised for many Years, and never was often practised, we must suppose it will give a general Alarm, and make People imagine

imagine that some Frauds have been committed. This will of course throw a Reflection upon his Majesty's Government; and therefore I think we ought not to enter into any such Method without some very strong Reasons; and as I can see no Reason for our entering into any such Method, as I can see no Good that can be expected from any such Method, as I am convinced it will do a great deal of Mischief, by raising Jealousies and Fears among his Majesty's Subjects, therefore I must be against the Motion.'

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

To this it was replied by Mr Gybbon, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr William Pulteney, and other Members as follows:
Sir,

Mr Gybbon.
Sir Jos. Jekyll.
Mr Pulteney.

'It is from the Knowledge I have of the History of this Nation in particular, and of Europe in general, that I am so surpris'd, with respect to the small Part of our publick Debts paid off, notwithstanding the Continuance of all our Taxes, and the vast Sums that have been rais'd every Year; and the more I consider it, the less I can account for the unprofitable Use we have made of such a long Term of Peace. But I am still more surpris'd to hear any Gentleman say, that all possible Methods have been pursu'd, either for diminishing the publick annual Expence, or the annual Interest due to the Creditors of the Publick; on the contrary I am convinced, that all possible Methods have been pursu'd for increasing the first, and no Opportunities have been embraced for reducing either the Principal or the Interest due to the Creditors of the Publick, but such as durst not be refused or neglected.

'We have been for these twenty Years in a continued Course of publick Peace, at least we have had no War declared, nor any Broil with any of our Neighbours; and yet every Year we have been very near at as great an Expence, as we were at in any one Year of the heavy War in King William's Reign: We have had numerous Armies kept up in our own Country, we have maintained many Princes and Armies in foreign Countries, and we have sent many expensive Squadrons into almost all Places of the World; and I should be glad to hear a Reason given for any of our naval Expeditions into the Baltick or the Mediterranean, by those, who are now for our looking quietly on to see the Emperor strip of his Dominions in Italy, and Muscovy giving Sovereigns to its neighbouring Kingdoms. I should be glad to hear a Reason for our being so alarmed at the Alliance, only between Spain and the Emperor, by those who now seem to be so little alarmed at a Treaty, not only of Alliance but of Conquest, between France, Spain and Sardinia: This, Sir, I do not say with a Design to insinuate that we

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

have as yet any great Reason to be alarmed at this last Alliance, but I must think we had from the Beginning much greater Reason to be alarmed with it, than ever we had to be alarmed with the former ; and I must think it would now have been more justifiable to have thrown ourselves into the Arms of the Emperor, to have prevented the Consequences of this last Alliance, than ever it was to throw ourselves into the Arms of France, to prevent the Consequences of the former : From all which I must conclude, either that a great Part of the Expence we have formerly been at might have been saved, or that our present Inactivity is highly inexcusable ; and which of these two to chuse I shall leave to the Gentlemen who now so strenuously insist, that for these last twenty Years we have taken all possible Methods to diminish our annual Expence.

Now, Sir, as to the diminishing of the Interest payable to the Creditors of the Publick, can it be said that we have taken any one Method to diminish it, but what the Nature of the Thing and the Circumstances of the Nation pointed out so plainly, that it would have been highly criminal in any Administration to have neglected the Opportunity ? But if we had applied the Sinking Fund regularly to the Payment of our publick Debts, if we had saved that Expence, which has been thrown away in maintaining numerous idle Armies, and sending out many idle Squadrons, and had applied all the Savings to the same honest Purposes, the Principal of our publick Debts would have been so greatly reduced, that the Creditors who remained unpaid would have been glad to have taken what Interest we pleased : Nay, I do not know but the Principal would, by this Time, have been so greatly reduced, that the three great Companies would have been glad to have passed from the Payment of any future Interest upon what was due to them, in order to have had their Charters continued.

Whether Accounts were regularly laid before the Parliament of the present Navy-Debt, yearly as it became due, is what I shall not pretend to deny, because I do not really know whether it was so or not ; but if this be true, which I shall, in Complaisance to the honourable Gentlemen, admit, it is the strongest Argument that can be given for what is now proposed ; it is a full Confirmation of the old Proverb that *What is every Man's Business is no Man's Business*, and therefore an unanswerable Argument for our returning to the old Custom of Parliament, and appointing select Committees every Year to consider and examine every Estimate laid before us : For I hope no Man will say but that we ought, in Time of Peace especially, to raise as much within the Year as will answer the Service of the Year ;
and

and if any Deficiency should happen in the Funds granted for one Year, or if it should be found that the Estimates were deficient, all those Deficiencies ought certainly to be made good the very next Year. It is certainly inconsistent with the publick Good to leave Arrears long due, because when Tradesmen, or those who furnish the Publick with what is necessary for publick Use, must lie for Years out of their Money, it is certain they neither can nor will serve the Publick so cheap, as when they know they are sure of their Money within a few Months after the Goods are delivered; and the longer any of those Arrears stand unpaid, the greater Price they will be obliged to pay for every Thing afterwards bought for publick Use.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

With respect to Ministers, indeed, and the Tools employed under them, I must observe, Sir, that it is of great Advantage to have publick Accounts stand long in Arrear; and this Advantage is greater in the Navy than in any other Branch of publick Business, because Tradesmen, and others who serve the Publick, but especially Seamen, cannot lie long out of their Money: If they cannot get their Money soon after it becomes due, they must go to Usurers, ministerial Tools, and such like Extortioners, to sell or pledge their publick Securities. This brings such Securities to Discount, the longer they are of being paid, the greater Discount they come to be at; so that at last they furnish a plentiful Harvest to Ministers and their Favourites; for when the Discount upon those Securities is raised to a sufficient Height, Ministers then give the Watch-Word to their Agents and Favourites to go out and purchase; and when they have got them all, or most of them into their Hands, then the ministerial Bowels begin to yearn for the Sufferings of the publick Creditors, in having lain so long out of their Money; and great Merit is assumed from their coming to a compassionate Resolution, to have such or such a Class of publick Creditors paid off: This House is always too good natured to refuse such a just Request; and thus Extortioners get the full Value of those Securities, which they purchase at a great Discount. This, Sir, I shall not say is the Case at present; but I must say I am apt to believe, if an Inquiry were made into the Affair, it would be found that there is but a small Part of the Debt, due upon the Navy, now in the Hands of the original Creditors of the Publick; and even this, Sir, is an Inquiry not unworthy of the Representatives of Great Britain in Parliament.

But, Sir, whatever the Interest of Ministers may be, it is certainly the Interest of the Publick to pay off their Debts regularly, and as soon as possible; and as I am convinced every Gentlemen now, or formerly, in this House,

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

has, and always had, the Interest of the Publick more at Heart than the Interest of the Minister ; therefore I am convinced, that if these Accounts have been upon our Table, all the other Gentlemen of the House are in the same Condition with me ; they are so far from having canvassed every Article of them, that they are quite ignorant of their having been ever laid upon the Table before this Session : If any Gentleman had but cast his Eye upon such Accounts, in any preceeding Session, and had observed the Arrears standing unpaid, or unprovided for by Parliament, his Regard for the Publick, his Regard for the Distressed Creditors of the Publick, would certainly have prompted him to have moved to have had them taken into Consideration, and paid off long before now ; nothing could have prevented it but a Neglect, which has been occasioned by its not having been made the Concern of any particular Set of Men ; and for this Reason we never ought to think it sufficient to have Accounts or Estimates laid upon our Table, we ought always to refer the Consideration of them to select Committees ; and thus, by making it the particular Business of a few, we may expect they will never be neglected as those now before us seem to have been, by their having been left to the Care of the whole House.

I must beg Leave to differ with the honourable Gentlemen, when they say, that the Nature of the Service is only to be regarded, when we are to determine, whether it ought or ought not to be laid before the Parliament ; for in my Opinion, the Sum to be laid out ought likewise to be considered : If the Sum be but small, and the Nature of the Service such as often occurs, it may be undertaken without any particular Authority from Parliament ; but if the Sum be large, tho' the Nature of the Service be such as often occurred, and has generally been undertaken without any particular Directions from Parliaments, yet such Directions become necessary when the Sum is much larger than what is usually required for that Service : His Majesty may, without Doubt, give Orders to have a Man of War, or perhaps half a Dozen in a Year, repaired ; but if by any great Misfortune, it should become necessary to lay out, in any one, two or three Years, a very large Sum for that Purpose, it would then be proper to lay that Necessity before Parliament ; and I think no Minister ought to undertake such an extraordinary Service without having first obtained an Authority from Parliament for so doing : In the Case mentioned, I believe it will be granted, that the building of Houses is a Service that does not often occur ; and I am very sure the Sum that has been laid out, and which now makes a great Part of our Navy Debt, is a much larger Sum

Sum than was ever laid out in this Nation upon such a Service, in so small a Number of Years ; nay, I do not know but it amounts to more than was ever before expended in this Nation for Building Docks or any other Sort of Buildings for the Use of the Navy, or the Officers of our Navy ; and therefore, both with respect to the Nature of the Service, and the Sum to be laid out, it ought not to have been undertaken without a previous Authority from Parliament.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Sir, if the Nation has been run into any unnecessary Expence, I am sorry to hear it said, that nothing has been undertaken without the Approbation of Parliament ; but, Sir, if it were so, the Authority or the Approbation of former Parliaments can be no Reason for our following their Example, in giving our Authority for undertaking such Services for Years to come, as they have authorised for Years past : We are under no greater Obligation to approve of what was approved of by the very last Parliament, than that Parliament in King Charles II's Reign, called *The Penny Parliament*.

‘ To pretend that what is now proposed will raise Jealousies among the People, or give them any Suspensions of his Majesty's Government, is an Argument, I find, always to be brought in when any Attempt is made to inquire into the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers ; but I would have Gentlemen consider, that the proper Business of Parliament is to inquire into the Conduct of Ministers ; and if the People find that such Attempts are always over-ruled, it will give them a Suspicion, not only of his Majesty's Government, and the Conduct of his Ministers, but it will give them likewise a Suspicion, and a just one too, of the Conduct of Parliament : We ought to consider what it was that gave the Parliament in King Charles II's Reign, the ignominious Epithet it is now branded with ; and if the People should conceive any such Suspicion of this or any future Parliament, it would raise real Jealousies among them, it would make them despair of ever having their Grievances redressed in a legal Way, and that Despair might drive them into the most violent Methods of seeking Redress ; therefore I wish Gentlemen would, upon all Occasions, distinguish a little between his Majesty and his Ministers, and never allow the Respect they have for the latter, to over-balance the Duty they owe to the former.

‘ The Respect that former Parliaments have shewn to the Ministers for the Time being, and the great Confidence put by Parliament in their Conduct, is, I am afraid, one great Cause that the Nation now remains under such a Load of Debts and Taxes ; and therefore it is high Time for us to reassume that Jealousy which has so often proved to be

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

of the most signal Benefit to this Nation. We have been talking, Sir, of putting ourselves in a Condition to compel the Acceptation of the Terms of Peace we are to propose, but I wish we may not find that our Neighbours are too well acquainted with our Circumstances to be afraid of any Thing we can do : They know that our People are already as heavily taxed as they can bear : They know that all those Taxes are already engaged, either for the Payment of our Debts, or for the Support of our Civil Government ; can it be supposed that our Menaces will have great Influence upon any of their Resolutions ? But if they should find, that our Parliament were beginning to look closely into the Management of our publick Affairs, they would from thence conclude, that the best Use would be made of every Shilling hereafter to be raised ; that the People would contribute with the more Alacrity, and from thence they will probably be induced to give some Attention to whatever we may think necessary to propose, for restoring the Peace of Europe. For this Reason, if there were no other, we ought to agree to what the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to propose.'

Then the Question being put upon Sir William Wyndham's Motion, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Negative, by 198 to 168.

Mr Plumer's Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Post-Office.

Feb. 26. Mr Walter Plumer mov'd, ' That the Copy of the King's Warrant, whereby Letters were permitted to pass Post-Free, which had been laid before the House on the 19th Instant [See p. 73] might be taken into Consideration. The Warrant being accordingly read, Complaints were made by several Members, that their Letters were not only charged at the Post-Office, but that they were often broke open and perused by the Clerks : That this Practice of breaking open Letters was become frequent, and was so publickly known, that the very End for which that Liberty was given to the Postmaster was entirely disappointed ; for the Intention being at first to discover any treasonable Correspondence that might be carried on against the Government, that Intention was rendered altogether vain, because by the Practice of opening Letters being so frequent, and so well known, it was certain that no Man would carry on any treasonable Correspondence by Means of the Post-Office ; so that the Liberty given to break open Letters at the Post-Office could now serve no Purpose, but to enable the little Clerks about that Office to pry into the private Affairs of every Merchant, and of every Gentleman in the Kingdom. At last it was insisted, that the Warrant then laid before the House was not the last Warrant granted by his Majesty, nor the Warrant by which the Post-masters then acted ; and there-

therefore it was moved, that a Committee be appointed to inquire into that Affair.

Mr Plumer's Motion was supported by Mr Lisle, Mr Heathcote, Mr Pulteney, Mr Dundas, and Mr Perry ; it was in some Measure opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, and Mr Henry Pelham, but at last they agreeing to the Motion, provided that Committee did not inquire into any Thing that might tend to the discovering the Secrets of the Government ; a Committee was appointed accordingly.

The same Day the Mutiny-Bill being reported to the House, Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagot, Bart. stood up, and said, ' That since the House had made such a large Addition to the Army, and seemed inclined to continue the severe Penalties on Deserters, and the Method of recruiting prescribed by that, and former Bills of the like Nature, he thought it necessary to add some Clause, to make the Bill less dangerous to the Subject : That by a Clause in the Bill it was proposed to be enacted, as in former Bills, that if a poor Country-Fellow should enlist with an Officer and take his Money, and afterwards, when carried before a Justice, refuse to declare himself enlisted and to take the Oaths prescribed by Law, it should then be in the Power of the Officer to send such a poor Fellow to Prison, and confine him in a Dungeon for a whole Month, even tho' it should appear that the poor Fellow enlisted when he was drunk, and was willing to return the Money he had taken, and satisfy all the Charges the Officer had been at : That this Power of confining a Man in a Dungeon, where he might be in Danger of starving, was, he thought, too great a Power to be intrusted absolutely in the Hands of any Officer : That it was no way necessary for his Majesty's Service, and might be of dangerous Consequence, because it might tempt some Officers to practise all the inveigling Arts they could think of, not with an Intention to recruit his Majesty's Forces, but to compel poor Country-Fellows to give them a Sum of Money, by way of Composition, for being discharged from the Bargain they had made when drunk, or in a Passion, and for being freed from the Confinement to which the Officer had, by Law, an uncontrollable Power to subject them : That therefore he would beg Leave to offer a Clause to be added to the Bill, ' That every Officer, who should thereafter enlist any Man to serve in any Regiment, should within

Days carry the Man so enlisted before some one of the next Justices of the Peace, where the Man so enlisted should be at Liberty to declare his Dissent, and his having repented of what he had done ; and upon his so doing, and returning to the Officer the enlisting Money, and the Expences the Officer had been at by enlisting him, and

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35

Debate thereon.
Mr Lisle.
Mr Heathcote.
Mr Pulteney.
Mr Dundas.
Mr Perry.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Pelham

Sir Wal. Wagstaff
Bagot's Motion for
a Clause to be add-
ed to the Mutiny-
Bill, relating to the
enlisting of Soldi-
ers.

ANNO 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Debate thereon.

Mr Bramston.

Gen. Wade.
Mr Hen. Bromley.
Mr Lindsay.
Mr Hay.

Sir W. Wyndham.
Sir J. Barnard.
Mr Sandys.

‘ and carrying him before the Justice, not exceeding the Sum of such Justice should forthwith discharge him : And that an Officer, guilty of any Failure or Neglect in this Respect, should be liable to the same Penalties to which Officers are made liable for false Musters.’

This was seconded by Mr Bramston, who informed the House, ‘ That he actually knew a Case, where a poor Fellow was inveigled when he was drunk, and when he came to be sober, repented, and therefore refused to take the Oaths when carried before the Justice ; but the Officer insisted upon his being sent to Prison, and confined for a Month in the Terms of the Act of Parliament, tho’ the poor Fellow offered to return the insisting Money and all Charges ; and it not being in the Power, or in the Inclination of the Justice to refuse the Officer’s Demand, the poor Fellow was accordingly sent to Jail, where he remained for some Time ; but having no Victuals nor Drink, he was at last compelled to go before the Justice and take the Oaths prescribed, in order to prevent his being starved.’

To this it was answer’d by General Wade, Mr Henry Bromley, Mr Lindsay, and Mr Hay, ‘ That what was proposed by the Clause offered had already been taken Care of by his Majesty’s Orders for regulating the Army, for as no Soldier could be tried upon the Mutiny-Act, unless he had taken the Oaths prescribed by that Act before some Justice of Peace, therefore his Majesty had given an Order to all Officers, that no Recruit should be brought to or entered in any Regiment, till he had first been regularly initiated, and had taken the Oaths prescribed by Law, before some of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace ; so that by his Majesty’s Order every Officer was obliged to do what was proposed by the Clause offered ; and as the Bill then before them was of the same Nature with former Bills against Mutiny and Desertion, it would be absolutely necessary to continue the same general Order to all Officers, with respect to their carrying Recruits before some Justice of Peace, therefore they thought it was unnecessary to add any Clause for that Purpose ; and it would be attended with many Inconveniencies, particularly, that it would be sometimes impossible for an Officer to carry a Recruit before any Justice within the Time proposed, or within any limited Number of Days.’

To this it was replied by Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Barnard, and Mr Sandys, ‘ That the very Clause then proposed had been in several Mutiny-Bills during the Reign of King William, tho’ it was then in Time of War, and Recruiting of Course more difficult than it could be supposed to be at present ; That the honourable Gentlemen who op-
posed

posed the Clause, could not say, that by any Order his Majesty could give, the Justice of Peace was obliged to discharge the Man inlisted, upon his declaring before him his having repented of what he had done, and returning to the Officer the inlisting Money and all the Charges the Officer had been at for inlisting him : That what was proposed by the Clause was to lay an Obligation upon the Justice, and to give a poor Fellow an Opportunity to get off upon reasonable Terms, in case he should repent of what he had done ; neither of which could be effectuated by any Order his Majesty had given, or could give for regulating the Army : That the Grievance complained of was, the inveigling of Men to inlist, and making a Property of them after their having been so inveigled : That this was a Privilege which they hoped no Officer would insist on : That the Abolishing of this Privilege was what the Clause offer'd chiefly aim'd at ; and therefore they hop'd the House would agree to it.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Sir Robert Walpole and Mr Henry Pelham having declared, That they would be for the Clause, if it could be so drawn as not to be attended with any Inconvenience to the Service ; and thereupon proposed that the Debate be adjourned till the next Day, in order that such a Clause might be contrived : And it being admitted of the other Side, that the Clause, as it then stood, might perhaps stand in need of some little Amendment, it was agreed to adjourn the Debate accordingly till next Day ; when the Clause was agreed to, and added to the Mutiny-Bill.

Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Pelham.

Feb. 28. The House being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, and the Treaty with Denmark, dated Sept. 19, 1734, having been referred to the said Committee, a Motion was made by Mr Horatio Walpole, That the Sum of 56,250 l. be granted to his Majesty, on account of the Subsidy to the King of Denmark, pursuant to the said Treaty, for the Service of the Year 1735.* This occasioned a long Debate, in which Mr Walpole's Motion was supported by Mr Winnington, Mr * Willes, Col. Bladen, and Sir Robert Walpole, as follows :

Mr Walpole's Motion for a Subsidy of 56,250 l. to Denmark.

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Winnington.
Mr Willes.
Col. Bladen.
Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

‘ Although we are not engaged in the present War, yet, as the Balance of Power in Europe depends very much upon the Event of it, we may be soon under a Necessity of joining one or other of the Parties ; therefore it is incumbent upon us to strengthen ourselves before-hand, by engaging as many foreign Powers as we can to join with us upon such an Event. In this Situation, it was natural to cast our Eye first towards Denmark, the Interest of that Nation being

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* Attorney General, now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas

Ann 88. Geo. II.
1734-35.

generally the same with our own; and at present was the more necessary, because great Endeavours were us'd to engage that Court on the other Side of the Question, which might have proved of the most fatal Consequence to the Liberties of Europe, and consequently to those of this Nation.

The Experience of the last two Wars against France may convince us, Sir, how dangerous it is to allow any one Power in Europe to exalt itself too much, and how expensive it may prove, to reduce a Power that has once got too great an Ascendant over its Neighbours. The Expence, which Great Britain is to be put to by this Treaty with Denmark, must appear very inconsiderable to every Gentleman who considers, that we thereby not only secure the Assistance of a powerful Kingdom, but prevent their being engaged against us, in case the Event of the War should make it necessary for us to join the other Side. In all Cases it is certainly prudent upon any Emergency, to lay out a small Sum, when it is probable we may by so doing prevent our being afterwards brought under a Necessity of putting ourselves to a much greater Expence: And this is the very Case at present in relation to our Treaty with Denmark.

It is well known, Sir, that Nations are, in all their publick Transactions, governed by their own Interest; and as all Europe knew that great Offers were making to Denmark, to secure them on that Side, against which we might soon be under a Necessity to engage; therefore it became absolutely necessary for us to offer them such Terms as might convince them, that it was more their Interest to join in Alliance with us, than with either of the Parties concerned in the War: I must therefore think, that the concluding this Treaty was one of the most prudent Steps his Majesty could take, and the Conditions on our Part are so reasonable, that I think every Gentleman in this House must approve of them; and therefore, I hope, this Motion will be agreed to without Opposition.

Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Pulteney.
Sir J. Barnard.
Mr Sandys.
Mr Shippen.
Sir John Hynde Cotton.

Mr Walpole's Motion was oppos'd by Sir William Wyndham, Mr Pulteney, Sir John Barnard, Mr Sandys, Mr Shippen, and Sir John Hynde Cotton, who alledg'd the following Arguments against the Motion.

Sir,

' I am glad to hear that we are as yet no way engaged in the War; if it be so, I am sure it is ridiculous to put the Nation to a great Expence, to provide against a Danger which may never happen. As we have no particular Interest of our own for inducing us to engage in the present War, but only the Danger the Balance of Power may be in by that Event: And as all the Powers of Europe are as much

much, or more, interested in the Preservation of that Balance than we are ; if it should come to be in any real Danger, they would certainly engage in its Defence, without receiving any valuable Consideration from us ; but if we should be always the first to take the Alarm upon any War's breaking out, and offer Bribes and Pensions to all the Princes in Europe, the whole Charge of preserving that Balance would fall upon this Nation ; and each of them would, upon every such Occasion, expect a Bribe or a Pension from England, for doing that which he would otherwise be obliged to do for his own Preservation : Even the Dutch may at last refuse to assist, when the Balance of Power is really in Danger, unless we submit to make the Grand Pensionary of Holland a Pensionary of England, and take a Number of their Forces into English Pay.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1714 15.

‘ It is really surprising, Sir, to hear Gentlemen talk of the Balance of Power's being in Danger, and that we must already begin to provide for its Preservation, when there is not a Prince or State in Europe, who seems to apprehend any such Matter. The Dutch have not put themselves to one Shilling Expence on account of the present War, or for that Mediation they are engaged in as well as we. The Princes and States of Germany are so far from being apprehensive of any Danger, by the Event of the present War, that some of the most considerable of them have actually engaged in a Neutrality. Even the King of Denmark, whom we have thought necessary to engage by a considerable yearly Pension, is himself a Prince of the Empire, and would certainly suffer, by the Overturning the Balance of Power in Europe, much sooner than this Nation would ; and therefore we must conclude, that it is more immediately his Interest to engage, not only in Defence of that Balance, but in Defence of the Empire ; yet we, it seems, have been so generous as to promise to reward him bountifully for doing what is absolutely necessary for his own Preservation. This, Sir, is a most pernicious Example, it may at last bring the Balance of Power into real Danger, because it may tempt all the Princes of Europe to neglect it, until we grant them yearly Pensions for taking Care of it ; and perhaps this very Precedent has now provoked all the other Princes of Germany to stand off, on Purpose to engage us to extend our Bounty in the same Manner to each of them.

‘ To tell us, Sir, that if we had not entered into this Treaty with the King of Denmark, he might have been prevailed on to have concluded a Treaty with another Power, which might have been prejudicial to us, is, in my Opinion, very odd. Princes, 'tis true, Sir, do not always see their real Interests, but if we resolve upon every Occa-

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

casion to clear their Eyesight by a Pension, I am afraid none of them will ever open their Eyes without receiving some such Remedy from us. We are never to suppose that any Prince of Europe will engage against the Liberties of Europe, or will perform any former Engagement, when the Performance comes to be apparently inconsistent with the Liberties of Europe, and consequently with his own Independency, unless he be very much blinded by some particular Interest of his own: And of all the Princes of Europe the King of Denmark is, in this Respect, the least liable to any Temptation; there are several other Princes of Europe, who may be tempted to join with those who have Designs against the Liberties of Europe; because they may be made from thence to expect some Addition to their own Dominions; and these are the Princes upon whom we ought to have a watchful Eye; these are the Princes, if any, upon whom we ought to bestow our Pensions, in order to keep them firm to the general Interest of Europe. If we had by any Subsidy engaged the Duke of Bavaria in an Alliance; if we had by any Subsidy disengaged the King of Sardinia from his present Allies; or if we had laid out a Sum of Money in engaging the Polanders to make such a Choice of a King, as would have prevented the breaking out of the War, (and perhaps a less Sum might have done than the Expence we have been at on account of the War) there might have been some Reason for our being at such an Expence; but I can see no Advantage we can expect, from the Expence we are to be at, on account of this Treaty with Denmark.

I shall readily agree with the honourable and learned Gentleman [*Mr Wiles*] that Nations are entirely governed by their own Interest; but as it is the Interest of Denmark, as much as it is the Interest of this Nation, to preserve the Balance of Power in Europe, therefore I must think it was quite unnecessary for us to give them a Fee for doing so: I shall indeed grant, that they were in the Right to take it, for, I believe, few will refuse to take a Fee for that, which is both their Duty and Interest to do without any Reward. As I have a great Opinion of the Honour and the Penetration both of the King and the Ministers of Denmark, I must conclude they would never have entered into any Engagements, that were inconsistent with the Liberties of Europe; I must conclude they will always be ready, without any Fee or Reward, to join with all their Force in the Preservation of the Balance of Power, whenever it shall appear to be in any real Danger. Consequently it was altogether unnecessary for us to enter into any such Treaty as that now before us, or to promise any such Subsidy as is by that Treaty stipulated; and therefore, as one of the Representatives
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of the People, to whom they have entrusted the laying out their Money, in the most frugal Manner, I cannot agree to such an unnecessary Expence as what is now proposed.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Upon this Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr Howe declar'd, ' That they approved of the Treaty as little as any Gentlemen did : That tho' they thought it was altogether unnecessary, to put the Nation to such an Expence 'till the Danger became more apparent, yet as it was the first Treaty his Majesty had concluded upon the present Emergency, they would agree to the Motion ; because if that House should not agree with what his Majesty had done with respect to that Treaty, it might be, at such a Conjunction, of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of Europe, by encouraging the ambitious Views which some of the Parties engaged in War may now have, or hereafter form to themselves, and by discouraging any of the Princes or States of Europe from entering into any Treaties with his Majesty, even tho' the Circumstances of Europe should then absolutely require such Treaties to be concluded.'

Sir Jos. Jekyll,
Mr Howe.

Then the Question being put for agreeing with the Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 270 to 178.

March 5. Sir John Barnard mov'd for bringing in a Bill, for restraining the Number of Houses for playing of Interludes, and for the better regulating Common Players of Interludes. In Support of this Motion he represented the Mischief done to the City of London by the Play-Houses, in corrupting the Youth, encouraging Vice and Debauchery, and being prejudicial to Trade and Industry ; and how much these Evils would be increas'd, if another Play-House should be built in the very Heart * of the City.' Sir John Barnard was seconded by Mr Sandys, and supported by Mr Pulteney, Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir Thomas Saunderson, and several other Members ; Mr James Ereskine in particular reckon'd up the Number of Play-Houses then in London, viz. The Opera-House, the French Play-House in the Hay-Market, and the Theatres in Covent-Garden, Drury-Lane, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Goodman's-Fields ; and added, ' That it was no less surprizing than shameful, to see so great a Change for the worse in the Temper and Inclinations of the British Nation, who were now so extravagantly addicted to lewd and idle Diversions, that the Number of Play-Houses in London was double to that of Paris ; That we now exceeded in Levity even the French themselves, from whom we learned these and many other ridiculous Customs, as much unsuitable to the Mein and Manners of an Englishman or a Scot, as they were agreeable to the Air and

Sir J. Barnard
moves for a Bill for
restraining the
Number of Play-
Houses.

Debate thereon.

Mr Sandys.
Mr Pulteney.
Sir R. Walpole.
Sir Jos. Jekyll.
Sir T. Saunderson.
Mr J. Ereskine.

* There was at this Time a Project on foot for erecting a Play-House in St Martins le Grand.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35

and Levity of a Monsieur : That it was astonishing to all Europe, that Italian Eunuchs and Singers should have set Salaries, equal to those of the Lords of the Treasury and Judges of England. After this it was order'd, *Nem. Con.* That a Bill be brought in pursuant to Sir John Barnard's Motion ; which was done accordingly : But it was afterwards dropt, on Account of a Clause offer'd to be insert'd in the said Bill, for enlarging the Power of the Lord Chamberlain, with Regard to the Licensing of Plays.

Mr Bramston's Motion for restraining the Counsel from offering Evidence, touching the Right of Election for any Place, contrary to the last Determination of the House.

March 7. Mr Bramston moved, ' That the Clause of an Act made in the second Year of his present Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, which relates to the last Determination in the House of Commons, concerning Votes for Members to serve in Parliament for any County, City, Borough, Cinque-Port, or Place ; with the Clause relating to the Oath to be taken by returning Officers, should be read ; and the same having been read accordingly, Mr Bramston stood up again, and spoke as follows :

Mr Speaker,

' By the Clause of the Act now read to you, it appears, that the last Determination of the House of Commons, with regard to the Right of voting at any Election, is declared to be final to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, any Usage to the contrary notwithstanding ; so that in all future Disputes about any Election for the same Place, the last Determination of this House is the Rule, by which the Right of voting is to be determined, and against which no Arguments, nor any Proof can be admitted : This I take to be now the Law of the Land, and consequently is binding as well upon this House, as upon every Gentleman who has been since that Act, or may hereafter be concerned in any Election.

At all Times, Sir, and particularly in such a dangerous Conjunction as the present, it is incumbent upon us to establish among the People a good Opinion of the Impartiality, Integrity, and Justice of this House in all our Proceedings. With Respect to State Affairs, especially such as relate to Foreign Transactions, the Facts are not publickly known, nor can the Motives or Arguments for or against any Question relating to them be understood by the Vulgar ; and therefore in such Questions it is not easy for the People in general to comprehend the Debates ; nor would it be possible for them to discover the Injustice or the Partiality of our Proceedings, were it possible for this House to be guilty of any such. But in all our Proceedings relating to Elections, the People in general, or at least those who live in the Neighbourhood of the Place where any Dispute happens about an Election,

Election, know every Circumstance, and are as capable of judging of the Motives or Arguments for or against most of the Questions that occur upon such Occasions, as any Member of this House : And when the People observe a Contradiction in our Determinations relating to such Affairs ; when they observe the Right of voting at an Election given by this House to one Sort of People, and in the very next Session, perhaps, that Right determined by this House to be in a quite different Sort of People, they must conclude, that the Determination of this House in relation to that Affair did not proceed from Justice and Impartiality, but from private Interest, or from Party-Zeal. This is the Conclusion they must necessarily form with Respect to those Affairs they know, and can judge of ; and the Misfortune is, that they from thence naturally conclude, that our Proceedings are governed by the same Motives in those Affairs which they do not know, nor can judge of.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734-35.

‘ To prevent an Effect so dangerous to our Constitution was, I believe, Sir, one of the chief Motives for inserting the Clause now read to you in the Act of Parliament, and Care has been taken to express it in Terms so strong and explicit, that it cannot, in my Opinion, be evaded by any Artifice or Subterfuge. It is now the Law of the Land ; a Law so reasonable, that I hope it will never be altered or repealed ; and a Law so plain, that I can make no Doubt, but that the last Determination of the House of Commons will, for the future, be, in all such Cases, a Rule from which we cannot depart. However, Sir, as some Gentlemen are not sufficiently apprised of this Law, or may entertain Hopes that this House will not, in their future Determinations, strictly adhere to it, they may therefore put themselves to great Expence in bringing up Witnesses, and may take up a great deal of your Time with Arguments to shew, that the Right of voting at any Election now disputed, is not in those People only, in whom it was declared to be by the last Determination of this House : This will be putting themselves to great Expence, and taking up the Time of this House to no Purpose, since the last Determination of the House of Commons is now by Law established as a Rule, from which we cannot depart, notwithstanding the clearest Proof of any Usage to the contrary.

As we ought, Sir, to prevent Gentlemen putting themselves to any needless Expence, as we ought to prevent their attempting to take up the Time of this House to no Purpose, therefore I think this Law ought to be some way reviv'd, not only to put Gentlemen in mind of it, but to shew them that we are resolved to adhere to it in the strictest Manner ; and as the only proper way for us to revive any Law, is by
coming

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Debate thereon.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr H. Pelham.
Sir W. Yonge.

coming to some new Resolution in relation to it, therefore I hope the House will agree to the following Motion, which is, That the Counsel at the Bar of this House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, be restrained from offering Evidence, touching the Right of Election of Members to serve in Parliament for any City, Borough or Place, contrary to the last Determination in the House of Commons; which Determination, by an Act passed in the second Year of his present Majesty's Reign, intitled, *An Act for the effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament*, is made final to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, any Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

This Motion being seconded by Mr Sandys, and supported by Mr Walter Plumer: The same was objected to by Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Henry Pelham, and Sir William Yonge, who did not directly oppose the Motion itself, but proposed the Delaying of it a few Days, as follows.

Sir,

I must own, I have not lately considered the Clause now read to you, and therefore am not prepared now to speak to it: But upon the first View, I take the Motion to be of the utmost Consequence, because I look upon it as a Restraint designed to be put upon the Jurisdiction of this House in the most material Point, that of determining all Questions relating to electing the Members of our own House. I really never imagined, that the Intention of that Act, or of any Clause in it, was to restrain the House of Commons, with respect to their Determinations in Matters of Election; for in all such Determinations I think we ought not to be under any Limitation, nor confined by any Rule; and if there had been any such Intention, I believe this House would never have agreed to the Bill, or at least that Clause by which any such Restraint was intended to be laid upon this House.

It is for this Reason, Sir, that I have always imagin'd, and still think, that the Clause now read to you relates only to Returning Officers, and was designed as a Direction to them, what Sort of Persons they were to admit to vote at any Election; with respect to which they were by this Clause obliged to take the last Determination of the House of Commons, as a Rule to be inviolably observed by them at all succeeding Elections. This, Sir, I must still think, is all that was designed by the Clause; for it is certain, that if in all future disputed Elections, we were to take the last Determination of this House as an infallible Rule for our Conduct, a very great Injury would thereby be done to a great many Cities and Boroughs in England; and I cannot imagine

imagine that it was ever the original Intention of any Act of Parliament to do an Injury to any one, much less to great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects.

Anno 8. Geo. II.

1734 5.

However, Sir, as I have not lately read or considered the Act, I will not now pretend to be positive in my Opinion, and therefore I hope the honourable Gentlemen will agree to put off the Consideration of this Motion to some short Day, to Monday next if they please, that other Gentlemen as well as myself may have Time to consider it, before we are obliged to give our Opinion in a Case which is certainly of great Consequence.

To this it was reply'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll :

Sir,

' As I had the Honour to be a Member of this House when the Clause now under Consideration had the good Fortune to pass, I well remember the History of it : This Clause was not originally in the Bill, but was put into it by the other House, and I believe, with a View to prevent the Passing of it ; or at least that it was the Intention of those who first contrived this Clause ; for they imagined that this House would never agree to such an Amendment : But when the Bill came back to this House, the Gentlemen who promoted the Bill were so justly fond of it, that they chose to agree to all the Amendments made by the other House, and this among the rest, rather than lose so good a Bill. Indeed as to this Clause they had a very good Reason for agreeing to it ; for tho' it did lay some Restraint upon the Jurisdiction of this House in Matters of Election, yet the Majority of the House then thought it a reasonable Restraint, and even a necessary Restraint, in order to prevent, in Time to come, that frequent Contradiction in our Determinations with respect to Elections, which had in Time past greatly contributed to the giving People a contemptible Opinion of all the Proceedings of this House.

Sir J. Jekyll.

' The Clause now read to you, Sir, is so full, and conceived in Terms so plain and easy to be understood, that I am surpris'd to hear any Gentleman desire an Hour to consider of it ; but I am still more surpris'd to hear any Gentleman, especially a Gentleman who has often attended the Committee of Elections, say, he imagined this Clause was intended only as a Direction to Returning Officers, what Sort of People they were to admit to poll at any Election ; because this very Direction was given by Act of Parliament many Years ago to all Sheriffs and Returning Officers : So long ago as the eighth Year of King William's Reign, all Sheriffs and Returning Officers have been prohibited, by an Act then made, to return any Member to serve in Parliament, contrary to the last Determination in the House of

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1734-35.

Commons, as to the Right of Election for such Places ; and therefore it would have been ridiculous to have inserted in a late Act such a Clause as that now before us, if no more had been intended by it, than to give the same Directions to Sheriffs and other Returning Officers, which were given to them by a former Act then in full Force : But, without any such Consideration, the Clause before us is in itself so clearly expressed, that it is impossible to mistake its Meaning ; and as the honourable Gentleman intends nothing by his Motion but to prevent Gentlemens putting themselves to a needless Expence, and giving this House an unnecessary Trouble, I can see no Reason why we should make any Difficulty in agreeing to what he has proposed.

‘ Can Gentlemen be serious, Sir, when they say that this House is not to be confined by any Rules ; that we ought not to be under any Restraint, with respect to our Determinations about the Election of our own Members ; and that this House would never have agreed to the Clause, if any such Thing had been intended ? Our Determinations in such Cases are, ’tis true, supreme and final ; but surely, Sir, even in such Cases we are confined by the Rules of natural Justice and Equity, and likewise by the antient Customs and the Laws of the Kingdom. Let a Court of Judicature be as absolute and supreme as can be imagined, yet I should have a very bad Opinion of the Judges of that Court, if they confined themselves to no Rules, nor even to those Laws they themselves had before made for their future Conduct. I do not know but some of the Cities and Boroughs of England may have been injured by the last Determination of this House, and in such a Case it is a Hardship to make that injurious Determination absolute and final as to them in all Time to come ; but if there were any such injurious Determinations made, it is the more necessary by a Law to put a Stop to them. The Hardship is already put upon them ; the Law is already passed ; it is now one of the established Laws of the Kingdom, and cannot therefore be altered or amended by any Resolution of this House : It is not the first Time that a Hardship has been put upon particular Men for the Good of the Society in general ; but in this Case, if any City or Borough has been injured by the last Determination of the House of Commons, and that Injury fix’d upon them by the Law now under our Consideration, they may apply to Parliament for Relief, and will certainly obtain an Act of Parliament for that Purpose, which is the only Method by which they can now be relieved ; so that the Hardship, if any has been put upon them, cannot come under our Consideration in the present Question.

‘ However,

‘ However, Sir, tho’ I do not think it at all necessary to take a Day to consider of the present Motion, yet I shall not be against it ; because I wish it were made a standing Order of this House, that no Motion should be taken into Consideration or agreed to the same Day it is made : For this Reason I shall not be against adjourning the Debate ’till Monday, according to the honourable Gentleman’s Desire ; and I agree to it the rather, because I hope when the Motion has been fully and maturely considered, it will be unanimously agreed to : But, on other Occasions, I hope those Gentlemen will shew the same Complaisance to others, and will not insist, that any Motion they may hereafter think fit to make shall be immediately taken into Consideration ; for if this should be made a Rule for one Side, and not for the other, it would be as partial a Method of Proceeding as was ever practised by former Parliaments in their Determinations about Elections.’

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1735.

It was ordered accordingly, that the farther Consideration of that Question should be adjourned to the Monday Morning next, when the Motion was amended thus : ‘ That the ‘ Counsel at the Bar of this House, or before the Committee ‘ of Privileges and Elections, be restrained from offering Evidence, touching the Legality of Votes for Members to ‘ serve in Parliament, for any County, Shire, City, Borough, ‘ Cinque-Port, or Place, contrary to the last Determination ‘ of the House of Commons : Which Determination, by an ‘ Act passed in the second Year of his present Majesty’s ‘ Reign, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing ‘ Bribery and Corruption, in the Election of Members to serve ‘ in Parliament*, is made final to all Intents and Purposes ‘ whatsoever, any Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.’ And then it was agreed to without any farther Debate.

March 19. Upon the Motion of Mr Sandys, it was order’d, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons ; and Mr Sandys, Mr Wortley, Mr Howe, Sir John Hynde Cotton, Mr Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir William Lowther, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

A Bill ordered to be brought in, for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons, upon Mr Sandys’s Motion.

Mr Wortley.
Mr Howe.
Sir John Hynde Cotton.
Mr Watkin Williams Wynne.

March 21. The said Bill was presented to the House by Mr Sandys.

April 16. The Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the Complaint relating to the Post-Office, being taken into Consideration, the Resolutions of the said Committee were as follows ; viz. I. That the Privilege of franking Letters by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeesses, chosen to represent the Commons in Parliament, began with the erect-

The Resolutions of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Complaints relating to the Post-Office.

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1735.

ing a Post-Office within this Kingdom, by Act of Parliament. II. That all Letters, not exceeding two Ounces, signed by the proper Hand of, or directed to any Member of this House, during the sitting of every Session of Parliament, and forty Days before and forty Days after every Summons or Prorogation, ought to be carried and delivered freely and safely from all Parts of Great Britain and Ireland without any Charge of Postage. III. That it is an high Infringement of the Privilege of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses, chosen to represent the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, for any Post-master, his Deputies or Agents, in Great Britain or Ireland, to detain or delay, open or look into, by any Means whatsoever, any Letter directed to, or signed by the proper Hand of any Member, without an express Warrant in Writing, under the Hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, for every such Detaining, Delaying, Opening, or Looking into. IV. That all Letters directed to any Member of this House at any Place within the Bills of Mortality, be carried by the proper Officers of the Post-Office to the House or Lodgings of such Member, or to the Lobby of the House of Commons. V. That it is a notorious Breach of the Privilege of the House of Commons, for any Person to counterfeit the Hand, or put the Name of any Member of the House of Commons upon any Letter, in order to prevent its being charged with the Duty of Postage. VI. That such Persons as shall presume to do the same, ought to be proceeded against with the utmost Severity.

The first two of these Resolutions were agreed to, and on the 25th the third Resolution was amended thus: viz. That it is an high Infringement of the Privilege of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses, chosen to represent the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, for any Post-Master, his Deputies or Agents, in Great Britain or Ireland, to open or look into, by any Means whatsoever, any Letter directed to, or signed by the proper Hand of any Member, without an express Warrant in Writing, under the Hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State, for every such Opening or Looking into; or to detain or delay any Letter, directed to, or signed with the Name of any Member, unless there shall be just Reason to suspect some Counterfeit of it, without an express Warrant of a principal Secretary of State as aforesaid, for every such Detaining or Delaying.

Then the three other Resolutions were severally read a second Time, and agreed to, without any Amendment.

Which are agreed to by the House.

Debate on a Motion for committing the Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons.

April 22. The Bill for limiting the Number of Officers to sit in the House of Commons being read a second Time; and a Motion being made for committing the same, there ensued

ensued a great Debate. The chief Speakers for committing the Bill were Mr John Pitt, Mr Boone, Mr Lyttleton, Lord Polwarth, Mr Hume Campbell, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir John Hynde Cotton. The Speakers against committing it were Mr Stephen Fox, Hon. Mr Stephen Cornwallis, Mr Lewis, (of Hampshire) Mr Hanbury Williams, Hon. Mr Robert Byng, Mr Lindsay, Mr Oglethorp, Mr Danvers, Mr Thomas Corbet, Hon. Mr Henry Pelham, General Wade, Sir Robert Walpole, and Mr Rider the Solicitor General.

Anna S. Geo. II.
1735.

Mr John Pitt.
Mr Boone.
Mr Lyttleton.
Lord Polwarth.
Mr H. Campbell.
Sir Jos. Jekyll.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Sir J. H. Cotton.

Mr Stephen Fox.
Hon. S. Cornwallis.
Mr Lewis.
Mr Han. Williams.
Hon. Rob. Byng.
Mr Lindsay.
Mr Oglethorp. *
Mr Danvers.
Mr Tho. Corbet.
Mr Hen. Pelham.
Gen. Wade.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr Rider.

But the Question being at last put for committing the Bill, it was carried in the Negative by 216, against 192.

May, 15. The King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons being sent for and attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several Bills: After which he put an End to the Session with the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am glad the Business of this Session of Parliament is brought to such a Conclusion, that I have now an Opportunity of giving you some Recess, after the great Pains you have taken in the Service of your Country. On this Occasion I must in Justice return you My Thanks for the many Instances you have given Me of your Duty and Affection to My Person and Government, and for the necessary Provisions you have made for the Publick Security, as far as the immediate Circumstances of Affairs might require.

The King's Speech
at putting an End
to the first Session.

" I have considered with great Care and Attention the present Situation of Europe, and duly weighed the Consequences, that may arise from the Progress of the War, either by means of its becoming more general, or continuing only to be carried on between the Powers already engaged.

" An Accommodation of these unhappy Troubles appeared to be the best Means to prevent the Dangers, that are to be apprehended on either Side. In this View, a Plan of Pacification was concerted between Me and the States General with great Impartiality, and not without reasonable Grounds to hope for Success, altho' it hath not had the desired Effect.

" But all future Resolutions, to be taken in this important and critical Conjunction, must be principally determined by future Events: This makes it impossible for Me, at present, to take the previous Advice and Concurrence of My Parliament in such Measures, as may become ab-

" solutely

Anno 8. Geo. II.
1735.

“ solutely necessary to be entered into. But you may be
“ assured, that My constant Concern for the Publick Wel-
“ fare, the Liberties of Europe, and, in particular, for the
“ Felicity and Security of these Kingdoms, will never suf-
“ fer Me to take any Steps, but such as the Honour and
“ Interest of My Crown and People shall call for and ju-
“ stify ; and in the Pursuit of these great and desirable
“ Ends, I do, with the best grounded Confidence, promise
“ Myself your zealous and affectionate Support.”

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you My hearty Thanks for the Supplies you
“ have, with so much Chearfulness and Dispatch, granted
“ for the Service of the current Year, which have been so
“ effectually raised, and accompanied with so seasonable an
“ Augmentation of Our Forces by Sea and Land, that I
“ shall be in a Condition to make use of them, in the most
“ advantageous Manner, for the Publick Service, as any Oc-
“ casion, that may happen to arise, shall require.”

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Conduct and Prudence of this Parliament, in a
“ Time of so great Difficulty, cannot be enough commend-
“ ed. The Posture of Affairs before us required all possible
“ Resolution, joined with Caution, neither to be unwarily
“ involved in the present Disturbances, nor to remain un-
“ provided against those Dangers, which are too obvious to
“ stand in Need of any Explanation, and may either directly
“ or remotely affect Us.

“ As I think it necessary this Summer to visit My Do-
“ minions in Germany, it is My Intention to appoint the
“ Queen Regent here during My Absence ; of whose just
“ and prudent Administration you have on the like Occasion
“ had Experience. Let Me earnestly recommend it to you,
“ to render the Burden of this weighty Trust as easy to Her
“ as possible, by making it your constant Study and Endea-
“ vour, as I am sure it is your Inclination, to preserve the
“ Peace of the Kingdom, and to discountenance and sup-
“ press all Attempts to raise groundless Discontents in the
“ Minds of My People, whose Happiness hath always
“ been, and shall continue My daily and uninterrupted
“ Care.”

The Parliament
prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command,
prorogued the Parliament to the 12th of June : They were
afterwards farther prorogued to the 15th of January.

SPEECHES and DÉBATES

In the SECOND SESSION of the

Second Parliament of King GEORGE II.

ON the 15th of January the King came to the House of Peers ; and the Commons attending, his Majesty open'd the Session with the following Speech to both Houses.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE happy Turn which the Affairs of Europe have evidently taken since the End of last Parliament, must, I am persuaded, give you all, as it does Me, the greatest Satisfaction.

The King's Speech
at opening the Second Session.

I acquainted you then that a Plan of Pacification, concerted between Me and the States General of the United Provinces, had been proposed to the Parties engaged in War, which had not the Effect to prevent the Opening of the Campaign : The Armies took the Field, and the War was carried on in some Parts, in such a Manner as to give very just Apprehensions, that it would unavoidably become general, from an absolute Necessity of preserving that Balance of Power, on which the Safety and Commerce of the Maritime Powers so much depend.

This Consideration determined Me to persevere jointly with the States, in repeating Our most earnest Instances to the contending Parties to agree to an Armistice, and to enter into a Negotiation for obtaining a general Peace, upon the Basis of the Plan we had then proposed to them.

Whilst Affairs continued in this State of Deliberation, the Heat and Fury of the War abated ; and the Emperor and the most Christian King, in Consequence of their repeated Professions of a sincere Disposition to put an End to the War by an honourable and solid Peace, concerted and agreed upon certain preliminary Articles to answer that most desirable End. An Armistice is since agreed to by all the Parties engaged in the War ; and the contracting Powers, in Regard to the good Offices employed by Me and the States, have communicated to Us, by their respective Ministers the Preliminaries ; desiring Our Concurrence for effectuating a general Pacification upon the Terms thereby stipulated.

It appearing upon due Examination, that these Articles do not essentially vary from the Plan proposed by Me and the States, nor contain any Thing prejudicial to the Equilibrium of Europe, or to the Rights and Interests

of

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

“ of Our respective Subjects, We thought fit, in pursuance
“ of Our constant Purpose to contribute our utmost to-
“ wards a Pacification, to declare, by a joint Resolution,
“ to the Courts of Vienna and France, Our Approbation of
“ the said Preliminaries, and Our Readiness to concur in a
“ Treaty to be made for bringing them to Perfection.

“ These Preliminaries have been likewise communicated
“ to the Kings of Spain and of Sardinia; and altho’ those
“ Princes have not as yet, in Form, declared their final
“ Resolutions upon them, there is great Reason to believe
“ that the Love of Peace, their avowed Dispositions for
“ putting an End to the Troubles of Europe, and the ami-
“ cable Interposition of common Friends, will prevail upon
“ them to agree to what has been thus concerted, upon rea-
“ sonable Security given them, for the peaceable Possession
“ and Enjoyment of the Countries allotted to them.

“ In these Circumstances, My first Care was to ease the
“ Burthens of My People, as soon and as far as Prudence,
“ in the present Posture of Affairs, would permit. I have
“ therefore ordered a considerable Reduction to be made of
“ My Forces, both by Sea and Land: And if the Influence
“ of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to
“ this Nation, have had any Share in composing the present
“ Troubles in Europe, or preventing new ones, I am per-
“ suaded you will be of Opinion, that it will be necessary
“ to continue some extraordinary Expence, until there be
“ a more perfect Reconciliation among the several Powers
“ of Europe.”

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you
“ the Estimates for the Service of the current Year; and I
“ make no doubt, but My Desires to make the Charge of
“ the Publick as low as possible, will find in you the
“ same Readiness to grant the necessary Supplies with Cheer-
“ fulness and Unanimity.”

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am willing to hope, this pleasing Prospect of Peace
“ Abroad will greatly contribute to Peace and good Har-
“ mony at Home. Let that Example of Temper and Mo-
“ deration, which has so happily calmed the Spirits of con-
“ tending Princes, banish from among you all intestine Dis-
“ cord and Diffension. Those who truly wish the Peace
“ and Prosperity of their Country, can never have a more
“ favourable Opportunity than now offers, of distinguishing
“ themselves, by declaring their Satisfaction in the Progress
“ already made towards restoring the Publick Tranquility,
“ and in promoting what is still necessary to bring it to
“ Perfection.”

The

MINUTES, &c. of the SECOND SESSION by way of Introduction to, and Illustration of, the DEBATES, which follow, to the End of the said Session.

ON Thursday the 22d of January, the House having, upon the Report of the Committee of Supply, resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, that a Supply should be granted to his Majesty, they ordered, among others, the following Estimates, State, and Accounts to be laid before the House, viz.

1. An Estimate of the Ordinary of the Navy for the Year 1736 with the Half-Pay of the Officers of the Navy and Marines.
2. An Estimate of the Charge for Guards, Garrisons and Land Forces for the Year 1736.
3. An Estimate of the Charge of Ordnance for the Land Service for the Year 1736.
4. A State of the Debt of his Majesty's Navy, as it stood at Christmas then last.
5. An Account shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1735, had been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads.
6. An Account of the Services incurred and not provided for by Parliament.

Of which the first and fourth were laid before the House next Day; the second, third, and sixth, on Monday thereafter; and the fifth on Tuesday, the 3d of March, and follow in their Order as called for.

An Abstract of the Ordinary ESTIMATE of the Navy for the Year 1736.

*To the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of
Lord High Admiral of Great Britain.*

1. The Commissioners of the Navy, with the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, Instruments and Contingencies relating thereto			l. s. d.			28,062 14 1		
2. Superannuated Sea-Officers	_____	_____	5109	12	7	}	8,667	7 7
3. Pensions and Allowance	_____	_____	3557	15	0			
4. Chatham	} Yards	_____	3507	7	2	}	17,595	11 8
5. Deptford		_____	3082	11	4			
6. Woolwich		_____	2521	8	8			
7. Portsmouth		_____	4162	14	6			
8. Sheerness		_____	1813	4	0			
9. Plymouth	_____	2506	3	6				
10. Muster-Masters and other Officers of the Out Ports	_____	_____	3,623	5	6			
11. Wages to Ships and Vessels in Ordinary	_____	_____	30,712	6	0			
12. Victuals to the Officers and Men serving therein	_____	_____	13,450	5	0			
13. Charge of the Harbour Moorings	_____	_____	24,084	0	0			
14. Ordinary Repairs of his Majesty's Ships in Harbour, and of the Docks, Wharfs, Buildings, &c.	_____	_____	60,005	0	0			
15. Ordinary Charge of sick and hurt Seamen	_____	_____	1,068	15	0			
16. Half-Pay to Sea Officers	_____	_____	30,000	0	0			
Total of the Ordinary Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1736.			217,269			4 10		
						Brought		

l. s. d.
Brought over 217,269 4 10

To which may be added

For defraying the Expence in maintaining, in the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, an additional Number of Disabled Seamen, taken and to be taken into it, who are worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country, there being now 900 poor Seamen maintained in the said Hospital; as also for a sufficient Number of Nurses, being the Widows of Officers and poor Seamen, and for carrying on the Buildings and other Incidents of the said Hospital for the Year 1736, 10,000 l. 10,000

Total 227,269 4 10

And then the Total of the Ordinary Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1736, amounts to Two hundred twenty seven Thousand two hundred sixty-nine Pounds four Shillings and ten Pence.

Richard Haddock, James Ackworth,
Thomas Pearse, George Purvis.
J. Fowler.

An Estimate of the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in Great Britain, for the Year 1736.

	Horse	Number.	Pay for 365 Days.			Total.		
			l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1st Troop of Guards	—	181	16,592	0	0			
2d ditto	—	181	16,592	0	0			
3d ditto	—	181	16,592	0	0			
4th ditto	—	181	16,592	0	0			
1st Troop of Grenadier Guards	—	176	10,772	12	0			
2d ditto	—	177	10,900	14	0			
Royal Regiment of Guards	—	337	26,949	16	0			
Lord Pembroke's Regiment	—	319	26,126	6	0			
Lieutenant General Evan's	—	214	17,744	18	0			
Lieutenant General Wade's	—	214	17,744	18	0			
		—2161				176,607	0	0

Dragoons.

Royal Regiment	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Brigadier Campbell's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Lieut. General Honeywood's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Lord Cadogan's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Major General Kerr's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Sir Robert Rich's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Major General Churchill's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
Lord Mark Kerr's	—	369	17,461	5	0			
		—2952				139,690	0	0
		5113				316,297	4	0

Brought

	Numbers.	Pay for 365 Days.	Total.
Brought forward	5113	316,297	4 0
Foot			
1st Regiment of Guards	2005	51,291 17 0	
2d ditto	1288	33,299 17 0	
3d ditto	1288	33,354 16 0	
Lieut. Gen. Tatton's Regiment	705	13,917 3 0	
Major Gen. Barrel's	705	13,917 3 0	
Brigadier Montague's	705	13,917 3 0	
Lieut. Gen. Whetham's	705	13,917 3 0	
Brigadier Middleton's	705	13,917 3 0	
Brigadier Harrison's	705	13,917 3 0	
Brigadier Handasyde's	705	13,917 3 0	
Lieut. Gen. Sabine's	705	13,917 3 0	
	10,221	229,283 15 0	
Invalids.			
Brigadier Fielding's Regiment	515	9,933 17 0	
25 Independant Companies	1300	22,646 5 0	
	1815	32,580 2 0	
Independant Companies.			
Six Independant Companies } in North Britain	555	9,146 17 0	
Staff Officers, &c.			
Staff Officers		10,907 9 7	
Garrisons, Fire and Candle		36,060 14 4	
Contingents upon Account		15,000 0 0	
		61,968 4 0	
	17,704	649,276 2 0	

An Estimate of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance, for the Year 1736.

LAND-SERVICE.

Ordinary of the Office, comprising Repairs of Storehouses, Barracks, Platforms, Carriages, Stores for Garrisons, Rents, Salaries, and other incident Charges	38,835 7 6.	l. s. d. l. s. d.
Establishments at Mahon, Gibraltar, Anapolis, Placentia, and North Britain	9,962 3 9	
Half-Pay of the Officers, that have served well in the Trains of Artillery in Flanders, Spain, and on several Expeditions	462 12 6	
	49,260 3 9	

EXTRAORDINARIES.

Towards carrying on the Fortifications, repair- ing of Storehouses, and supplying of Stores	at	Gibraltar	10,000 0 0
		Mahon	5,000 0 0
		Anapolis	700 0 0
		Placentia	300 0 0
			16,000 0 0

65,260 3 9
Brought

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward	65,260	3	9			
Towards rebuildings and repairing the Fortifications at Sheerneys	3,000	0	0			
Towards building and repairing the Fortifications at Portsmouth	5,000	0	0			
Towards carrying on the new Fortifications and Barracks at Fort Augustus in the Highlands of Scotland	2,000	0	0			
One hundred Ton of Salt Petre	4,500	0	0			
				14,500	0	0
Exceedings, for which no Allowance hath been made by Parliament.				79,760	3	9
O. d. nances and Stores sent by his Majesty's Order in Council, dated 3d April, 1735.						
John Armstrong,	To Barbadoes	3,725	6	4		
Geo. Gregory,	Leward Islands	865	7	4		
L. Smelt.						
W ^r . Earle.						

Services incurred Anno 1735, not provided for by Parliament.

The Remainder of the Supplies voted by Parliament the 24th Dec. 1735, for victualling the Garrison of Gibraltar, more than was sufficient to satisfy the Demands of the late Contractor, and applicable to the new Contract for this Service, made with Tho. Bennett Esq; dated September 1733, was,	7,636	12	4
Voted in Parliament for this Service, An. 1734.	25,000	0	0
Deficiency Anno 1734, made good	7,769	13	3
Voted for this Service, Anno 1735	25,000	0	0
	57,769	13	3
Total of Supplies to 24th Dec. 1735	65,406	5	7
Payments made to Thomas Revel, Esq; Contractor for this Service, from the 4th of February 1733-4, the Commencement of the Contract, to the 4th of September 1735, inclusive	59,250	0	10
The Payments from the 15th of September, 1735, to the 4th of January following, being four Months, at 28 Days per Month, estimated at	10,349	4	2
Insurance, Anno 1735	508	9	3
Extraordinary Magazines and necessary Repairs, estimated at	300	0	0
	11,157	13	5
	70,407	14	3
	Total		

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Total of actual and estimated Payments to the 4th of January, 1735-6, _____	70,407	14	3			
Deduct the foregoing Supplies _____	65,406	5	7			
Remains to be provided for by Parliament _____				5001	8	7

To make good the Difference of Pay between the English and Irish Establishments for Lord Rothes's Regiment of Foot upon the Establishment of Ireland, but now serving at Gibraltar, for 365 Days, from the 25th of December 1734, to the 24th of December 1735, _____	876	0	0
To make good the like Sum paid Mr. Gilman, Contractor for furnishing and supplying the Forces in the Island of Minorca with Salt Beef, over and above the Six-pence per Man per Week, stopp'd from the Pay of the Regiments there, pursuant to Contracts and Warrant, between the 17th of February 1734, and the 16th of February 1735, _____	866	13	4
To make good the like Sum paid Mr. William Caulfield, for surveying and keeping in Repair the New Roads through the Highlands, Anno 1734, _____	400	0	0

Navy Office, January 23, 1735

An Estimate of the Debts of the Navy, on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood December 31, 1735, viz.

WEAR and Tear, ordinary and extraordinary Repairs, due to pay off and discharge all the Bills register'd on the Course of the Navy, &c, for the Service thereof _____	145,876
To pay off and discharge all the Bills register'd on the said Course for Premium on Navy Stores, _____	11,460
For Freight of Tenders, and for Stores delivered into his Majesty's Yards, &c. for which no Bills were made out on December 31, 1735. As also to several Bills of Exchequer, _____	25,017
To his Majesty's Yards and Rope-Yards for Ordinary and Extraordinary, _____	169,480
For Half-Pay to Sea-Officers, _____	17,926 11 3
	<u>369,759 11 3</u>

Seamens Wages.

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	369,759	11	3
Due to pay the Men unpaid on the Books of Ships paid off,	37,406	4	2
To Ships in Sea Pay on December 31, 1735,	525,461		
To discharge all the Bills enter'd for the Pilotage, Surgeons Necessaries, Bounties to	16,913		
Widows and Orphans of Men slain at Sea, on the Head of Seamens Wages,	579,780	4	2

Vittualling-Office Debt, as per Estimate from that Office.

Due for Short-Allowance to the Companies of his Majesty's Ships in Pay, and which	25,583	13	0
have been paid off,	79,504	17	6
For paying off the Bills enter'd on their Courfe,	2,850	14	4
For necessary Money, extra-necessary Money, Bills of Exchequer and Contingencies	10,503	4	8
To the Officers, Workmen, &c. employ'd at the several Ports,	118,442	9	7

Sick and Hurt, as per Estimate from that Office.

Due for the Quarters and Cure of sick and hurt Seamen, sent on Shore from his	17,519	13	5
Majesty's Fleet, and Contingencies relating to that Service,			

The Total amounts to the Sum of 1,085,501 18 5

From whence deducting the Money in the Treasurer's Hands, as follows	88,572	9	2
And also the Money that has been since received, and what remains to be issued	505,882	19	7
	594,140	8	9

The next Debt will be 491,361 9 8

Memorandum, *There was remaining in the late and present Treasurers of the Navy's Hands, on the 31st of December, 1735, in Money, as under-mentioned, and may be reckoned, towards satisfying the aforesaid Debt of the Navy.*

<i>In what Treasurers's Hands.</i>	<i>In Money.</i>	<i>On the Heads of</i>			<i>Total.</i>
		<i>Wear and Tear, and Ordinary.</i>	<i>Seamen's Wages.</i>	<i>Victuals.</i>	
<i>Trustees for Mr. Hampden's Estate.</i>	<i>In Money,</i>				
	<i>In Money,</i>	2444 8 8	25,251 13 2 6,179 11 10	629 9 6 16 11 5	25,881 2 8
<i>Rt. Hon. Pattee. L. Wile. Torrington.</i>	<i>Ditto, towards the Debt of sick and hurt Seamen,</i>		73 13 5		8,714 5 5
	<i>In Money,</i>	12,483 3 7	31,148 8 5	7,938 12 1	
<i>Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq;</i>	<i>Ditto, towards the Debt of sick and hurt Seamen,</i>		2091 16 11		53,662 1 1
		14,927 12 3	64,745 3 10	8584 13 1	88,257 9 2

N. B. There remained on the 31st of December last, to come in of the Supplies of the Year, ——— 505,882 19 7
 Of which there has been since received, viz. For half a Year's Pay to the Navy } 122,426 19 1
 and Victualling Yards due at Michaelmas last, ————
 For making Payments on the Head of Seamen's Wages, ———— 60,000 0 0 182,426 19 1
 So that at this Time there remains to be issued the Sum of ———— 323,456 0 6

GRANTS.

GRANTS.

Navy.

For the Victuals, Wages, Wear and Tear of the Navy, and the Victualling thereof } for 30,000 Men for 13 Months, ————	l. s. d. 1,482,000 0 0				
Ordinary of the Navy and Half Pay, ————	198,914 9 7	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
Towards the Support of Greenwich Hospital,	—————	1,680,914 9 7	1,453,303 0 9	227,611 8 10	
Ordnance.		10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0		
For Ordnance Sea-Services, ————	78,000 0 0				
Ditto Land, ————	79,760 3 9				
Extraordinary Expences, not provided for } by Parliament, ————	24,693 1 6				
Forces,	—————	182,453 5 3	150,000 0 0	32,453 5 3	
In defraying the Charges of 25,744 Men } for Guards, Garrisons, &c. Anno 1735, }	794,529 4 7				
For maintaining Forces and Garrisons in the } Plantations, Minorca and Gibraltar, 1735, }	215,710 6 5				
Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, ————	18,850 9 2				
Several extraordinary Expences and Services } incurred, not provided for by Parliament, }	10,273 1 7				
Half Pay to the reduced Officers of the Land } Forces and Marines, 1735, ————	49,834 13 4				
Pensions to Officers Widows, marry'd before } Christmas 1716, for the Year 1735, ————	3780 0 0				
To compleat 81,568 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> for Services } incurr'd by augmenting the Forces, and }	10,393 5 11				
concerting such Measures as Affairs requir'd } For a Subsidy to the King of Denmark, ————	56,250 0 0				
	—————	1,159,621 1 1	1,150,297 5 8	9323 15 5	

Deficiencies.

To make good the Deficiency of the Malt Duty, Anno 1733, at Lady-day 1735, —	107,509 18 0
Land-Tax 1733, at Michaelmas 1735, —	22,300 0 0
General Fund at Michaelmas 1734, —	37,557 13 4

Grants, Anno 1734, viz.

To the Navy, —	26,247 12 10½	
To the Ordnance, —	10,158 2 5¼	
	<u>36,405 15 4</u>	

Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, —		203,773 6 8	203,773 6 8
Settling the Colony of Georgia in America, —		10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0
Repairs of St. Peter's Westminster, —		26,000 0 0	26,000 0 0
Repairs of St. Margaret Westminster, —		4,000 0 0	4,000 0 0
		3,500 0 0	3,500 0 0

3,280,262 2 8 3,010,873 13 2 269,388 9 6

Towards supplying the said Services.

750,000 0 0	By the Malt Duty, 1734
1,000,000 0 0	Sinking Fund.
500,000 0 0	Salt Duty.
1,000,000 0 0	Land Tax, 1735.
9,165 13 0	Arrears of Malt Duty 1733.
<u>3,259,165 13 0</u>	
21,096 9 8	Deficiencies of Ways and Means, 1735.
<u>3,280,262 2 8</u>	

Residue of Ways and Means, Anno 1735.

Undisposed of on the Salt Duty ——— 248,291 19 10

Deficiencies of Ways and Means, Anno 1735 ——— 21,096 9 8

[x]

On Friday the 23d of January, it was ordered that the proper Officer should lay before that House an Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31st of December, 1734, to the 31st of December, 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, distinguishing what Numbers were borne, and what mustered in the said Service.

Accordingly, the said Account was laid before the House on the Thursday after, and was as follows, viz.

Navy-Office, 27th Jan. 1735.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31st of Dec. 1734, to the 31st of Dec. 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, distinguishing what Numbers were borne, and what mustered in the said Service, prepared pursuant to an Order of the Hon. House of Commons, dated the 23d Instant.

Months.	Number of Men.	
	Borne.	Muste'd
January ——— 1734	27,497	22,277
February ———	27,414	22,987
March ——— 1735	27,594	23,581
April ———	27,748	24,541
May ———	27,144	24,846
June ———	28,967	26,840
July ———	29,629	27,491
August ———	30,161	27,362
September ———	30,194	28,017
October ———	30,089	28,294
November ———	29,814	26,426
December ———	29,582	23,852
	345,833	306,514
Upon a Medium ———	28,819	25,542

Richard Haddock, J. Ackworth,
Tho. Pearse, G. Purvis,
J. Fowler, Rob. Byng.

The 28th. (See page 121.) The House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, and came to the following Resolutions, without any Debate
or

or Divisions, only W——m Sh——n, Esq; made a short Speech against keeping up such a numerous, Standing Army in Time of Peace.

The Resolutions were as follow, viz.

1. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for **Army Votes** Guards and Garrisons in Great-Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, for the Year 1736, should be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the six Independant Companies consist of, for Service of the Highlands) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included.

2. That a Sum not exceeding 649,270l. 2s. should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 17,704 Men, for Guards and Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in Great Britain, Guernsey and Jersey, for the Year 1736.

3. That a Sum not exceeding 216,228l. 10s. and 11d. should be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, for the Year 1736.

4. That a Sum not exceeding 7144l. 1s. 11d. Farthing, should be granted to his Majesty for defraying several extraordinary Expences and Services, incurred Anno 1735, and not provided for by Parliament.

The 29th. Agreed to the Resolution of Yesterday, after which was presented to the House the following Report of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, pursuant to an Act of Parliament of the 8th Year of his present Majesty, entitled, An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates, forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; viz.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

In Obedience to the Directions of an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; requiring the Commissioners or Governors of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, to contract and agree with able and sufficient Tradesmen, Artificers, or other Persons, for finishing and compleating the said Royal Hospital, in a Workman-like and substantial Manner, on the easiest and most reasonable Terms, according to the Plan laid before the House of Commons in the said Session of Parliament, and to lay their Proceedings therein, with their annual

Chelsea College Report.

nual Accounts, before his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament respectively.

The Commissioners and Governors of the said Hospital do humbly report as follows :

There has been received from the Exchequer the Sum of 5282 l. 13 s. being the Arrears remaining there of the Rents of the Estate, which Sum has been invested in Bank-Annuities at 3 l. per Cent. until there shall be Occasion to dispose of the same, pursuant to the Purposes of the Act of Parliament.

There has been likewise received out of the Rents of the Estate, the Sum of 2178 l. 13 s. 1 d.

As to their Proceedings in carrying on the Buildings, the Foundations of Queen Mary's Court are in a great measure laid, and the Walls of the Chappel and Kitchen are carried up to the Top of the Plinth, which is, to the Cills of the Windows of the Base Story, the Expence of which has amounted to 1089 l. 15 s. 4 d.

By Order of the Commissioners.

Admiralty Office,

Jan. 29. 1735.

Tho. Corbett.

The 31st, received the following Accounts.

The Excess or Surplus of the several Duties, Revenue, and Aggregate Incomes commonly called the Aggregate Fund, established by several Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

The Money arisen at the Exchequer within the Half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on the particular Branches herein enumerated, viz.

DEBTOR.		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
House Money, first granted 7th of Will. III. ———		52,386	13	4
3ds Tonnage and Poundage ———		42,140	5	0
Arrears of the Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724; and the Duties on Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Pictures and Muffins—		505	11	0
Arrears of the Increased Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724, and the Duties on Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, and Pictures ———		2,317	14	6
A Moiety of the Inland Duty of 2 s. per lb. on Coffee, since the 24th of June, 1724. ———		11,820	16	10
		<hr/>		
		119,171	0	11
			Ditto	

DEBTOR		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	—————	119,171	0	11
Ditto — of 4 s. per lb. on Tea, since ditto	—————	25,565	9	0
The Inland Duty of 1 s. 6 d. per lb. on Chocolate, since ditto	—————	5,776	19	5
Further Rates on White Calicoes, China Wares and Drugs	—————	2,682	19	1
Half Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage	—————	15,655	16	9
Surplus of the other Moiety above 80,000 l. per Annum for Annuities	—————			
Additional Duties on French Wines and Merchandizes	—————	5,266	4	8
Plantation Duties	—————	693	13	10
Duties on Hops	—————	1,917	13	9
Duties on Brandy	—————	8,721	13	8
Surplus of 9d. Excise, granted for 99 Years	—————	22,442	0	9
Ditto of the two 7ths of 9d. Excise	—————	8,228	14	2
Ditto of the 37000 l. per Week Excise	—————	13,307	17	4
Ditto of the Revenues in Annuity, Acts 4th, 5th, and 6th, Annæ	—————	67,700	8	8
Ditto, of the Fund for the Lottery, 1710	—————	21,677	2	1
Public Monies brought into the Exchequer after Mi- chaelmas, 1715, appropriated by an Act of Geo. I. page 301, viz.				
Duty on foreign Sail-Cloth	—————	1,325	6	1
To the Duty of 3d. per Barrel Excise, and the additio- nal Duty on Pepper and Al. arifen Michaelmas, 1734, and resting at Lady-Day, 1735, over and above sufficient to satisfy the Annuities of 81,000 l. per Annum, granted Anno 1710, computed to that Time				
	—————	26,399	7	1
		254,532	5	7

The Excess or Surplus of the several Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, established by several Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

C R E D I T O R.		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By Payments charged on the Aggregate Fund, by Acts of Parliament, viz.				
By the Bank of England, on their Annuity of 60,000 l. (being the Remainder of 80,000 l. per Ann. for cancelling two Millions of Exchequer Bills) for the half Year ended at Lady-day, 1735, pursuant to the Act of 11 Geo. I. pag. 213. and 2 Geo. II. pag. 81.	—————	30,000	0	0
By the South-Sea Company to discharge Annuities at			4	per

CREDITOR.

4 per Cent. on the Principal Sum of 393,645 l. 8 s. to which the Sum of 481,700 l. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced by abating from the same 48,054 l. 12 s. for a proportionable Part of 4,500,000 l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 500,000 l. contributed on the first Lottery, 1719, for the half Year ended at Lady-day, 1735. —————

7,872 18 1

Towards the Expence of his Majesty's Civil Government for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, by the Act of 1 Geo. II. pag. 8. —————

60,000 0 0

By the South Sea Company to discharge Annuities at 4 per Cent. on the Principal Sum of 751,911 l. 16 s. 1 d. to which the Sum of 843,702 l. 1 s. 8 d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 91,790 l. 5 s. 7 d. for a proportional Part of 4,500,000 l. repaid to the said Company, for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 1,079,000 l. contributed for Annuities Anno 1715, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735. — — —

15,038 4 8

By the Officers of the Exchequer-Bill-Office, on their Salaries, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735. —

325 0 0

By the Usher of the Exchequer for Necessaries. ———

58 16 2

By the South-Sea-Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on 527 l. 11 s. 9 d. per Ann. being such Part of 10,516 l. 1 s. 7 d. per Ann. Residue of 12,000 l. per Ann. allowed them for Charges of Management on Subscriptions by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. — — —

263 15 10

By the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, on their reduced Annuity of 128,000 l. payable to them from Michaelmas, 1730, being after the Rate of 4 l. per Cent. per Ann. on the said Company's Capital of 3,200,000 l. for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, pursuant to the Act of 3 Geo. II. pag. 452. —————

64,000 0 0

177,558 14 11

By the Excess or Surplus which at or before Lady Day, 1735, did arise by the Duties composing the Aggregate Fund *per contra* (over and above all the Monies then due, or payable to discharge the several Annuities and other Allowances and Payments directed by Acts of Parliament to be satisfied out of the same) which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —————

158,980 12 7

336,539 7 6

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues (Part of the South Sea Fund) as were established by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering Payments to the South Sea Company and others, which Excess or Surplus is here stated at Lady Day, 1735.

The Money arisen at the Exchequer in the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.

DEBTOR.		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For Impost on Wines and Vinegar	_____	60,164	1	2
Impost on Tobacco	_____	36,008	13	1
Impost on East-India Goods	_____	47,594	1	3
Additional Impositions	_____	15,798	0	10
Additional Whale-Fins	_____	2,152	15	0
Duty on Candles since the 1st of May, 1715	_____	38,913	14	5
Apprentices Duty since ditto	_____	2,054	0	5
		<hr/>		
		202,685	6	4

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues, (Part of the South Sea Fund) as were established by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering Payments to the South Sea Company and others, which Excess or Surplus is here stated at Lady Day, 1735, viz.

CREDITOR.		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By the South Sea Company to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 8,912,053l. 8s. 8d. Halfpenny, to which their original Capital of 10,000,000l. is reduced, by abating from the same 1,387,946l. 11s. 3d. Half-penny, for a proportional Part of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company; for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, and is from the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.	_____	178,24	11	4
By ditto Company on 7,129l. 12s. 11d. per Ann. for Charges of Management, to which their Allowance of 8000l. per Ann. was reduced, on Re-payment to the said Company of 4,500,000l. as aforesaid, and is for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.	_____	3,564	16	5
		<hr/>		
		181,805	17	19
By the Excess or Surplus, which at or before Lady Day, 1735, did arise by the Rates, Duties, Impositions and Revenues <i>per contra</i> , over and above sufficient to satisfy all Payments chargeable thereupon, which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund.	_____	20,879	8	6
		<hr/>		
		202,685	6	4
		<hr/>		
		The		

The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Act of 3 Geo. I. page 303, were charged towards making good a general yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and the Overplus of the same General Fund stated at Lady Day, 1735, which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Monies which then or before became due or payable according to subsequent Acts, out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To Money arisen at the Exchequer within the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, in Part of 362,424 l. 13 s. 5 d. viz.

DEBTOR.

10 l. Lottery, 1711	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Subsidy on Goods exported	16,862	10	2	83,691	0	0
Two Shillings per Chaldron on Coals	27,912	15	3			
Additional Duty on Candles	38,915	14	6			
Class ditto, 1711.						
Hackney Coaches and Chairs	3,589	3	11	79,758	16	10
New Stamp Duties	6,001	4	6			
700 l. per Week Lottery Money	17,500	0	0			
Duty on Hides and Skins	52,668	8	4			
10 l. Lottery, 1712.						
Duty on Soap	59,170	9	4	67,019	10	0
Stamp Duties on Paper	7,849	0	8			
Class ditto, 1712.						
Additional Duty on Hides	30,182	4	2	74,708	19	1
Duty on Wire and Starch	5,450	18	7			
Policies of Insurance	1,680	10	5			
A Moiety of the Duty of 2 s. per lb. on Coffee	11,820	16	10			
Ditto 4 s. per lb. on Tea	25,565	9	0			
Hereditary Excise, payable out of 3700 l. per Week Bankers Annuities				19,927	17	9
				325,106	3	8
To the Complement for completing the general Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. per Ann. for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, to be made good by Parliament.				37,318	9	8
				362,424	13	5

The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Act of 3 Geo. I. pag. 303. were charged towards making good a general Yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and the Overplus of the same General Fund, stated at Lady Day, 1735, which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Moneys, which then, or before became due and payable, according to subsequent Acts, out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

C R E D I T O R.

By Payments charged on the General Funds by Acts of Parliament, viz.

l. s. d.

By the South Sea Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 7,423,108l. 4s. 10d. to which the Sum of 8,329,291l. 2s. 1d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 906,182l. 7s. 2d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company, for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 9,534,357l. 13s. 11d. to which the Proprietors of certain Orders in the four Lotteries, 1711 and 1712, and the Debt due to certain Bankers and others, were entitled for the half Year ended Lady Day, 1735. ————— 148,462 3 6

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 667,117l. 1s. 7d. to which the Sum of 748,555l. 19s. 5d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 81,430l. 17s. 10d. for a proportionable Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same being the Remainder of 947,514l. 7s. 8d. to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were intitled, that were struck at the Exchequer to make good sundry Deficiencies, Anno 1716, for the half Year ended Lady Day, 1735. ————— 13,342 6 10

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 1,079,064l. 18s. 3d. to which the Sum of 1,210,792l. 13s. 8d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 137,727l. 15s. 4d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 1,603,987l. 8s. 1d. to which the Proprietors of certain Army Debentures made forth to the 21st of March, 1719, were intitled for the half Year ended Lady Day, 1735. ————— 21,581 5 11

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities of 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 96,074l. 9s. 9d. to

f

which

C R E D I T O R.

which the Sum of 107,802 *l.* 17 *s.* 4*d.* subscribed into their Capital is reduced, by abating from the same 11,728*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000*l.* repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 110,312*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were entitled, that were struck for the Service of the Navy, and the victualling thereof, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735. ————— *l.* *s.* *d.*
1,921 9 9

By ditto Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England claiming under them, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on 4267*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* per Ann. being such Part of 10,516*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* per Ann. Residue of 12,000*l.* per Ann, allowed them for Charge of Management on Subscription by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. —————
2,133 12 4

By the Sufferers of Nevis and St. Christophers for Annuities at the Rate of 3*l.* per Cent. and upon the principal Sum of 37,821*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* Residue of 141,093*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* contained in Orders of Debentures made forth by the Commissioners for Affairs of Trade and Plantations for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735. —————
567 6 4

188,008 4 9

Ballance is the Overplus, which at or before Lady Day, 1735, did arise by the said General Fund in this half Year, (when the Sum of 37,318*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* *per contra* shall be made good by Parliament) over and above sufficient to satisfy all Annuities and other Sums due or payable out of the same, which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —————
174,416 8 7

362,424 13 5

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund,

D E B T O R.

	l.	s.	d.
To Surplus Money unapplied at Michaelmas, 1734, as per Account for the half Year then ended	37,557	13	4

To Surplus Money arisen in the half Year
ended at Lady Day, 1735, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, as per Account	158,980	12	7
Surplus of the South-Sea Company's Fund, as per Account	20,879	8	6
Surplus of the General Fund, when the Sum of 37,318l. 9s. 8d. being the Complement to 362,424l. 13s. 5d. shall be made good, as per Account	174,416	8	7
	354,276	9	9
	391,834	3	1

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund, *per Contra.*

C R E D I T O R.

	l.	s.	d.
By Cash taken in full of the Sum of 1,200,000 l. for or towards the Supply granted to his Majesty for the Ser- vice of the Year 1734, pursuant to the Act of 7 Geo. II. page 264.	118,799	12	11

By Remains at Lady Day, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Surplus of the Aggregate Fund	134,716	11	11
Surplus of the South Sea Company's Fund	4,673	18	10
Surplus of the General Fund, when the Sum of 37,318l. 0s. 8d. three Farthings, the Deficiency thereof in this half Year, shall be made good by Parliament.	133,643	19	3
	273,934	10	2
	391,834	3	1

This being the Five and Twentieth half yearly Account made up, pur-
suant to the Act of 9 Geo. I. page 367, is humbly presented the 31st
Day of January, 1734, by me *J. S.*

The

The Excess or Surplus of the several Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, established by several Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

The Money arisen at the Exchequer within the Half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on the particular Branches herein enumerated, viz.

DEBTOR.		l.	s.	d.
House Money, first granted 7 Will. III.	— — —	49,276	10	4
Two 3ds Tonnage and Pondage	— — —	60,250	17	3
Arrears of the Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724; and the Duties on Nutmegs Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Pictures and Muslins—		815	7	9
Arrears of the Increased Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724, and the Duties on Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, and Pictures —		10,454	18	6
A Moiety of the Inland Duty of 2s. per lb. on Coffee, since 24th June, 1724. — — — — —		13,629	1	10
Ditto—of 4s. per lb. on Tea, since ditto — — — — —		35,471	18	8
The Inland Duty of 1s. 6d. per lb. on Chocolate, since ditto. — — — — —		4,519	5	7
Further Rates on White Calicoes, China Wares and Drugs		1,582	0	3
Half Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage — — — — —		58,018	10	8
Surplus of the other Moiety above 80,000l. per Ann. for Annuities — — — — —		12,716	19	5
Additional Duties on French Wines and Merchandizes		11,328	7	3
Plantation Duties — — — — —		240	19	8
Duties on Hops — — — — —		35,412	10	4
Duties on Brandy — — — — —		11,870	2	4
Surplus of the 9d. Excise, granted for 99 Years — — —		33,261	16	6
Ditto of the two 7ths 9d. Excise — — — — —		11,408	14	2
Ditto of the five 7ths 9d. Excise — — — — —		18,091	10	8
Ditto of the 3700l. per Week Excise — — — — —		20,707	17	4
Ditto of the Revenues in Annuity Act, 4th, 5th, and 6th Annæ — — — — —		127,386	15	10
Ditto of the Fund for the Lottery, 1710 — — — — —		32,296	17	9
Public Monies brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas, 1715, appropriated by an Act of 1 Geo. I. page 301, viz.				
Duty on foreign Sail-Cloth — — — — —	262	12	10	
Arrears of the 10th 2s. Aid, Anno 1726,—	1854	18	10	
Ditto of the 10th 3s. Aid, Anno 1728,—	141	4	10	
Ditto of the 11th 3s. Aid, Anno 1729,—	1058	18	1	
Ditto of the 12th 2s. Aid, Anno 1731,—	6544	1	8	
Ditto of the 1st 1s. Aid, Anno 1732,—	9599	5	7	
		19,461	2	0
		568,072	4	6
		The		

The Excess or Surplus of the several Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, established by several Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

C R E D I T O R.

By Payment charged on the Aggregate Fund, by Acts of Parliament, viz.

By the Bank of England, on their Annuity of 60,000l. (being the Remainder of 80,000 l. per Ann. for cancelling two Millions of Exchequer Bills) for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, pursuant to the Act of 11 Geo. I. page 213. and 2. Geo. II. page 81. —————

30,000 0 0

By the South-Sea Company, to discharge Annuities at 4 per Cent. on the Principal Sum of 393,645 l. 8 s. to which the Sum of 441,7000l. subscribed into their Capital is reduced, by abating from the same 48,054l. 12s. for a proportional Part of 4,500,000 l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 500,000l. contributed on the first Lottery, 1719, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —————

7,872 18 1

Towards the Expence of his Majesty's Civil Government for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, by the Act of 1 Geo. II. page 8. —————

60,000 0 0

By the South-Sea Company, to discharge Annuities at 4 per Cent. on the principal Sum of 751,911l. 16s. 1d. to which the Sum of 843,702l. 1s. 8d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 91,790l. 5s. 7d. for a proportional Part of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company, for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 1,079,000l. contributed for Annuities Anno 1715, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —————

15,038 4 3

By the Officers of the Exchequer Bill Office, on their Salaries, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —

325 0 0

By the Usher of the Exchequer for Necessaries —

30 15 8

By the Sheriffs of England and Wales, on 4000 l. per Annum, by the Act 3 Geo. I. for the Year ended Michaelmas 1735. —————

4000 0 0

By the South-Sea Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on 527l. 11s. 9d. per Ann. being such Part of 10,516l. 1s. 7d. per Ann. Residue of 12,000l. per Ann. allowed them for Charges of Management on Subscriptions by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. —————

263 15 10

117,530 14 4
Brought

D E B T O R.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	568,072	4	6
To the Duty of 3d. per Barrel Excise, and the additional Duty on Pepper and Al. arisen Lady Day, 1734, and resting at Michaelmas 1735, over and above sufficient to satisfy the Annuities of 81,000 <i>l.</i> per Annum, granted Anno 1710, computed to that Time. ——— ——— ———	27,263	12	1
	<u>595,335</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues (Part of the South-Sea Fund) as were established by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Year of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering Payments to the South-Sea Company and others, which Excess or Surplus is here stated at Michaelmas, 1735, viz.

D E B T O R.	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For Impost on Wines and Vinegar ——— ——— ———	112,952	9	5
Impost on Tobacco ——— ——— ———	27,930	18	8
Impost on East-India Goods ——— ——— ———	41,329	19	8
Additional Impositions ——— ——— ———	24,164	7	10
Additional Whale Fins ——— ——— ———	2,673	7	9
Duty on Candles since 1st of May, 1715 ——— ——— ———	32,850	14	11
Apprentices Duty since ditto ——— ——— ———	3,554	5	5
	<u>245,456</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>

To so much of the Sum of 7237*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* Halfpenny, being a Medium of the Annual Income of the Duty on rough and undressed Flax, taken off by the Act of the 4 Geo. II. as would have been applied to this Fund, had not these Duties been repealed, and is therefore made good to the same, out of the Sum of 4223*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* charged on the Aggregate Fund, as per preceding Account. ——— 2097 15 8

247,553 19 7
Brought

C R E D I T O R.

l. s. d.

Brought over 117,530 14 4

By the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, on their reduced Annuity of 128,000*l.* payable to them from Michaelmas, 1730, being after the Rate of 4*l.* per Cent. per Ann. on the said Company's Capital of 3,200,000*l.* for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, pursuant to the Act of 3 Geo. II. page 452. —————

64,000 0 0

By so much of the Sum of 7237*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* being a Medium of the Annual Income of the Duty on rough and undressed Flax, taken off by the Act 4 Geo. II. as was made good to the several public Creditors at Midsummer 1735, (the remaining Sum of 3014*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* being applicable to the Funds composing this Aggregate Fund, before the Duties on rough and undressed Flax were repealed, is therefore not charged thereupon.) —————

4223 10 11

By the Excess or Surplus, which at or before Michaelmas 1735, did arise by the Duties, composing the Aggregate Fund *per contra*, (over and above all the Moneys then due, or payable to discharge the several Annuities and other Allowances and Payments directed by Acts of Parliament to be satisfied out of the same) which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —————

409,581 11 4

595,335 16 8

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues, (Part of the South Sea Fund) as were established by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years of his late Majesty's Reign, for answering Payments to the South Sea Company and others, which Excess or Surplus is here stated at Michaelmas 1735, viz.

C R E D I T O R.

l. s. d.

By the South Sea Company to discharge Annuities at 4*l.* per Cent. on the principal Sum of 8,912,053*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* Halfpenny, to which their original Capital of 10,000,000*l.* is reduced, by abating from the same 1,087,946*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Half-penny, for a proportional Part of 4,500,000*l.* repaid to the said Company, for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, and is from the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. ————

178,241 1 4

By ditto Company on 7,129*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* per Ann. for Charges of Management, to which their Allowance of 8000*l.* per Ann. was reduced, on Re-payment to the said Company of 4,500,000*l.* as aforesaid, and is for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —————

3,564 16 5

By the Excess or Surplus, which at or before Michaelmas 1735, did arise by the Rates, Duties, Impositions and Revenues *per contra*, over and above sufficient to satisfy all Payments chargeable thereupon, which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —————

65,741 1 9

247,553 19 7

The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Act of 3 Geo. I. page 303, were charged towards making good a general yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and the Overplus of the same General Fund stated at Michaelmas 1735, which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Monies which then or before became due or payable according to subsequent Acts, out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To Money arisen at the Exchequer within the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, viz.

DEBTOR.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
10 l. Lottery, 1711						
Subsidy on Goods exported	15,499	12	3	93,469	4	11
Two Shillings per Chaldron on Coals	45,102	4	2			
Additional Duty on Candles	32,867	8	5			
Class ditto, 1711.						
Hackney Coaches and Chairs	4,127	10	9	91,097	13	5
New Stamp Duties	9,367	0	5			
700 l. per Week Lottery Money	18,900	0	0			
Duty on Hides and Skins	58,703	3	0			
10 l. Lottery, 1712.						
Duty on Soap	72,715	10	1	81,506	8	0
Stamp-Duties on Paper	8,790	17	11			
Class ditto, 1712.						
Additional Duty on Hides	33,979	16	6	90,797	4	11
Duty on Wire and Starch	6,156	8	3			
Policies of Insurance	1,559	19	7			
A Moiety of the Duty of 2s. per lb. on Coffee	13,629	1	10			
Ditto 4s. per lb. on Tea	35,471	18	8			
Hereditary Excise, payable out of 3700l. per Week						
Bankers Annuities				19,927	17	9
				376,798	9	1
Deduct to make good the Deficiency of this Fund in the Half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.				37,318	9	8
				339,479	19	5
To the Complement for completing the general Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. per Ann. for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, to be made good by Parliament.				22,944	14	0
				362,424	13	5

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The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Act of 3 Geo. I. pag. 303. were charged towards making good a general Yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and the Overplus of the same General Fund, stated at Michaelmas, 1735, which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Moneys, which then, or before, became due and payable, according to subsequent Acts, out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

C R E D I T O R.

l. s. d.

By Payments charged on the General Funds by Acts of Parliament, viz.

By the South Sea Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 7,423,108l. 4s. 10d. to which the Sum of 8,329,291l. 2s. 1d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 906,182l. 7s. 2d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company, for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 9,534,357l. 13s. 11d. to which the Proprietors of certain Orders in the four Lotteries, 1711 and 1712, and the Debt due to certain Bankers and others, were entitled for the half Year ended Michaelmas 1735. ————— 148,462 3 6

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 667,117l. 1s. 7d. to which the Sum of 748,555l. 19s. 5d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 81,430l. 17s. 10d. for a proportionable Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 947,514l. 7s. 8d. to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were intitled, that were struck at the Exchequer to make good sundry Deficiencies, Anno 1716, for the half Year ended Michaelmas 1735. ————— 13,342 6 10

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities at 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 1,079,064l. 18s. 3d. to which the Sum of 1,210,792l. 13s. 8d. subscribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the same 137,727l. 15s. 4d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 1,603,987l. 8s. 1d. to which the Proprietors of certain Army Debentures made forth to the 21st of March, 1719, were entitled for the half Year ended Michaelmas 1735. ————— 21,581 5 11

By ditto Company, to discharge Annuities of 4l. per Cent. on the principal Sum of 96,074l. 9s. 9d. to which the Sum of 107,802l. 17s. 4d. subscribed into their Capital is reduced, by abating from the same 11,728l. 7s. 6d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l.

4,500,000*l.* repaid to the said Company for redeeming so much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the same, being the Remainder of 110,312*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were entitled, that were struck for the Service of the Navy, and the victualling thereof, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas, 1735, —————

1,921 9 9

By ditto Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England claiming under them, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on 4267*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* per Ann. being such Part of 10,516*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* per Ann. Residue of 12,000*l.* per Ann, allowed them for Charge of Management on Subscription by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. —————

2,133 12 4

By the Sufferers of Nevis and St. Christopher's, for Annuities at the Rate of 3*l.* per Cent. and upon the principal Sum of 37,821*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* Residue of 141,093*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* contained in Orders of Debentures made forth by the Commissioners for Affairs of Trade and Plantations for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —————

567 6 4

188,008 4 9

Ballance is the Overplus, which at or before Michaelmas 1735, did arise by the said General Fund in this half Year, (when the Sum of 22,944*l.* 14*s.* *per contra* shall be made good by Parliament) over and above sufficient to satisfy all Annuities and other Sums due or payable out of the same, which Excess or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —————

174,416 8 7

362,424 13 5

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund,

DEBTOR.

l. *s.* *d.*

To Surplus Money unapplied at Lady Day, 1734, as per Account for the half Year then ended —————

273,034 10 2

To Surplus Money arisen in the half Year

. ended at Michaelmas 1735, viz.

l. *s.* *d.*

Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, as per

Account —————

409,581 11 4

Surplus of the South-Sea Company's Fund, as per Account —————

65,748 1 9

Surplus of the General Fund, when the Sum of 22,944*l.* 14*s.* being the Complement to 724,849*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* shall be made good, as per Account —————

174,416 8 7

649,746 1 9

922,780 11 11

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund, *per Contra.*

C R E D I T O R.

l. s. d.

By Cash, paid for Interest on the Milion lent on the Credit of the Salt Duties, for the Supplies of the Year 1734, pursuant to the Act 7 Geo. II. page 104 and 105, which Sum is to be replaced to the Sinking Fund, out of the first Aids to be granted in Parliament, as per Clause in the said Act, 7 Geo. II. page 105, in that Behalf ———— 24,570 2 7

By Cash, taken in Part of the Sum of 1,000,000*l.* for or towards the Supply granted to his Majesty for the Service of the Year 1735, pursuant to the Act 8 Geo. II. page 191, and 192, in that Behalf ———— 875,265 15 4

899,835 17 11

By Remains at Michaelmas 1735, being the Deficiency of the General Fund, Anno 1735, to be made good by Parliament, ———— 22,944 14 0

922,780 11 11

This being the 26th Half-yearly Account made up, pursuant to the Act of 9 Geo. I. page 367, is humbly presented the 31st Day of January, 1734, by me,

J. S.

On

On Monday the 2d of February, (See page 131) it was ordered that the proper Officer should lay before the House, an Account of all the public Debts, at the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, due or standing out at Christmas, 1735, with the annual Interest or Sums paid for the same; the said Account was accordingly presented on the 16th of the same Month, and ordered to lie on the Table, to be perused by the Members of the House, and was as follows:

An Account of all the public Debts at the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, due or standing out at Christmas, 1735, with the annual Interest or Sums paid for the same.

Exchequer.	Principal,			Annual Interest,		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Annuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unsubscribed to the South-Sea Company, after deducting what has fallen in by Deaths, ————	1,836,275	17	10	131,255	10	11
Annuities for Lives with Benefit of Survivorship, being the original Sum contributed. ————	108,100	0	0	7,567	0	0
Annuities payable upon two and three Lives, being the Sum remaining after deducting what has fallen by Deaths. ————	127,899	8	0	14,997	18	5
Annuities at 9 per Cent. per Ann. being the Remainder of the original Sum unsubscribed to the South-Sea Company, ————	161,108	6	8	14,492	15	0
Ditto on Lottery 1710, being the Remainder, &c. ————	109,290	0	0	9,836	2	0
Annuities on the Plate Act, 6 Geo. prim. Reg. ————	312,000	0	0	12,480	0	0
Annuities on the Nevis and St. Christopher's Debentures, at 3 per Cent. per Ann. ————	37,821	5	1	1,134	12	9
Exchequer Bills on the Victualing Act, Anno 1726, at 3 per Cent. per Ann. ————	481,4000	0	0	14,442	3	0
Ditto made out for the Interest on old Bills exchanged, ————	2,200	0	0			
Annuities at 3l. 10s. per Cent. per Ann. for the Year 1731—	4,000,000	0	0	14,000	0	0
Duties on Salt continued An. 1734, at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ————	960,000	0	0	38,400	0	0
						Ditto

Ditto Anno 1735, for 500,000l.
at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. but
no Part of this Sum has been
borrowed during the Time of
this Account.

Note, The Land Taxes and
Duties on Malt being annual
Grants, are not charged in this
Account.

Nor the 1,000,000, l. charged
on the Deductions of 6d. per
Pound.

East-India Company.

By two Acts of Parliament 9 W. III. and two other Acts 6 and 10 Annæ, but the Annuity grant- ed by the said Acts was by an Act 3 G. II, reduced from 5l. to 4l. per Cent. per Ann.	}	3,200,000	0	0	128,000	0	0

Bank of England.

On their original Fund at 6l. per Cent. per Ann. ————	}	1,600,000	0	0	96,000	0	0
For cancelling Exchequer Bills, 3 Geo. I. at 4 per Cent. per Ann. ————	}	1,500,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
Purchased of the South-Sea Com- pany at ditto ————	}	4,000,000	0	0	160,000	0	0
Annuities charged on the Duties on Coals since Lady Day 1719, at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ————	}	1,750,000	0	0	70,000	0	0
Ditto charged on the Surplus of the Fund for Lottery 1714. at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ————	}	1,250,000	0	0	50,000	0	0
Ditto for the Lottery 1731, at 3l. per Cent. per Ann. trans- ferrable at the Bank. ————	}	800,000	0	0	24,000	0	0

To them more for Charges of Management of their original Debt ————	}	l. s. d.]					
		4000	0	0	per Ann		
For a proportionable Charge of Management of 4,000,000l. purchased of the South-Sea Company. ————	}	1898	3	5	per Ann.		

5898 3 5

South-Sea Company.

On their Capital Stock and An- nuities, by Act 9 Geo. I. 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ————	}	29,302,203	5	6	1,172,088	2	3
		51,538,298	3	2	2,018,694	4	4

To them more for Charges of Management — 16,992 19 10 per Ann.

The same Day the House, according to Order, resolved itself into a Committee, to consider of Ways and Means to raise the Supply granted to his Majesty, and resolved, That towards raising the said Supply, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, which by an Act of Parliament of the 8th Year of his Majesty's Reign, had Continuance to the 24th Day of June, 1736, should be further continued and charged upon all Malt, which should be made, and all Mum which should be made or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which should be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June, 1736, to the 24th of June, 1737; which Resolution was next Day agreed to by the House, and a Bill ordered to be brought in, which was accordingly afterwards brought in and passed as usual.

The 4th of Feb. the House, according to Order, resolved itself again into a Committee, to consider of the Supply granted to his Majesty, and resolved, That a Sum not exceeding 79,760l. 3s. and 9d. should be granted to his Majesty for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for the Year 1736, and that a Sum not exceeding 4590l. 13s. and 8d. should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, not provided for by Parliament.

On the 6th, the House resolved, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions to the proper Officer or Officers to lay before the House the following Account, which was accordingly laid before the House on the 25th of the same Month, and was as follows :

An Account of what Duties or Impositions are now payable by any Act or Acts of Assembly, in any of the British Plantations in America, on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes, Wines, and other kind of Liquors, or on any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, and Shipping, distinguishing each Duty or Imposition, and each Colony and Plantation.

B A R B A D O E S.

By an Act passed in 1663, an Impost of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is laid on all dead Commodities of the Growth of this Island, shipped off the same, payable in Specie for ever.

By an Act passed in 1697, a Duty of one Pound of Gunpowder per Ton, is laid on all Ships entering there. Perpetual.

By an Act passed in 1705, a Duty of 5s. a Head is laid upon every Negro or other Slave imported.

An

An Act passed in 1715, lays a Tax of 20l. upon every Horse or Ass exported.

By an Act passed 1715, the following Duties are imposed on Goods imported, that are not of the Growth of the British Colonies. On every Cwt. of Muscovado Sugar, 12s. 6d. Cwt. of imported Sugar, 1l. 5s. Gallon of Molasses, 1s. 6d. Gallon of Rum, 2s. Pound of Cotton, 6d. Pound of Aloes, 1s. 6d. Cwt. of scraped Ginger, 1l. Cwt. of scalded ditto, 10s.

It appears by an Account received from Mr. Dottin, President of the Council, and Commander in Chief of this Island, that in 1735, there was, by virtue of an Act of the Island, the following Duties paid upon the Importation of Liquors not of the Growth of Europe, imported in British Shipping. On every Pipe of Wine 4l. 10s. Ton of Mum 2l. 15s. Ton of Beer, Ale, Cyder, or Perry, 1l. 5s. Gallon of Brandy or other Spirits 1s. Twelve Quart Bottles of any Wine 2s. Of Beer, Ale, Cyder or perry 1s. Of Mum 1s. 9d.

But the Act for this Purpose has not been transmitted to the Plantation Office.

St. CHRISTOPHERS.

By an Act passed in 1727, an Impost of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is laid upon all Commodities of the Growth of the Island, shipped off the same, and payable in Specie for ever.

By an Act passed in 1732, every Ship entering there, shall pay half a Pound of Gun-powder, and one Shilling current Money per Ton.

And a Fuzil or 30s. current Money for every 100 Tons, and 4d. current Money for every Ton under or over every hundred Tons, besides the Powder Duty.

By an Act passed in 1722, and by another Act passed in 1732, the following Imposts on Liquors are collected. Current Money.

On every Pipe of Madeira Wine imported, 2l. Every Pipe of the Western Islands, or mixt with it, 3l. Every Ton of French, Rhenish, or Spanish, 5l. Every Ton of Beer, 2l. Every Dozen Bottles of Wine, 1s. 6d. Every Gallon of Rum, 2s. 6d. Of Brandy, 1s. Of Mum, 6d. Beer, Ale and Cyder, every 12 Bottles, 1s. 6d.

ANTIQUA.

By an Act passed in 1668, an Impost of 4d. halfpenny per Cent. is laid in Specie on Commodities of the Growth of the Island exportd. Perpetual.

By an Act passed in 1676, every Vessel entering there, is to pay one Pound of Gun-powder per Ton.

By

By an Act passed in 1697, an Impost is laid on all Liquors imported.

Madeira Wines per Pipe 2l. Of the Western Islands, or mixt therewith, per Pipe 4l. French, Rhenish, or Spanish, per Ton 8l. And if bottled, per Dozen 2s. Beer, Ale, and Cyder per Ton 2l. if bottled, per Dozen 1s. Every Gallon of Mum 4d. of Brandy 2s. 6d. of Rum 2s. Half the Duty to be drawn back on Re-exportation.

By an Act passed in 1721, Goods of the Produce of the French Islands imported to Antigua, pay as follows.:

Every Pound of refined Sugar 9d. Cwt. of Strained or Muscovado Sugar 5s. Pound of Lump or Powder'd Sugar 4d. half-penny. Molasses per Gallon 6d. Cotton per Pound 6d. Ginger per Cwt. 5s.

By an Act passed in 1726-7. an additional Duty of 20s. per Pipe is laid on all Madeira Wine.

NEVIS.

By an Act passed in 1675, an Impost of 4d. half-penny per Cent. is laid in Specie on all the Commodities of the Growth of the Island exported. Perpetual.

By an Act passed in 1699, a Duty of one Pound of Pistol Powder per Ton is laid on every Vessel entering and staying 48 Hours. And one Fuzil for every 100 Tons.

By another Act passed in 1699, a Duty or Impost is laid on every Gallon of Rum imported 2s. Gallon of Molasses imported 4d.

By an Act passed in 1717, the following Commodities of the Produce of the French Islands, imported into Nevis, or re-shipped or removed from one Ship to another in the Harbours there, shall pay,

Every Cwt. of White Sugar 10s. Cwt. of Brown ditto 6s. Every Gallon of Rum 6s. Gallon of Molasses 1s.

By an Act passed in 1725, an Impost is laid on every Pipe of Madeira Wine imported 2l. Of the Western Islands, or mixt therewith 4s. On every Ton of French, Rhenish, Spanish, Italian, and Canary 8l. If bottled, per Dozen 2s. Every Ton of Beer, Ale, and Cyder in Cask 2s. If bottled, per Dozen Quarts 1s. Ton of Rum 3s.

This Act was to expire in 1728, but is supposed to have been since continued by subsequent Acts, because it appears by the Treasurer's Account in 1735, that such Duties were then collected; but the Act for continuing the same has not been transmitted to the Board of Trade.

MONTSERRAT.

By an Act passed in 1668, an Impost of 4d. half-penny per

per Cent. is laid in Specie on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island exported. Perpetual.

By an Act passed in 1734, upon every Pipe of Wine imported, 2s. Every Ton of Beer, 2s. Every twelve Bottles of Beer, 1s. Barrel of Cyder, 2s. 6d.

J A M A I C A.

By an Act passed in 1728. Perpetual.

The following Duties or Imposts are laid on every Ton of Spanish, or Madeira Wine, 6l. Ton of the Western Islands or Azores, or mixt therewith, 12l. Ton of French, Rhenish, or Portugal, 5l. Every Gallon of Brandy, Arrack or other Spirits, 1s. 6d. Every Ton of Beer, Ale, or Cyder, 2l. Ton of Mum or Metheglin, 3l. Cwt. of Ginger, 15s. Cwt. of Mulcovoado, or Panneel Sugar, 3s. Pound of refined Sugar, 6d. Of Tobacco, 4d. Of Indico, 3d. Cotton 3d. Cwt. Of Cocoa in Vessels belonging to the Island, 15s. In any other Vessel, 1l.

All Vessels entering inwards from any Place to the Northward of the Tropic of Cancer, one Pound of Gun-powder per Ton each Voyage.

All Vessels trading only to the Southward of the Tropic of Cancer, one Pound of Gun-powder per Ton per Annum.

By temporary Acts passed in 1734, and 1735, an Impost is laid on every Slave imported, of 1l. payable to the Purchaser.

B A H A M A S.

By an Act passed in 1734, the following Duties are collected.

Every Negro imported directly from Africa, 6s. If imported from any Colony in America, having resided there six Months and upwards, 3l. If not resided there six Months, then but 6s. Every Pipe of Wine of the Madeira or Western Islands, 1l. 4d. Beer, and Cyder, per Barrel, 1s. 6d.

All Ships and Vessels not built in those Islands, that shall arrive there, or depart from thence, and shall put on Shore, or take on board Goods which shall pay per Ton each Voyage 1s. 6d.

Duties on Goods exported.

On every Bushel of Sait, 1d. Every Foot of one Inch Plank, 1s. 6d. All Plank thicker or thinner to pay in Proportion. Every 100 Feet of Timber, 6s. Tortoise, 9d.

B E R M U D A.

By an Act passed in 1690 or 1691, and two additional Acts to it, passed in 1703 and 1723, every Vessel belonging to the Island under 40 Tons, shall pay each Voyage 2s. if above

40 Tons, 4s. Vessels belonging to Strangers to pay each Voyage per Ton, 2s.

By an Act passed in 1698, an Impost is laid on all Liquors imported by Strangers not Inhabitants there, viz. For a Hoghead of Rum or Spirits, not exceeding 80 Gallons, 1*l.* 10*s.* And all other Casks in Proportion. For every Sort of Wine, Cyder, Beer, Ale or Mum, imported by a Stranger, viz. every Pipe of Wine, 3*l.* other Casks or Bottles in Proportion. Beer, Ale, Cyder and Mum, per Hoghead, 6*s.* other Casks or Bottles in Proportion.

N. B. The following List of Duties is computed in Carolina Money, which is about 700 per Cent. worse than Sterling.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By an Act passed in 1722-3, and continued by another passed in 1731, the following Duties of Impost are raised : On every Pipe of Madeira Wine, 6*l.* Fyal Wine, 10*l.* On every Gallon of Vinegar, 2*d.* Rum, 4*d.* Barrel of Beef, 10*s.* of Cyder from Northern Colonies, 10*s.* Gallon of Molasses, 3*d.* of Lime Juice, 6*d.* Quart Bottle of Brandy or Rosa Solis, 6*d.* Gallon ditto, in Cask, 2*s.* Cwt. of Brown Sugar, 2*s.* 6*d.* White Sugar, 5*s.* Pound of refined Sugar 3*d.* Cwt. of Cocoa, 15*s.* Pound of Chocolate, 1*s.* every Cwt. of Tobacco, 15*s.* of Butter, 10*s.* Cheese, 5*s.* Candles, 10*s.* Tallow, 7*s.* 6*d.* Salt Fish, 5*s.* Barrel of Herrings, Mackrel, or other pickled Fish, 10*s.* Train Oil, 7*s.* 6*d.* Blubber, 5*s.* Pork, 1*l.* 10*s.* Cranberries, 10*s.* Cwt. of Beef, 10*s.* of brown Biscuit, 1*s.* 3*d.* of white ditto, 2*s.* 6*d.* middling Biscuit, 2*s.* half Barrel of Flour, 2*s.* 6*d.* Cwt. of Hams and Bacon, 1*l.* Soap, 1*l.*

On Timber, Plank, Boards, Staves, Shingles, or any other Lumber from other Plantations, 20*l.* per Cent.

All other Wooden Ware, 5*l.* per Cent.

On every 1000 of Bricks from other Plantations, 2*s.* 6*d.* Horse and Mare under 15 Hands high, 10*l.* On all Negroe Slaves directly from Africa or any other Place, except Spanish Negroes, if above 10 Years of Age, 10*l.* All Negroes under 10 Years of Age, (Sucklings excepted) 5*l.* On all Indians imported 50*l.* Deer Skins, per Skin 6*d.* On every Barrel of Pitch and Tar, 1*l.* Cwt. of scraped Ginger, 10*s.* of scalded Ginger, 2*s.* 6*d.* Kegg of pickled Sturgeon, 2*s.* 6*d.* of ditto Salmon, 2*s.* 6*d.* Pound of Preserves, Sweetmeats and Succads, 3*d.* of Sperma-ceti, 2*s.* 6*d.* Gallon of ditto Oil, 2*s.* 6*d.* Cwt. of Bees-Wax, 7*s.* 6*d.* Bushel of Peas and Indian Corn of Michaelmas 1733, 1*s.* Pound of Indico, 1*s.* Barrel of Onions, 10*s.* of Apples or Pears, 2*s.* 6*d.* Pound wt. of Whalebone, 1*s.* of Beaver, 6*d.* Dozen of Otter, Fox, Cat,
or

or Raccoon Skins, 1*s*. Cwt. of Piemiento 5*s*, Ton of Log-wood, 10*s*.

All European Goods one per Cent. on their prime Cost from Europe, rating the Difference of Exchange at 400 per Cent. in the Current Money of Carolina.

Goods sold or moved from one Ship to another in the Province, to pay the same Duties as if landed, and be entitled to the same Drawbacks.

Duties to be paid on Goods exported.

On every Pound of tann'd Leather, 2*d*. Tann'd Calf or Deer Skin, 1*s*. Raw Hide, 5*s*. On every Indian-drest Deer-Skin, a Pound and upwards, 6*d*. under a Pound, 3*d*. Raw Deer Skin, 6*d*.

Goods imported.

On every Negro above 10 Years old from America, 50*l*. under 10 Years old, 5*l*. except new Negroes who had not been six Months on Shore in America. On every Spanish Negro, Indian, Muskee or Mullatto, per Head, 150*l*.

All Goods re-exported in 6 Months imported, shall be allowed a Drawback of three fourth Parts of the Duty paid on Importation.

By an Act passed in 1734, the further additional Duties are raised in the Nature of Port Duties for fortifying Charles Town.

On every Pipe of Madeira Wine, 4*d*. Gallon of Rum, 5*d*. of Molasses, 2*d*. Barrel of Flour, 2*s*. 6*d*. Cwt. of Muscovado Sugar, 2*s*. 6*d*. Clayed Sugar, 5*s*.

GEORGIA.

There has hitherto been no Act passed for laying Duties of Importation or Exportation in this Province.

NORTH CAROLINA.

There are no Laws of this Province in the Plantation-Office, laying Duties of Importation or Exportation.

VIRGINIA.

By an Act passed in 1680, lays an Impost on all Tobacco exported. Perpetual.

On every Hoghead, 2*s*. Sterling.

The same for every 500 lb. wt. exported, in Bulk, and proportionable for a greater or lesser Quantity.

Lays also a Tonage Duty,

Of 1 half lb. of Gunpowder, and 3 lb. of Shot per Ton, or 1*s*. 3*d*. And 6*d*. per Poll for every Person imported, except Mariners.

By an Act passed in 1705, an Impost is laid on the following Goods exported for the Use of the College erected in that Colony, viz.

On every raw Hide exported, 3*d.* tanned ditto, 6*d.* dressed Buck Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny, undressed ditto, 1*d.* dressed Doe Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny Undressed ditto $\frac{1}{4}$ qrs. Pound of Beaver, 3*d.* Other Skin, 2*d.* Wild Cat Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny, Mink Skin, 1*d.* Fox, 1*d.* halfpenny, 12 Raccoon Skins, 3*d.* 12 Musk Rat, 2*d.* every Elk Skin, 4*d.* halfpenny.

An Act passed in 1726, lays a Duty on Liquors imported, Part expired ; but by that Part of it still in Force,

Every Gallon of Rum, Brandy, and other distilled Spirits imported, and every Gallon of Wine, pays until the Year 1737, 1*d.* Sterling.

By an Act passed in 1732, every Gallon of Rum, Brandy, and other distilled Spirits, and every Gallon of Wine, shall pay 3*d.* Sterling, except such Liquors as are imported directly from Great Britain.

MARYLAND.

By an Act passed in 1704, a Duty of 2*s.* per Hoghead is laid on all Tobacco exported, half to the Proprietor, and half to the Governor.

By an Act passed in 1704, all Persons not being Inhabitants in the Province, and exporting Beef, Pork, or Bacon, shall pay, for dried Beef and Bacon, per Cwt. 1*s.* undried Pork and Beef, per Barrel, 1*s.*

By an Act passed in 1704, a Duty of 3*d.* per Ton is laid upon the Tonnage of all Ships entering that Province, except such as, *bona fide*, were built in, or belong to the People of that Province.

By an Act passed in 1715, a Duty is laid on the following Goods imported, viz.

On every Gallon of Rum, Spirits, Wine and Brandy imported by Land, 9*d.* by Water, 3*d.* every Irish Servant imported, 1*s.* Negro, 1*s.* Sterling.

The Government of this Province is in a Proprietor, who is not obliged by his Charter to transmit to the Crown such Laws as are passed there, for Approbation or Disallowance, but the Proprietor being a Roman Catholic in 1689, King William and Queen Mary took the Province under their Protection, and appointed a Governor, and Queen Anne did the same; and during that Time the Laws of the Province were transmitted for Approbation, amongst which the foregoing are found.

PENNSILVANIA.

Is a Proprietary Government, and there are no Acts of
thi

this Province transmitted to the Plantation-Office, laying Duties of Importation or Exportation.

NEW JERSEY.

By an Act passed in 1725, a Duty is laid on the following Goods exported.

On every Bushel of Wheat or Wheat-Meal unbolted, 1*s.* every 1000 Staves of 35 Inches long, or under, 15*s.* if above 35, and under 46 Inches long, 1*l.* above 45 and under 56, 1*l.* 10*s.* 56 Inches long and upwards, 2*l.* 1000 of heading of any Sort, 1*l.* 10*s.* Bolt that Staves or Heading can be made of, 9*d.*

By an Act passed in 1730, lays a Duty on the Importation of every Person convicted of Murder, Felony, &c. 5*l.*

By an Act passed in 1733, a Duty of 40 Shillings per Ton is laid on all Copper exported to any other Plantation.

NEW-YORK.

A Duty is laid on the Importation, on every Slave four Years old and upwards, directly from Africa, 2*l.* from all other Places, 4*l.* Pipe of Wine, 2*l.* 5*s.* Gallon of Rum, Brandy, or other distill'd Liquors or Shrub, 2*d.* halfpenny. Gallon of Rum or Spirits distilled in the Province, wholly or in Part from Molasses, 2*d.* halfpenny, 100*l.* Value of European or Indian Goods imported from the British Islands in the West-Indies, 5*l.* Cwt. of Cocoa, 4*s.*

By an Act passed in 1732, a Duty is laid on every Piece of Strouds sold at Oswego, 10*s.* on every Gallon of Rum, 1*s.*

By an Act passed in 1734, a Duty of 3*s.* current Money per Ton, is laid on all Vessels entering in, or clearing out, except Vessels built in the Colony, or wholly owned by the Inhabitants thereof, or the Inhabitants of Great Britain; and coasting Vessels between Cape Henlopen and New Hampshire inclusive, and Whaling Vessels.

By another Act passed in 1734, a Duty is laid on empty Casks imported. On every empty Hogshead, 1*s.* 6*d.* Light Tevice, 1*s.* Barrel or smaller Cask, 9*d.* Flour or Bread Barrel, 1*s.* Flour or Bread half-Barrel, 7*d.* halfpenny.

By an Act passed in 1734, a Duty is laid on every Barrel of Cyder imported, 1*s.* on every Barrel of Pork, 3*s.* on every Barrel of Beef, 2*s.* with an Exemption in Favour of Cyder, Pork, and Beef, from New York.

MASSACHUSETTS.

By an Act passed in 1734, the following Duties were laid on Goods and Merchandizes imported, and on the Tonnage of Shipping, viz. On every Pipe of Wine from the Western Islands,

Islands, 1*l.* 10*s.* the Canaries, 2*l.* 5*s.* Madeira, 1*l.* 15*s.* and all other Sorts, 1*l.* 15*s.* Hogthead of Rum, 1*l.* 10*s.* Sugar, 2*s.* Molasses, 1*s.* Tobacco, 1*l.* 15*s.* Ton of Logwood, 3*s.* on all other Goods, 3*d.* on every 20*s.* Value; all Goods imported from Great Britain excepted.

All Molasses and Rum belonging to Foreigners shall pay, for every Hogthead of Molasses, 5*s.* of Rum, 6*l.* All such Liquors or Goods imported from any other Place than of their Growth, shall pay double.

Every Vessel coming to Trade in this Province, (except Ships allowed in the Province, or belonging to Great Britain, or to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, or New Hampshire,) shall pay each Voyage 5*s.* per Ton, or one Pound of good new Pistol Powder for every Ton Burthen, (saving for that Part owned in Great Britain or this Province, or the aforesaid Governments) which are exempted.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By an Act passed in 1702, a Duty is laid on the Tonage of all Shipping, viz. one Pound of good new Gun-powder in Specie, for each Ton such Vessel contains.

NOVA SCOTIA.

A new Government not sufficiently settled to establish an Assembly, and therefore cannot make Laws or raise Taxes.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Not allowed to make Laws, nor several other Privileges enjoy'd by other Plantations.

Votes on the Supply.

On the 11th, the House, according to Order, resolved itself again into a Committee, to consider of the Supply granted to his Majesty, and came to the following Resolutions:

1. That a Sum not exceeding 217,269*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the Ordinary of the Navy, (including Half-pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1736.
2. That a Sum not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, for the better Maintenance of the Seamen of the said Hospital, worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country.
3. That a Sum not exceeding 24,518*l.* 10*s.* should be granted to his Majesty upon Account, for Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, for the Year 1736, which Resolutions were next Day agreed to by the House.

Southwark Election.

The House, having on the 10th, begun to hear the Matter of the Petition of Richard Sheppard, Esq; complaining of an undue

undue Election and Return for the Borough of Southwark, in the County of Surry, in pursuance of the Order of the House, and having proceeded in the said Hearing on the Thursday following, the Petitioner, after he had examined all his Witnesses in Support of his Petition, was advised to give up the Affair; whereupon Mr. Heathcote, the then sitting Member, was prevailed on not to give the House the Trouble of examining any Witnesses in Support of his Right, or to push the Affair any further; so that on the Tuesday after, being the 17th, the House resolved, *nem. con.* that George Heathcote, Esq; was duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Southwark, in the County of Surry.

On the 19th, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and Royal Assent gave the Royal Assent to the Act for continuing the Duties ^{given to several Acts.} on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of Great Britain called England; and for granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, for the Service of the Year 1736.

The 20th, Sir John Rushout presented to that House (ac- ^{Bill for regu-} cording to Order) a Bill for the farther regulating Elections ^{lating Elections} of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, in that Part of Great Britain called England, containing some Regulations for preventing Disputes about Elections, especially with respect to Counties. This Bill was then received, read a first time, and ordered to be printed: On the Thursday following it was read a second time, and ordered to be committed: On Wednesday the 24th of March, the House resolved itself into a Committee on the said Bill, and made some Progress; but as it is very difficult to frame a Bill of that Nature, so as to prevent any danger of Grievances arising from it, some Difficulties were started in the Committee, which occasioned the postponing of the Bill to another Session.

On the 25th of February, (See page 148) the House resolv- ^{Votes on the} ed itself into a Committee, to consider further of the Supply ^{Supply.} granted to his Majesty; and came to the following Resolutions, viz.

1. That the Sum of 56,250*l.* should be granted to his Majesty on Account of the Subsidy payable to the King of Denmark, pursuant to the Treaty bearing Date the 29th Day of September, 1734, for the Service of the Year 1736.
2. That a Sum not exceeding 46,780*l.* 18*s.* should be granted to his Majesty, upon Account for reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1736.
3. That a Sum not exceeding 3828 should be granted to his Majesty, for paying of Pensions to the Widows of such
reduced

reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, as died upon the Establishment of Half-pay in Great Britain, (and who were married to them before the 25th Day of December, 1716) for the Year 1736.

4. That a Sum not exceeding 21,096*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the Deficiencies of the Grants for the Service of the Year 1735.

Which Resolutions were next Day reported, and agreed to by the House.

The same Day it was ordered that the proper Officer should lay before the House an Account of the several Sorts and Quantities of Corn, which had been exported from Christmas, 1734, to Christmas, 1736; as also from what Places and Ports, and in what Quantities they had been exported, together with an Account of the Bounty that had been paid thereon.

This Account was presented on Monday the 8th of March, and was as follows, viz.

An Account of the several Sorts and Quantities of Corn, which have been exported from Christmas, 1734. to Christmas, 1735. also from what Places and Ports, and in what Quantities they have been exported; together with an Account of the Bounty that has been paid thereon.

Ports.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.		Bounty.		
	<i>Qrtrs.</i>	<i>Busb.</i>	<i>Qrtrs.</i>	<i>Busb.</i>	<i>Qrtrs.</i>	<i>Busb.</i>	<i>Qrtrs.</i>	<i>Busb.</i>	<i>Qrtrs.</i>	<i>Busb.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Rundel	200		466						13,090		447	18	
Barnstaple	182								12	1	25	15	7
Beaumaris									41		10	5	
Berwick	2396		425						10,944		3094	1	5
Biddeford	600	7							292	5	148	5	3
Blackney and Clay	81		9369				18		254		1066	19	6
Bridlington			50	4							8	6	5
Bristol	1127	6	185	3					554	5	308	17	6
Bridgewater	628	3									78	10	11
Chester									391	3	97	16	10
Chichester	603	4	11,339	2					8748		3941	4	4
Colchester	685	5							1510	4	463	6	6
Cowes	689	4							2241	4½	646	11	6
Dartmouth	2537	1							313	2	395	9	
Dover	429	4							4015		1057	8	9
Exeter	7693	4			1279	4			1134	2¾	1405	4	2
Falmouth	335	4							728		223	18	9
Harwich	622								1200		377	15	
Hull			8063						3732	4	2231		
Ipswich	864	7	394						2282	5	728	6	3
Liverpoole	9	4			7	4			991	2	249	18	9
Lynn Regis	5747	6	17,411	2			549	4	6778	3	4534	4	6
Maldon.									600		150		
Milford	51				583	5			2796	4	778	9	

Ports.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.		Bounty.		
	Qr rs.	Busb.	Qrtrs.	Busb.	Qrtrs.	Busb.	Qrtrs.	Busb.	Qr rs.	Busb.	l.	s.	d.
Minehead	285	2							702	7	211	7	6
Newhaven	898	1							1088	7	384	9	8
Padstow	118								770		207	5	
Penzance									150		37	10	
Plymouth									100		25		
Poole	690		87	3	10	13			1159	3	389	18	7
Portsmouth	2190	2	8245	1					16,876	4	5523	1	3
Sandwich	349		3595	3					2485	7	1085	18	7
Shoreham	4890		2842	7					3007	4	1821	6	1
Southampton	3013	2	2358						9443	3	398	4	9
Stockton	333										41	12	6
Wells	292		60,247				217		210	2	6849	15	7
Weymouth			226	1							28	5	3
Wisbech	216	4							659		191	16	3
Whitehaven	42	6									5	6	10
Whitby									15	4	3	7	11
Yarmouth	9802	1	92,374	7			494		5938	3	13,629	17	10
London	8914	6	2101	6	39	6	51		59,784	2	16,429	5	2
	57,520	3	219,78	7	1920	6	1329	4	153,343	5	72,433	12	7
									By Barley		7190		11
									By Malt		26,434	18	
									By Oatmeal		240	1	10
									By Rye		232	13	3
									By Wheat		38,335	18	6
									Total		72,433	12	7

Custom-house, London, 8 Mar. 1735.

Exam. J ——— n O ——— d, Aj. Gent.

Feb. 27th, (See page 149) That towards raising the ^{Two Shillings} Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of two Shillings in ^{in the Pound} the Pound, and no more, should be raised in the Year, 1736, ^{Land-Tax voted.} upon Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Pensions, Offices, and personal Estates, in that Part of Great Britain called England, in Wales, and in the Town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportional Class (according to the ninth Article of the Treaty of Union) should be laid upon that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.

And then a Bill or Bills were ordered to be brought in pursuant to the said Resolutions.

On the 5th of March, his Honour the Master of the Rolls, ^{Mortmain Bill} moved for Leave to bring in a Bill to restrain the Disposition ^{brought in by} of Lands, whereby the same become unalienable; which ^{Sir Joseph Jenkins} was accordingly granted, and the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Ord, Mr. Glanville, and Mr. Plumer, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same. This Bill was presented to the House by the Master of the Rolls, on the 10th of the same Month, and being received, was then read a first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time. Next Day the House ordered the said Bill to be printed, and it was read a second Time on the 18th, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

From the 17th of this Month to the 6th of the next, Petitions against the Quakers Tythe Bill (See page 152 and 174) were received from half the Clergy of the Kingdom.

The second reading of the said Bill having been put off ^{Proceedings} to Monday the 12th of April, after reading the Order of the ^{on the Quakers} Day for that Purpose, the Counsel for and against the Bill ^{Tythe-Bill.} were called in, and the Bill being then read a second Time, and the several Petitions above-mentioned being also read, the Counsel for the Petitioners of the Province of Canterbury were heard, in Answer to whom the Counsel for the Bill were heard; and then the Counsel for the Petitioners of the Province of York were heard by way of Reply: After which the Counsel being withdrawn, Mr. Speaker opened the Bill to the House; and then a Motion being made, that the 14th Section of an Act made in the 22d and 23d Years of the Reign of King Charles II intitled, An act for the better Settlement of the Maintenance of Parsons, Vicars and Curates in the Parishes of the City of London, burnt by the dreadful Fire there, might be read; the same was read accordingly.

The Reason, as may be supposed, for reading this Section was, because by a Clause in the Bill, even as it then stood, it was proposed to be enacted thus, That if the Annual Value of such Tythes, Oblations, and other ecclesiastical

Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates before-mentioned, doth not, nor shall not exceed the Sum of in such Case, no Quaker or Quakers shall be sued or prosecuted, for, or on Account of the same, in any other Manner, than as before directed, or in any other Court; neither shall any such Tythes, Oblations, or other ecclesiastical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates, not exceeding the said yearly Value of be recoverable against Quakers in any other Court whatsoever, nor in any other Manner, than as by this Act is directed, unless the Title of such Tythes be in Question.

This Clause, in all the Petitions presented by the Clergy against the Bill, was called, An excluding them from the Benefit of the Laws then in being for the recovery of Tythes and other Dues, and thereby putting the Clergy of the established Church upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty's Subjects; therefore the said Section was read, in order to shew that the assigning of a proper Method for the recovery of any Right, and excluding the Persons intitled, from any other Remedy, was not a putting of such Persons upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, nor was it without Precedent; for by the aforesaid Act of King Charles II. all Suits for the recovering of Church Rates or Assessments, within the City of London, are to be brought before the Lord Mayor, or, upon his Neglect to execute the Powers thereby granted, before the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of of the Great Seal, or two Barons of the Exchequer; and, by the said Section, it is enacted, That no Court or Judge shall hold Pleas of Money due by virtue of that Act, other than the Persons thereby authorized; and yet the Clergy of London never had complained, nor could complain, that they were excluded from the Benefit of the Laws of their Country, or that they were put upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty's Subjects.

After reading the aforesaid Section, a Motion was made for committing the Bill, upon which there ensued a long Debate, and upon putting the Question, for committing the Bill, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Affirmative by 221 to 84, and ordered accordingly; after which it was resolved, that the Bill should be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Royal Assent
given to seven-
teen Bills.

On the 24th Day of March, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the five following public Bills, viz.

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land-Tax to be raised in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1736.

An

An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

An Act to repeal the Statute made in the first Year of the Reign of King James I. intituled, An Act against Conjurat[i]on, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits, except so much thereof as repeals an Act of the fifth Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, against Conjurat[i]ons, Enchantments, and Witchcrafts; and to repeal an Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, in the ninth Parliament of Queen Mary, intituled, Anentis Witchcrafts; and for punishing such Persons as pretend to exercise or use any kind of Witchcraft, Sorcery, Enchantment, or Conjurat[i]on.

An Act to indemnify Persons, who have omitted to read the Prayers, and make and subscribe the Declarations, directed to be read, made, and subscribed, by the Act of Uniformity of the thirteenth and fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles II. within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for doing thereof.

An Act to amend an Act passed in the seventh Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I. intituled, An Act to preserve and encourage the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, and for more effectual employing the Poor, by prohibiting the Use and Wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dy'd Callicoes in Apparel, Household-Stuff, Furniture, or otherwise, after the 25th Day of December, 1732, (except as is therein excepted) so far as relates to Goods made of Linnen, Yarn, and Cotton-Wooll, manufactur'd in Great Britain.

And to seven Private Bills.

On the 25th of March, a Petition of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, That the University, and the several Colleges therein, were founded and endowed for the maintaining fit Persons in the Study of useful Knowledge, and the bringing up Youth in Learning, Virtue and Religion; and that they had hitherto pursued those Ends with great Industry and Success; and that many excellent Books had been written by the Members thereof for the Service of Religion, and many useful Discoveries and great Improvements made in Arts and Sciences; and that many of the Nobility and Gentry, had by their Academical Education, been so well fitted for the Service of the Church and State, as to have proved the Ornaments and Supports of both; and that the University had at all Times before been thought worthy of the Countenance of the Legislature, and continually favoured by Persons of all Orders and Degrees, eminent for Wisdom and public Spirit; and that, if the Bill to restrain

Cambridge and
Oxford Petition
against the
Mortmain Bill.

strain Alienations of Lands should pass into a Law without Amendment, it would, as the Petitioners apprehend, be attended with Consequences greatly prejudicial to them at that Time, and much more so in Time to come. because it would, in a great Measure, prevent all Donations to supply present or future Deficiencies, or for any other wise and great Purposes, how useful and necessary soever they might be thought; and that a considerable Part of their Revenue arose from Annuities and other certain Payments issuing out of Lands and other Estates; and that many of those Payments having been fixed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. and still continuing invariably the same, were then, by the great Fall of Money since that Time, sunk so far below their original Value, as to be insufficient to answer the Purposes, for which they are designed; and that several Headships were under 120, some under 100*l.* per Ann. and that the Salaries of some Professorships were under 50*l.* per Ann. and others, as those of Botany, Anatomy, and Christianity, had no Endowment at all; and that the Income of much the greatest Part of their Fellowships was under sixty, of many under forty, of some so low as thirty, and twenty, and fifteen Pounds per Ann. and that many of their Scholarships and Exhibitions amounted not to above six, four, and three Pounds per Ann. and that some were even under those small Sums; and that many poor Students had neither Scholarship nor Exhibition to help towards their Maintenance; and that the Number of Advowsons in most Colleges was very small in Proportion to the Number of Fellows; and therefore praying the House to except that University, and the several Colleges therein, out of the said Bill. Which Petition was ordered to be referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the said Bill was committed.

Next Day a Petition of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford, in behalf of themselves and the several Colleges and Halls within the said University, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners apprehended, that by the Bill then depending before the House, to restrain the Dispositions of Lands, whereby the same become unalienable, and their Successors might be deprived of the Assistance of future Benefactions, and the charitable Donations of such, as might be disposed to promote the pious Intentions, for which that ancient University was founded; and that the Petitioners were by their Constitution entirely founded in Charity, and must ever continue to depend upon it; and that notwithstanding the large Benefactions with which they had been formerly endowed, yet many of the Societies were so meanly provided for, that the
pious

pious Designs of their Founders must remain imperfect, without future Benefactions, which had been found by long Experience to rise by such slow Degrees, that the Petitioners hoped that, when their Case was duly considered, they would not be thought to be within any of the general Mischiefs that might arise from Alienations in Mortmain; and that, as their present Possessions were inconsiderable in respect of the great Number of Persons that were maintained out of them, and that as the Donations they then enjoyed, as well as those they might afterwards receive, must be solely appropriated to the Advancement of Religion and Learning; for these Reasons they hoped, that no Difficulties or Discouragements would be put in the Way of those, whose pious and charitable Intentions might dispose them to give their Assistance towards rendering the University in general, as well as the several Societies of it, more instrumental in promoting those great and necessary Ends; and that the Petitioners therefore hoped, they should be exempted from the Restraints mentioned in the Bill; or that they should meet with such Relief from that House, as to the House should seem meet. Which Petition was likewise referred to the Committee.

On the 26th, the House of Commons resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported and agreed to on the 29th, viz

To grant to his Majesty,

1. The Sum of 22,944*l.* 14*s.* for making good the Deficiency of the general Fund. Votes on the Supply.
- 2 The Sum of 24,570*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* to make good the Sinking Fund, the like Sum paid out of the same for Interest on the Million lent on Credit of the Salt Duties, for the Supplies of the Year 1734, pursuant to a Clause in an Act of Parliament, pass'd in the 7th Year of his Majesty's Reign.
3. The Sum of 10,000*l.* towards the Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company of England on the Coast of Africa.
4. The Sum of 10 000*l.* towards settling and securing the Colony of Georgia in America.
5. The Sum of 11,485*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* to make Satisfaction to Humphrey Bell, (the surviving Assignee of the Estate and Effects of William Ellins and Edmond Farrington, against whom a Commission of Bankruptcy issued) Suitor of the Court of Chancery in 1726, so much of his Debt and Demand from one of the Matters of the said Court, as then remained unsatisfy'd.
6. The

Other Petitions against the Mortmain Bill. 6. The Sum of 30,167*l.* towards the Buildings, Rebuildings, and Repairs of his Majesty's Ships for the Year 1736.

On the 31st of the same Month, a Petition of the Governors of the Charity for Relief of the poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That by Letters Patent of King Charles II. the Petitioners were constituted a Corporation, for Relief of the poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and made capable in the Law, to take Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, not exceeding the yearly Value of 2000*l.* and also Goods, Chattels, and Things of what Nature and Quality soever, and to alienate and dispose of the same; which Capacity was enlarged by his late Majesty King George I. to 3000*l.* a Year more, and that the Institution of that Charity had been so well esteemed, and supported by so many pious and well-disposed Persons, that the Petitioners had, for divers Years past, been able to make a Distribution of 5*l.* a Year to above 800 Widows of very poor Clergymen, and to put out many of their Children yearly to useful Trades, who otherwise must have been burthensome to their respective Parishes, and their Children less useful to the Commonwealth, an Account whereof had been annually printed and published; and that the Objects of that Charity were far more numerous, than the Petitioners could provide for, out of their certain annual Revenues, and casual Benefactions, their certain annual Revenues nor exceeding 3000*l.* a Year; and therefore, as that Charity was so well founded, and for so good Purposes, and that Corporation restrained from accepting Lands beyond 5000*l.* a Year, and those alienable in the Discretion of the Petitioners, praying, that that Corporation might be wholly excepted out of the Bill then depending in that House, for restraining the Dispositions of Lands, whereby the same became unalienable, or that such Provision might be made thereby, that that Corporation might enjoy the Benefits intended them by the said Royal Grants, and that the same might be preserved to them, to the full Extent thereof. No Motion being made for referring this Petition to the Committee, it was ordered to lie upon the Table.

On the 2^d of April, a Petition of the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, That the said Governors were made a Body corporate by her late Majesty Queen Anne, in the 3^d Year of her Reign, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, empowering her to settle upon them the Revenue of the First-Fruits and Tenths, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, and to make Rules and Orders for the regular

regular Administration of the same, by which Statute Licence was given to all and every Person or Persons, by Deed enrolled, in such Manner, and within such Time, as was directed by the Statute made in the 27th Year of the Reign of Henry VIII. for Enrollment of Bargains and Sales, or by Last Will or Testament duly executed, to grant to the said Corporation and their Successors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, for the Purposes mentioned in the said Act; which Corporation had also thereby full Capacity to purchase, take, and enjoy any Money, Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, without any Licence or Writ *ad quod damnum*, the Statute of Mortmain, or any other Statute or Law to the contrary notwithstanding; and that afterwards, in pursuance of the Powers granted by the said Statute, divers Rules and Orders were settled and confirmed by her said late Majesty, under the Great Seal; by some of which Rules and Orders, the Augmentations to be made were directed to be by way of Purchase, and not by way of Pension; and the stated Sum to be allow'd for the Augmentation of each Cure, was limited to 200*l.* to be invested in a Purchase, at the Expence of the Corporation; and the said Governors were empowered to give the said Sum of 200*l.* to Cures not exceeding 35*l.* per Ann. (which Sum was afterwards, by the Authority of King George I. extended to 50*l.* per Ann.) where any Persons would give the same or greater Value in Lands or Tithes; and such Governors were directed, every Year, between Christmas and Easter, to cause the Account of what Money they had to distribute that Year, to be audited, and when they knew the Sum, public Notice was directed to be given, that they had such a Sum to distribute in so many Shares, and that they would be ready to apply those Shares to such Cures as wanted the same, and were by the Rules of the Corporation qualified to receive them, where any Person would add the like or greater Sum to it, or the Value in Lands or Tithes for any particular Cure; and that the Petitioners apprehended, that by the Bill then depending before the House, to restrain the Dispositions of Lands, whereby the same became unalienable, the Rights and Powers vested in them by the said Act, and by the Rules and Orders made in pursuance thereof, might be greatly affected, if some proper Provision should not be made to prevent it; and therefore praying that a Clause or Clauses might be added, whereby the said Rights and Powers might be secured.

After reading this Petition, a Motion was made and seconded, for ordering it to be referred to the Consideration of the Committee to whom the said Bill was committed; and the same being opposed, after a pretty long Debate, the Question

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was

was put, and, upon a Division carry'd in the Negative, by 143 to 95; whereupon the Petition was order'd to lie upon the Table.

The same Day the House, according to Order, resolv'd itself into a Committee of the House upon the said Bill, and made some Progress, Mr. Gibbon being in the Chair; after which, Mr. Speaker resum'd the Chair, and Mr. Gibbon reported from the Committee, that they had made some Progress in the Bill, and had directed him to move, that they might have Leave to sit again; whereupon it was resolv'd, that the House would, upon Monday then next, at Twelve o'Clock, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the said Bill.

On the said Day, being Monday April 5, it was moved and resolv'd, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give Directions to the proper Officers to lay before that House an Account of what Licences had been granted by the Crown, and for what Values respectively, to any Person or Persons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, their Heirs or Successors, to alienate in Mortmain, and to purchase, take, and hold in Mortmain, in Perpetuity, any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments whatsoever, since the Act of the 7th Year of the Reign of King William III. entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of charitable Gifts and Dispositions, to that present Time.

After which, the House, according to Order, resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the said Bill, when Mr. Gibbon being their Chairman as before, the Clause for excepting out of the said Bill the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges of Eaton, Winchester, and Westminster, with a Provision relating to Advowsons, was presented, and a Motion made for its being receiv'd and made Part of the Bill, which occasioned some Debate; but upon the Question being put, it was, upon a Division, carry'd in the Affirmative, by 227 to 130.

With respect to the Proviso relating to Advowsons, an Amendment was propos'd for leaving it in the Power of the several Colleges belonging to the two Universities, to exchange small Livings for larger, so as not to increase the Number of Advowsons, to which they were by the Act to be restrained, which occasioned a new Debate, and at last, upon putting the Question, it was carried in the Negative.

After which, the Committee having gone through the Bill, they reported the Amendments they had made to it, when the House should please to receive the same; and on the 7th, a Petition of the Grey-Coat Hospital in Tothill-Fields, of the Royal Foundation of Queen Anne, was presented to the
House

House and read, setting forth, That by Letters Patent, dated the 19th Day of April, in the 5th Year of the Reign of the late Queen Anne, the Petitioners were constituted a Corporation, and made capable in Law to take Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, not exceeding the yearly Value of 2000*l.* and also Goods, Chattles, and Things of what Nature or Value soever, for the Benefit of such poor Children of the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, as from Time to Time should be admitted into the said Hospital; and that the Petitioners had for several Years past, been enabled to maintain, cloath, and teach a considerable Number of poor Children of both Sexes; and had, from the Time of the first Foundation of the said Hospital, placed out above 500 Children Apprentices, some to the Sea-Service, and others to useful Trades, Husbandry and Housewifery; and that the Children then, and many Years past, were many more in Number than the Petitioners could provide for by the yearly Subscriptions and Collection joined to the certain annual Revenues of the said Hospital, which together at that Time, did not exceed 700*l.* a Year; so that, were it not for the casual and generous Benefactions the Petitioners had received by the Bequests of several pious and well-disposed Persons, they could not take so many poor Children into their Care and Protection, to be maintained, cloathed, and instructed; and therefore, in Consideration the annual Revenue belonging to that Hospital was of so small a Value, praying that that Corporation might be excepted out of the Bill then depending in that House, for restraining the Dispositions of Lands, whereby the same become unalienable, or that such Provision might be made thereby, that the Benefits intended them by the Grant of their Royal Foundress, might be preserved to them in their full Extent. Which Petition was ordered to lie on the Table.

Next Day a Petition of the Trustees of the several Charity Schools within the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Bills of Mortality, in Behalf of upwards of 5000 poor Children cloathed and educated in the said Schools, and also in Behalf of all other Charity Schools in this Kingdom, for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England, as by Law established, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, That if the Bill then depending in that House, to restrain the Dispositions of Lands, whereby the same become unalienable, should pass into a Law without Amendment, it would prevent many charitable Donations for the Promotion of the said Schools, which were so far from having any large Endowments in Land or Money, that very few had so much as

a School-house; and that, as the voluntary Contributions did not equally and regularly answer the constant Expences, the Trustees in several Places have been obliged to reduce the Number of their Children, and in others the Schools had been entirely laid down, for want of Means to support them; and representing to the House the great Usefulness of these Schools; and alledging, that, during the Continuance thereof, the Petitioners have placed out upwards of 17,000 Children, within the said Bills of Mortality, to Apprenticeships in the lower Trades, and to menial Services, whereof about one Half had been put out to such Services, besides near 400 bound to the Sea-Service; and therefore praying the House to except the said Charity Schools out of the said Bill, or to grant them such other Relief as to the House should seem meet. This Petition was likewise order'd to lie upon the Table.

The same Day, the Report from the Committee upon the said Bill was received, and the Amendments, with Amendments to one of them, all agreed to; after which, the Bill, with Amendments, was order'd to be ingrossed; and on the 15th, the Bill was read a third Time, and a Motion made for its being passed, which occasioned some Debate; but upon the Question being put, it was upon a Division carried in the Affirmative, by 176 to 72; and Mr. Gibbon was order'd to carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

The 30th of April, the House resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, when they came to the following Resolution, which was on the 3d of May reported and agreed to by the House, and a Bill was order'd to be brought in upon the same, viz.

Vote on Ways
and Means.

That the several Additional Stamp-Duties granted by an Act passed in the 12th Year of his late Majesty's Reign, entitled, An Act for the Relief of the Suitors of the High Court of Chancery, should be continued from the 2d Day of August 1742, to the 2d Day of August 1746, in order to raise the Sum of 11,485*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* to make Satisfaction to Humphrey Bell, (the surviving Assignee of the Estate and Effects of William Ellens and Edmund Farrington, against whom a Commission of Bankruptcy was issued) Suitor in the Court of Chancery in 1725, for so much of his Debt and Demand in that Year due from John Bennet, Esq; one of the Masters of the said Court, and then remaining unsatisfy'd.

With this Resolution the Committee of Ways and Means concluded; and the Bill order'd in upon this last Resolution, was accordingly brought in, and passed into a Law.

On

On the 5th of May, his Majesty came to the House of Royal Assent Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the six following public Bills. given to several Bills.

An Act for laying a Duty upon the Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, and for licensing the Retailers thereof.

An Act for exhibiting a Bill in this present Parliament for naturalizing her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

An Act for reviving and continuing the Acts therein mentioned and for explaining and amending a Clause in an Act made in the first Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I. (entitled, An Act for making the Laws for repairing the Highways more effectual) relating to the appointing Scavengers in Cities and Market Towns, and the ordering the Assessments for the repairing and cleansing the Streets therein.

An Act for indemnifying Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for that Purpose; and for amending so much of an Act passed in the second Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, as requires Persons to qualify themselves for Offices before the End of the next Term or Quarter Sessions; and also for enlarging the Time limited by Law for making and subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation; and for allowing further Time for Enrolment of Deeds and Wills made by Papists; and for Relief of Protestant Purchasers, Devisees, and Lessees.

An Act for more equal paying and better collecting certain small Sums for Relief of Shipwrecked Mariners and distressed Persons, his Majesty's Subjects in the Ports of Cadiz and Port St. Mary's, in the Kingdom of Spain, and for other Uses usually contributed to by the Merchants trading to the said Ports.

An Act for the better enlightning of the Streets of the City of London.

And to 37 private Bills.

And on Thursday the 20th of May, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the ten following public Bills, viz.

An Act for enabling his Majesty to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money, not exceeding 600,000*l.* to be charged upon the Surplusses, Excesses, or Overplus Money, commonly called the Sinking Fund, redeemable by Parliament; and for the further Disposition of the said Fund, by paying off 1,000,000*l.* of South-Sea Annuities, and for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

An Act for continuing, for the Purposes therein mentioned, the additional Duties upon stamped Vellum, Parchment, and Paper,

Paper, laid by an Act passed in the 12th Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I.

An Act for naturalizing her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

An Act for indemnifying Persons, who have been guilty of Offences against the Laws made for securing the Revenues of Customs and Excise; and for enforcing those Laws for the future.

An Act to prevent the Lifting his Majesty's Subjects to serve as Soldiers without his Majesty's Licence.

An Act to restrain the Disposition of Lands, whereby the same become unalienable.

An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the 2d Year of his present Majesty's Reign, entitled, An Act for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, as relates to the commencing and carrying on of Prosecutions grounded upon the said Act.

An Act for further encouraging and regulating the Manufacture of British Sail-cloth; and for the more effectual securing the Duties now payable on foreign Sail-cloth imported into this Kingdom.

An Act to render the Law more effectual for preventing the Importation of fresh Fish, taken by Foreigners; and to explain so much of an Act made in the 13th and 14th Years of the Reign of King Charles II. as relates to Ships exporting Fish to the Mediterranean Sea; and for the better Preservation of the Fry of Lobsters on the Coasts of Scotland.

An Act for building a Bridge cross the River Thames, from the New Palace Yard in the City of Westminster to the opposite Shore in the County of Surry.

And to ten private Bills.

For the King's Speech See page 237.

The Commons being returned to their House, and Mr Speaker having reported his Majesty's Speech, Mr Stephen Fox mov'd, 'That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of that House for his most gracious Speech from the Throne : To express their grateful Sense of his Majesty's continued Endeavours to restore the publick Tranquility, and to avoid involving this Nation unnecessarily in the fatal Consequences of a general War : To congratulate his Majesty upon the happy Turn, which the Affairs of Europe had taken, by their Imperial and most Christian Majesties having agreed to preliminary Articles for a general Pacification ; and upon the great Probability of their being accepted by all the Powers engaged in the War : And to declare, from the Assurances his Majesty had been pleased to give them, that those Preliminaries did not essentially vary from the Plan of Pacification concerted and proposed by his Majesty and the States General ; from a just Confidence in his Majesty's Goodness, and the Experience they had of his constant and paternal Care of the true Interest of his People, through the whole Course of this great and intricate Work ; and from his Majesty's having declared, in Conjunction with the States, his Approbation of the said Preliminaries, as proper Conditions of a general Pacification ; that they could make no Doubt, but they were such as would give a general Satisfaction : To return his Majesty their Thanks for his early Care in easing the Burthens of his People, and reducing a considerable Number of his Forces both by Sea and Land : To assure his Majesty that they would, with great Chearfulness, raise the necessary Supplies : And, to testify their Gratitude from a just Sense of the Blessings they then enjoyed, and from the Prospect of future Happiness, That they would support his Majesty in such Measures, as should be found reasonable and necessary to render that great and desirable Work perfect and lasting.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Mr Stephen Fox's
Motion for an Ad-
dress of Thanks.

Mr Fox was seconded by Mr Hanbury Williams : And Lord Tyrconnell declar'd, 'That he thought the Peace was more safe, honourable and glorious, than it was possible for us to expect.' Upon this Occasion Mr Shippen and Mr Walter Plumer took Notice of that Part of the King's Speech, which related to the Reduction of the Forces, and added, 'That they hoped some whole Regiments would be reduced, and not a Number of private Men only, as had been formerly practised upon the like Occasions ; for that the reducing of a whole Regiment would be a much greater Saving to the Nation, than the reducing of an equal Number of private Men : That in our present melancholy Circumstances, every Method ought to be practised by which the publick Mo-

Mr Hanbury Wil-
liams,
Ld Tyrconnell.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Walt. Plumer.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

ney might be saved, in order to apply as much as possible yearly to the Payment of our publick Debts :

‘ That the Advantage of reducing whole Regiments, was apparent to every Gentleman who would make the Calculation ; for by the Establishment of last Year, a marching Regiment, which consisted of 815 Men, cost the Publick about 15,217 l. yearly ; so that if a whole Regiment should be reduced, there would be a Saving of 15,217 l. a Year. Whereas if an equal Number of private Men only be reduced from that and other Regiments, there would be a Saving to the Publick of the Pay of so many private Men only, which in a Year amounted to but 7,427 l. from whence it is evident, that by a Reduction of 8000 Men made by reducing whole Regiments, the Publick would save 149,369 l. yearly ; whereas, a Reduction of 8000 Men made by the reducing of private Men only, saves but 73,000 l. yearly ; so that the Difference to the Publick was a Saving of 76,369 l. yearly ; a Saving which ought not to be neglected : That tho’, for the first Year or two, we should be obliged to issue near one half of this Sum yearly for Half-pay to the reduced Officers, yet in a few Years they would either die or be incorporated in the standing Corps ; so that we should soon save this whole Sum yearly.

‘ That it was not possible for them to find a military Reason why we ought to keep up, and in whose Pay too, a greater Proportion of Officers in Time of Peace than we did in Time of War ; and as there was no Military Reason for so doing, People would be apt to suppose it was done for a Civil Reason ; which was a Supposition injurious to his Majesty, or at least to his Ministers ; and for that Reason they would in a particular Manner recommend it to an honourable Gentleman on the Floor, [*Sir Robert Walpole*] to reduce whole Corps, instead of reducing private Men only.’

Then Mr Fox’s Motion was agreed to without Debate, and a Committee ordered to draw up an Address accordingly.

A Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, complaining of an undue Election for the County of York.

Jan. 16. A Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, Bart. was presented to the House and read, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of York, which was ordered to be heard at the Bar of the House on the 24th of February ; and it was ordered, that the List of Voters to be objected to by either Party, be delivered to the other by that Day three Weeks.

Jan. 17. The Commons presented their Address of Thanks to the King as follows :

Most

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

The Commons
Address of Thanks
for his Majesty's
Speech.

We are truly sensible of your Majesty's early Endeavours to put an End to the War, and can never enough admire the steady Application, with which you pursued that great Work, by the joint Interposition of the good Offices of Your Majesty and the States General.

And it is, with the warmest Gratitude, we acknowledge Your Majesty's particular Care and Circumspection, in all Your Proceedings not to involve this Nation unnecessarily in the War; when at the same Time, Your Majesty shewed You were not insensible of the imminent Danger that threatened the Liberties of Europe, from a long Continuance of it upon so unequal a Foot. A Conduct wherein Your Majesty plainly proved, You equally consulted the immediate Interests of Your People, and that Balance of Power in Europe, upon which the Safety and Commerce of this Nation so much depends: At once saving this Nation from all the present Calamities of War, and trying to avert the future Necessity of its being at last obliged to take its Share and Hazard in them.

We can't but be sensible of Your Majesty's Wisdom and Impartiality, in forming the Plan of Pacification, proposed by Your Majesty and the States General, to the Powers engaged in War; which although not immediately accepted by the contending Parties, nor answering the desired Effect by preventing the opening of the Campaign, has been so far adopted, that the most material and essential Parts of it have been agreed to by the Princes originally and principally concerned in this Rupture, and recommended by them to their Allies as Preliminary Articles to a General Pacification.

Upon this happy Turn the Affairs of Europe have taken, we most heartily congratulate with Your Majesty; and when we consider the Assurances Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to give us, that these Preliminaries do not essentially vary from the Plan of Pacification, concerted by Your Majesty and the States General, and the ready Approbation Your Majesty and the States General have given of them; a just Confidence in Your Wisdom, and the Experience we have of Your constant and paternal Care of the true Interest of Your People, through the whole Course of this great and intricate Work, leaves us not the least Room to entertain a Doubt, but that the Preliminary Conditions of this Pacification, are founded, and

Ann. 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ so approved, as will give general Satisfaction; in which Persuasion we are farther confirmed, by the great Probability there appears to be of their being accepted and agreed to, by all the Powers engaged in the War.

‘ The early Regard Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to shew to the Welfare of Your People, in taking the first Opportunity, on this great and fortunate Event, to lighten the Burthen of their Expences, by making a Reduction of Your Forces, both by Sea and Land, is such a Mark of Your Care in consulting their Interest, and of Your tender Concern for their Ease, that we should be as unjust to our Gratitude, as to Your Majesty’s Goodness, if we failed to testify the one, and acknowledge the other, in the strongest and most dutiful Manner. And as we look upon this, added to all the other Measures of Your glorious and happy Reign, as a Proof that the Estimates for the present Year will be proportioned to the Situation of Affairs, and the Purposes to which they shall be found necessary; so we beg Leave to assure Your Majesty, that we will cheerfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as the Posture of our present happy Circumstances shall require, and sufficient to support the Dignity of the Crown, and the Honour and Interest of Your Majesty’s Subjects and Dominions.

‘ And if such Motives could want any additional Circumstance to excite us to fulfil our Duty to Your Majesty and our Country, the Reflection on the good Effect the extraordinary Supplies, granted the last Year to Your Majesty, must have had, in contributing to bring this long-laboured Work to so happy an Issue, joined to the Consciousness of the Influence Your Majesty’s Counsels must ever have in the Affairs of Europe, whilst a loyal Parliament shews itself determined to support the Resolutions of a wise and cautious Prince, cannot fail to operate with their due Weight, in making us persevere in our Endeavours to give a Lustre to Your Majesty’s Reign abroad, equal, if possible, to the Happiness we enjoy from it at home.’

To this Address his Majesty gave the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

His Majesty’s Answer.

“ I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address. I am very well pleased, that my Endeavours to restore the publick Tranquility have met with your Approbation; and you may be assured, my future Care shall be employed, to the utmost of my Power, to render the Peace of Europe perfect and lasting, and to make you a flourishing, and happy People.”

Jan.

Jan. 19. A Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Freeholders of the County of Norfolk, whose Names were thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and a great Number more of the Freeholders of the said County, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said County, was presented to the House and read; and a Motion being made for hearing the Matter of the said Petition at the Bar of the House on the 26th of February, Sir John Hynde Cotton stood up and said,

Sir,

' I am surprised to hear such a Motion made, considering the House, but three Days since, appointed the Yorkshire Petition to be heard at the Bar of this House on the 24th of next Month, which is but two Days before the Day now moved for hearing the Norfolk Petition. This looks as if the honourable Gentleman imagined, that we could go thro' the Yorkshire Petition in two Days; whereas, in my Opinion, if we examine into it as we ought, and as I hope we will, it will take us up two Years, or at least the usual Time of two Sessions. I confess, Sir, I have not the Honour to be let into the Secrets of any of the Yorkshire Petitioners, but I believe the honourable Gentleman, who made the Motion, is thoroughly acquainted with their real and most hidden Designs; therefore, from his making such a Motion as he has been just now pleased to make you, I must conclude, that the Yorkshire Petitioners are resolved to drop their Petition, in case they should find themselves unable to carry some very remarkable Question the first or second Day. If this be really the Case, the honourable Gentleman was much in the Right to make you such a Motion as he has done, with regard to the Norfolk Election; but while we are Members of this House, I think, we ought upon no Occasion to be directed, in our way of voting, by the private Opinion or secret Knowledge of other Men; and therefore if the honourable Gentleman knows of any such Secret with regard to the Yorkshire Petition, he will stand up again and acquaint the House with it, that we may have the same Reason for agreeing to his Motion, which he had for making it.'

Mr Pulteney stood up next, and said,

Sir,

' I am very sorry to find so many Petitions complaining of undue Elections and Returns for Counties; for the Expence of controverting such Elections is so great, that it is impossible any Gentleman can bear to pay the whole out of his private Fortune. As the Case stands at present, whenever the Election for a County comes to be controverted, the Expence must necessarily be raised by a general Contribution

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1745-36.

Debate on a Petition complaining of an undue Election for the County of Norfolk

Sir J. Hynde Cotton.

Mr Pulteney.

ANNO 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

bution among all the Freeholders of the County ; and it will not signify much to ease the Landed Gentlemen of a Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, if by the Controverting of Elections they shall be obliged, once in every Parliament, to tax themselves, perhaps in ten Times that Sum, for supporting the Rights of their Country.

‘ Injustice may, ’tis true, be sometimes done by the Returning Officers for Counties, as well as by the Returning Officers for Boroughs. But as there are such a great Number of Voters for every County, as almost every Freeholder’s Right of voting must be examined into, before the Injustice of the Returning Officer can be detected, and as the naming of that Returning Officer depends entirely upon the Ministers of the Crown, the Election for all the Counties in England is certainly very precarious. And when any Injustice is done, the Discovering of it is so troublesome and expensive, that no private Man can well undertake it : In such Circumstances, it will always be easy for the Ministers of the Crown to appoint who shall be the Knights of any Shire, whenever they have a Mind ; for if the Returning Officer makes an undue Return according to their Orders, it is almost impossible to discover the Injustice done by him, so as to subject him to the Punishment inflicted by Law ; and if the Returning Officer should happen to disobey their Orders, it is but making their Candidates petition, by which the Gentlemen rightfully chosen, and duly returned, will be put to such an Expence in defending their Right, that no Man will thereafter choose to stand for any County in Opposition to the Court-Interest. This Injustice in the Returning Officers, as well as this Expence to the Gentlemen chosen or petitioning, might, in my Opinion, be easily prevented by a few small Amendments to the Laws now in Being for regulating Elections ; for if the Oath to be taken by Freeholders, on occasion of their coming to vote at any Election, were made a little more full and explicit, no Man would dare to take it falsely, because it would be easy to convict him of Perjury ; and those, against whom he voted, would always be ready to be at the Trouble and Expence of the Prosecution ; in which Case the taking of the Oath might be made final and conclusive as to the Person’s Right of voting, so that the Right of any Freeholder to his Vote at an Election would never come to be controverted at the Bar of this House ; and then it would be easy to detect the Returning Officers, if they committed any Injustice, and the controverting of Elections would not be near so tedious, troublesome, or expensive as it is at present.

‘ As the Case now stands, Sir, the Expence of controverting a County Election is most grievous and most terrible ;
and

and as the County of Norfolk is one of the largest and most populous Counties in England, the Expence of controverting the Election for that County must be much greater than most others ; but if you appoint the Petition from that County to be heard in so few Days, after the Day on which you have appointed the Yorkshire Petition to be heard, you would greatly enhance even that greater Expence ; because both the sitting Member and the Petitioners for Norfolk, must have their Lawyers, Agents, Witnesses, and all the other Implements of a controverted Election, attending in Town, and living at their Expence, during the whole Time of the Controversy about the Yorkshire Petition. This, I say, Sir, must be the Case, at least of the sitting Member, [*Sir Edmund Bacon*] because I am pretty well convinc'd he is not in any Concert, nor knows any of the Secrets of the Petitioners for Yorkshire ; and the laying him under such an extraordinary Expence, or indeed under any Expence, is the more unnecessary, because the only Gentleman, whose Right seems to be controverted, is now dead, [*Mr Wodehouse*] by which Means the Petitioners and their Friends might, if they pleased, have an Opportunity of trying their Interest in the County by a new Election, without putting themselves to the Trouble or Charge of controverting the former ; but it seems the Petitioners know that the Expence of controverting the former Election, great as it must be, will be less to them than the Expence of a new Election ; which, by the by, Sir, seems to me to be a Demonstration that their natural Interest in the County is not much to be depended on.

‘ But to this, Sir, I must add, that I have been informed, and really believe, that the Petitioners could not make near so good a Show upon a new Election, as they did upon the former ; for every one knows that on such Occasions many Promises are made by those, who do not depend upon their natural Interest, but upon the unnatural and acquired Interest they may have by Means of the many Posts and Preferments they have at their Disposal : And I have heard, that many Promises were made upon the last Election for the County of Norfolk, which have not been performed ; from whence it is to be presumed, that the Persons to whom those Promises were made, and who were thereby induced to vote contrary to their Inclinations, will upon a new Election vote according to Conscience. This, Sir, I am afraid, is the true Reason for renewing the Petition from that County, notwithstanding its being certain that the Hearing of these Petitions will cost them more than a new Election can naturally cost them ; notwithstanding its being certain, that a new Election would bring their Candidates sooner to their having
Seats

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36

Seats in this House, than they can be by the Hearing of the Petition; and I must say, that the Motion now made to us seems calculated for nothing, but that of laying the sitting Member and his Friends under a Necessity of yielding to the Petitioners, rather than be at the Expence of trying the Merits of the last Election at the Bar of this House.

Mr Winnington.
Sir W. Yonge.

To this it was answered by Mr Winnington, Sir William Yonge and other Members, ' That it was impossible to foretel how long the hearing of the Yorkshire Petition would last; but they could not imagine it would last near so long as the honourable Gentleman seemed to intimate; for as the controverted Votes on both Sides would be very much reduced, and fully ascertained, by the Lists that were to be mutually delivered, they could not think that Dispute would take up many Days, much less several Weeks: That they would readily join in any Measures for preventing the Injustice of Returning Officers, as well as for making the controverting of County Elections short and easy; but the controverted Elections then depending could not be regulated by any such Measures: And as many of the Freeholders of Norfolk had complained of Injustice done them at the last Election, it was a Duty incumbent upon them, as Members of that House, to hear their Complaints, and give the Complainants such Redress as they should find them intitled to: That this they were obliged to do with all possible dispatch; and if the hearing of the Yorkshire Petition should last two or three Days, which might probably be the Case, it would be doing Injustice to the People of Norfolk to put off the hearing of their Complaints for two or three Weeks: That they knew no more of the Secrets of the Petitioners for Yorkshire, than any other Gentleman of that House, so that their moving for having the Norfolk Petition heard, so soon after the Day appointed for hearing the Yorkshire Petition, could proceed from nothing but their great Desire to do Justice to the Norfolk Petitioners, and the sitting Member, with all possible Dispatch: That if the Petitioners, their Lawyers, Agents, and Witnesses should be obliged to attend in a few Days before their Affair could be brought on, it was an Inconvenience which could not be avoided; it was an Inconvenience which People had always been, and must always be subject to, in all Courts, and in all sorts of Causes; for unless People were subjected to such an Inconvenience, every Court of Judicature in the Kingdom would often be put to a full Stop, which would make it impossible to administer Justice to all those who might be obliged to sue to such Courts for Justice; but whatever Inconvenience there was in this Respect, it lay heavier in the present Case upon the Petitioners than it could do

do upon the sitting Member ; because the Petitioners would be obliged to attend in Town, from the Day appointed for hearing their Petition, which they were not otherwise obliged to do ; whereas the sitting Member was otherwise obliged to be in Town, in order to attend the Service of the House : That they knew of no Promises made upon the former Election, nor any Disappointments People had since met with ; but believed that such Reports were without Foundation : That a new Election might perhaps be less expensive than to try the Merits of the last Election ; and likewise Gentlemen might perhaps come sooner to their Seats in that House by a new Election, than by having their Right upon the former Election determined ; but if any Gentleman had a Right to a Seat in that House upon the former Election, it was not reasonable to expect that he should give up that Right, which he must do by submitting to a new Election : That besides, if Injustice be done to him as well as the County upon the former Election, it was a Duty he owed both to himself and his County, to prosecute the Authors of that Injustice in such Manner as the Laws of his Country direct ; and as that could not be done, but by bringing the Merits of the former Election to be tried at the Bar of that House, they thought that the Petitioners were in the Right to insist upon it : That this was certainly the Duty of the Petitioners, and it was their Duty, as Members of that House, to hear and determine the Affair as soon as possible, by agreeing to the Motion.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Hereupon the Motion was agreed to without a Division ; and the Lists of controverted Voters were ordered to be mutually delivered by that Day Month.

The same Day Mr Walter Plumer presented to the House a Petition of John Neale, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of Coventry ; and the same being read, Mr Plumer stood up again and said, ' That tho' by the Forms of proceeding in that House, it was necessary for the Petitioner to present a Petition that Session, in the very same Words with the Petition presented by him upon the same Subject the preceeding Session, yet he had now given him Orders to acquaint the House, That in order to save Trouble to the House, and not to take up their Time any longer than was absolutely necessary, he was willing to pass from every Complaint in his Petition mentioned, except so far as related to the Qualification of John Bird, Esq; one of the sitting Members for the said City ; which was the only Complaint he intended to insist on at the hearing of the Petition : And as the Determining of that Point could not take up above half an Hour of their Time, he

Debate on a Petition of John Neale, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Coventry.

Mr W. Plumer.

Annog. Geo. II.
1735 36.

A Petition of Anthony Chute, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Hampshire.

Debate thereon.

Mr Lisle.

would therefore move, that the Petition might be heard at the Bar of the House: But upon the Question's being put, it passed in the Negative, and the Petition was referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

Jan. 21. A Petition of Anthony Chute, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of Southampton, was presented to the House and read; and it was ordered, That the Matter of the said Petition be heard at the Bar of the House, on the 9th of March; after which it was moved to order, That the Lists, with respect to the said controverted Election, be delivered by that Day five Weeks: Hereupon Mr Lisle, one of the sitting Members for that County stood up and said; That he would willingly submit to any Order the House should make upon that Occasion, and would be ready to deliver his Lists by any Day the House should prefix; but as the Design of delivering such Lists was to shorten the Dispute, and to prevent taking up their Time with Inquiries into Objections against Voters, which were either false or frivolous, the longer the Time was which was to be prefixed for delivering such Lists, both the Petitioner and he would be more enabled to abridge their Lists; and therefore, in order to give the House as little Trouble as possible, which he was very much inclined to, he hoped the House would give him and the Petitioner as much Time as possible for making up and delivering their Lists: That with respect to the Objections against the Voters of either Side, they were obliged to depend upon the Information of others; and in order to prevent their being excluded from objecting against any Person, who was really a bad Voter upon the other Side of the Question, they were obliged to put every Man's Name in their Lists, against whom they could hear of any Sort of Objection; but that if he had Time, he would, by himself and his Agents, inquire particularly into every Objection; and would put no Man's Name in his List, if upon such Inquiry he should find that the Objection was not sufficiently supported by Reason and Evidence, by which Means he might probably very much abridge the List he was to deliver; and he did not doubt of the Petitioners doing the same: That as there were already Petitions from Yorkshire, Norfolk and Flintshire, appointed to be heard before the Day appointed for hearing of the Petition against him, it could not be presumed, that the hearing of the Petition against him would come on upon the very Day the House had appointed for hearing it: That therefore he thought it would be better for the House to suspend making any Order, for delivering Lists of bad Voters for the County of Southampton, till after the,
Deter-

Determination of the Yorkshire Election at least ; for as the Petition for the County of Norfolk, and that for the County of Flint, were both to be heard before the Petition for the County of Southampton could come on, there could be no Inconvenience in delaying to make any Order for delivering Lists with respect to the last ; because after the Determination of the Yorkshire Election, the House might order the Lists for the County of Southampton to be delivered by that Day se'enight ; and it was impossible the Norfolk and Flint Elections could both be determined in a Week's Time. For this Reason, he hoped the honourable Gentleman would, for the Convenience of the Petitioner, as well as for his Convenience, and also for the sake of saving the Time of that House, wave the Motion he had made ; and that the House would suspend making any Order for delivering the Lists for the County of Southampton, till after the Determination of the Yorkshire Election.

Anno 9 Geo. II.
1735-36.

To this it was answer'd, That the usual Method was for the House to appoint a Day for delivering Lists of all County Elections, at the same Time they appointed a Day for hearing the Petition : That the three other County Elections might for some Reason or other be put off, or perhaps entirely dropt, for which Reason it was necessary for those concerned in the Southampton Election, to be fully prepared and ready for the Hearing, against the Day the House had appointed, which they could not be, unless the Lists were delivered against the Day then moved for : And that, as the sitting Member, as well as the Petitioner, had already had near a whole Year to inquire into the Qualifications of Voters and the Objections that could be made against any of them, it was to be presumed that their Lists were then as much abridged as they could possibly be.

Then the Question being put for delivering the Lists by that Day five Weeks, it was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

January 25. Mr Eversfield presented to the House a Petition of Richard Sheppard, Esq; complaining of an undue Election, and Return for the Borough of Southwark, which was accordingly read ; and a Motion being made, and seconded, that the Matter of the said Petition be heard at the Bar of the House ; Mr Winnington stood up and said, ' That altho' the honourable Gentleman, who presented the Petition, had moved to have it heard at the Bar of the House ; and altho' that Motion had been seconded, and very much pressed by the honourable Gentleman, who was one of the sitting Members for Southwark, and against whom the Petition seemed to be chiefly aimed ; yet he hoped Gentlemen would have some Regard to the honourable Gentleman

A Petition of Richard Sheppard, Esq; complaining of an undue Election for Southwark.

Debate thereon.

Mr Eversfield.

Mr Winnington.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

tleman in the Chair, to whom every Election heard at the Bar was a very great Fatigue. That besides, they ought to consider their own Time, and how much of it would be taken up in hearing the Petitions already appointed to be heard at the Bar, insomuch, that he was afraid it would be impossible for them to go thro' the publick Business, which could not be put off till another Session without doing a very great Prejudice to the Nation in general: That as there was a vast Number of Voters in the Borough of Southwark, there would of course be a very great Number of Witnesses to be examined; and consequently a great many Points of Law would probably arise, which must be argued by Counsel, and many of them might perhaps afterwards be argued for a long Time in the House; so that upon the whole, he did not believe the House could go thro' that Election in two or three Weeks, even tho' they should adjourn all other Business, and sit upon it *De Die in Diem*. For this Reason he hoped, that not only out of Regard to their Speaker, but out of Regard to the Publick, and to the Business of the Nation in general, they would allow that Election to go to their Committee, where it might be heard without interrupting the publick Business, without fatiguing their Speaker, and without doing any Prejudice either to their Petitioner, or to the sitting Member.'

Sir J. H. Cotton.

Hereupon Sir John Hynde Cotton stood up, and said,
Sir,

' Upon the present Occasion, I cannot omit taking Notice of what happened when the Yorkshire Petition was presented. In the County of York there are certainly five or six times as many Voters as there are in the Borough of Southwark, and therefore, if the honourable Gentleman be of Opinion, that the Election of the Borough of Southwark will take up two or three Weeks of our Time, he must have been of Opinion, that the Election for Yorkshire would take up at least three or four Months; yet when that Petition was presented, I remember the same honourable Gentleman appeared very fond of having it heard at the Bar of this House; and I should be glad to know from whence proceeds that tender Regard, which he is pleased to testify in the present Case, for the honourable Gentleman in the Chair, since he did not seem to shew the least Regard for him in the former?'

Mr Heathcote.

Mr Heathcote spoke next:

Sir,

' By an Agreement between me and the honourable Gentleman who presented the Petition, he promised to move for its being heard at the Bar of the House: He has accordingly done so, and I have seconded that Motion; after which

which I am not a little surpris'd to hear any Gentleman attempt to have it sent to the Committee ; for when the sitting Member, as well as the Petitioner, insists upon having the Petition heard at the Bar, I believe there is no Example of such a Petition's being referred to the Committee. I have as great a Regard for the honourable Gentleman in the Chair as any Member in this House can pretend to ; but I know he will grudge no Trouble in doing Service to the Publick, or Justice to any Member who thinks himself injured ; and in the present Case I insist with the more Freedom upon having the Petition heard at the Bar, because I know the contested Votes are but very few ; so that the Hearing can last but a very few Days ; and I have some Reason to expect, that the Petition will be given up even before those Votes which are contested are all examined into.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ But, Sir, I have another Reason for insisting upon its being heard at the Bar of this House : The Petition which has been publickly read here, contains several grievous and heinous Allegations against me, therefore I think I have a sort of Right to have the Truth of these Allegations examined into, in the same Place in which they have been published ; and I insist upon it, because, I have very good Reason to believe, that when this is done the Petition will appear to be as vexatious as any ever presented to this House. And my Reason for believing so is founded not only upon a Consciousness of my own Innocence, but upon the Candour and Sincerity of the Petitioner's own Scrutineers ; for during the whole Time of the Election, the Returning Officer for that Borough acted so equally and fairly, that, after the Scrutiny was over, even the Scrutineers for the Petitioner returned him Thanks for his Justice and Impartiality.

‘ For these Reasons, I hope, Sir, the House will not only order this Petition to be heard at the Bar, but will appoint a short Day, considering the Place is just in our Neighbourhood, so that no Pretence can be made, that any of the Parties or Witnesses are at any great Distance.

Mr Walter Plumer spoke next.

Sir,

As the Elections, which are appointed to be heard at the Bar, are generally sooner determined than those which are referred to the Committee ; and as it is always very much the Interest of the Petitioner, to have the Matter of his Petition soon heard, if he has any Confidence in it ; therefore I have never observed the Hearing of any Petition at Bar refused, when it was desired and insisted on by the sitting Member : But there is something very extraordinary in the present Case,

Mr W. Plumer.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Case, for not only the sitting Member desires and insists upon the Petition's being appointed to be heard at the Bar, but there seems to be a Design in the Petitioner not to have his Petition heard at all, or at least not this Session ; for otherwise he would certainly have presented it among the first, as he might and ought to have done, whereas he has delayed presenting it almost as long as he could ; which to me is really a strong Presumption, that he is sensible of his Petition's being such as the sitting Member has represented it to be ; and if it be so. there can be no stronger Reason assigned, not only for its being heard at the Bar, but for its being heard as soon as possible.

The Question was then put for hearing the Petition at the Bar of the House ; which upon a Division was carried in the Affirmative by 145 to 142. After which the Question was put for hearing it at the Bar on the 10th of February, which was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

This Affair being over Mr Walter Plumer stood up and said, ' That, altho' he had before acquainted the House, that Mr Neale, Petitioner for Coventry, was willing to pass from every Complaint in his Petition, except so far as related to the Qualification of John Bird, Esq; one of the sitting Members ; yet that something to that Purpose might appear upon their Votes, and to insure the sitting Member that no other Complaint would be insisted on against him, he would move, That since John Neale, Esq; who had exhibited a Petition to that House, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of Coventry, desired to withdraw the Complaints in the said Petition, except as to what relates to the Qualification of John Bird, Esq; one of the sitting Members for the said City, therefore it might be ordered, That the said Petition should be dismissed except as aforesaid : This was accordingly agreed to. Then Mr Plumer added, ' That as the examining the Matter of that Petition, as it then stood, could not require any long Preparation, or the bringing up many Witnesses ; and as it could not take up so much as one Evening to determine that Complaint in the Committee ; therefore he would move for an Instruction to the Committee to hear it on that Day three Weeks'. To this it was objected, as it had been to the former Motion in this Affair, ' That it was contrary to the common Course, and that there was nothing in that Affair so extraordinary as to induce them to hear it out of its due Course.' For this Reason, upon the Question's being put, it passed in the Negative.

The

The same Day the House being in a Committee of the whole House on the Supply, Sir Charles Wager moved, ' That 15,000 Men be employed in the Sea Service for the Year 1736.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Sir C. Wager's
Motion for 15,000
Men for the Sea
Service for the
Year 1736.

Hereupon Mr Walter Plumer stood up and spoke as follows :

Debate thereon.

Sir,

Mr W. Plumer.

' I do not rise up to oppose the Motion, because, as we have the Happiness to live in an Island, I have always been of Opinion, that we ought chiefly to depend upon our Naval Force ; and for this Reason I shall never be against our keeping up a pretty large Number of Seamen, even in Times of the most profound Peace and Tranquility. We have, 'tis true, for some Years past, followed a quite contrary Maxim ; we have kept up such a great Number of Land Forces, that it has not been in our Power to keep up such a Number of Seamen in Time of Peace as we ought to have done ; but what has been the Consequence of this Maxim ? It has forced a great Number of our native and gallant Seamen into the Service of foreign Powers, and from thence arose the Difficulty we found ourselves in upon a late sudden Emergency, with respect to the fitting out speedily a powerful Squadron : This Difficulty the whole Nation was lately sensible of ; and to this Difficulty we shall always be exposed, unless we disband a great Number of our Land-Soldiers, and bestow that Money upon keeping up a large Body of Seamen.

' But, Sir, I rise up to put you in Mind, that you ought to Proportion all your Expences for the current Service of the Year, not only to the happy Situation of your Affairs Abroad, but to the unhappy Situation of your Affairs at Home. Whoever considers this, will never give his Consent to the loading the present Generation or their Posterity with new Taxes, and much less to the laying of violent Hands on the Sinking Fund, when both may be prevented by our insisting upon the Payment of those Sums, to which we are justly intitled from foreign Powers ; and therefore, Sir, when we go into a Committee of Ways and Means, in order to provide for the 15,000 Seamen now to be voted, I hope you will take under your Consideration, what I shall now presume to mention to you.

' As the keeping up of a great Number of Land-Forces in this Island is quite unnecessary, and even inconsistent with the Nature of our happy Constitution, and the Freedom of our Government ; therefore, when any War is like to break out in which we may probably have a Concern, we are always obliged to take foreign Troops into our Pay : Whether we have always been in the Right when we did so, is what

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

I shall not now controvert ; but I have always observed, that no foreign Prince would lend us any of his Troops, without our engaging, not only to pay them, but to grant him a Subsidy, perhaps greater than the Pay of those Troops, upon their own Footing, would have amounted to ; and that even in Cases where the Prince stood obliged, perhaps by former Treaties, to assist us with Troops at his own Expence, and often in Cases where his own Preservation was more immediately concerned in the Event of the War than ours.

'Tis true, Sir, we are always obliged upon such Occasions, to have Recourse to the Princes of the North, who by Reason of their Poverty plead an Inability to send us, or to have ready to be sent, the stipulated Succours, unless we, by a new Contract, agree to pay them a Subsidy ; which has some Shew of Reason, or at least of Necessity, when they raise any new Troops for our Service ; but I never could comprehend either the Reason or the Necessity for such a Pretence, when they make no real Addition to the Land-Army they before kept up, nor put themselves to one Farthing Additional Expence on Account of their Subsidy from us. This I know has sometimes been the Case for Years together, during all which Time we have been so generous as to pay their Subsidy regularly, for enabling them to defray an Expence they never were at : At least, in the publick Accounts delivered to this House, those Subsidies have been yearly stated as fully and regularly paid, in Pursuance of the Treaties we had before approved of ; though indeed, an Accident happened not long ago, which gave Room to think, that all those Subsidies had not been fully and regularly paid to the Princes so intitled to them.

' Now, Sir, if we narrowly consider our Circumstances, I believe we shall find that we are as poor, and in as great Difficulties, as the poorest Prince in the North ; and as we have lately sent a very powerful Squadron to the Assistance of a very rich Prince, I make no Doubt but that our wise and frugal Ministers let that Prince know, before they sent out the Squadron, that with respect to him we are a Northern Power, and as needy as any Power he could apply to ; and that therefore they have obliged him to pay us a very large Subsidy, for the powerful Squadron we sent to his Assistance.

I am very sure our Ministers had much more Reason to insist upon such a Subsidy, than the Ministers of any Northern Power ever had to insist upon a Subsidy from us ; for with respect to the Breach between Portugal and Spain, it was, in my Opinion, at least, as great a Question which of them were acting upon the Offensive, as it was with respect to

to the Breach between Spain and the Emperor ; therefore, we were not by any former Treaty obliged to send him any Assistance : Then as to the Expence, it is certain we have put ourselves to a very considerable additional Expence on Account of the Assistance we have sent to him ; and as to the Benefit he has reaped from that Assistance, it appears plain to me, that the Tranquility he has enjoyed, and does still enjoy, has been, and is still owing to nothing but the powerful Squadron we have sent to his Assistance ; which, I am positive, is much more than can be said of any Assistance we have ever got from any of those, to whom we have paid such large and such generous Subsidies : To this I must add, that it cannot be said that the Preservation of this Nation was immediately concerned in the Event of the War between Portugal and Spain ; which has generally been the Case with respect to those Northern Princes to whom we have hitherto distributed our Subsidies.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ From these Reasons, I am induc’d, Sir, to think that our Ministers have certainly stipulated a large Subsidy from Portugal ; and I have taken Notice of it upon this Occasion, only to put Gentlemen in Mind to call for an Account of this Subsidy, at a proper Opportunity ; and to appropriate it to the maintaining the 15,000 Seamen now to be voted ; in order to prevent our being obliged to load the present or the future Generation with additional Taxes, or to lay violent Hands upon that Fund, which ought always to be held sacred to the Payment of our publick Debts ; by which only we can free our poor Labourers and Manufacturers from those Taxes, which at present render the Necessaries of Life so much dearer in this Country than they are in any other.’

Then the Question being put on Sir Charles Wager’s Motion, the same was agreed to without Opposition.

Jan. 28. A Motion was made by Mr Pulteney, ‘ That the ordinary Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1736, be referred to a Select Committee ; upon which ensued a Debate, in which Mr Pulteney’s Motion was supported by Mr Plumer, Mr Sandys, Sir John Barnard, and Mr Gibbon, as follows :

Debate on Mr Pulteney’s Motion for referring the Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1736 to a select Committee.

Sir,

‘ Among the many ancient Methods of Proceeding in Parliament, drop’d by the Complaisance of latter Times, I think no one more necessary to be re-assumed, than that of appointing Committees to inspect the Estimates that are laid before us, for enforcing the Demands made, by the Crown. It appears from the ancient Journals of this House, that when a Demand of Money is made for answering the Expence of any Measure necessary for the Honour or Interest of the Nation, an Estimate of that Expence was laid be-

Mr Walter Plumer.
Mr Sandys.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr Gibbon.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

fore this House, and a Committee appointed to examine that Estimate, to see whether every Article was fairly stated. Our Parliaments in those Days were not so complaisant as to take any such Estimate upon the Credit of the Ministers : They thought it incumbent upon them to see, with their own Eyes, the Necessity of every Article of the Expence proposed, before they would open their Purse. This Method of proceeding is, in my Opinion, proper upon all Occasions, but at present, with respect to the Navy, it is become absolutely necessary, because the yearly Expence of the Navy now vastly exceeds what it was in former Times ; and there is almost every Year some new Article brought into that Estimate which was never before heard of. I do not deny, Sir, but that it may be now necessary for us to keep up a much larger Fleet, and to keep a much greater Number of Seamen in our Pay than we formerly used to do ; but the greater our Expence is that Way, the more Room there is for defrauding the Publick ; and therefore we ought to be the more careful to prevent loading the Publick with any unnecessary Article of Expence. These Estimates, 'tis true, are laid yearly upon our Table ; but I believe no Gentleman, even of those who are best acquainted with the Affairs of our Navy, will pretend to say, that he can from a bare Perusal at our Table determine, whether the Articles of Expence mentioned in such Estimates are all necessary, or that no one of them has been overcharged ? And I do not see how any Gentleman can answer to his Constituents the loading of them with an Expence, a great Part of which, for what he knows, may be altogether unnecessary.

' We ought, Sir, likewise to take Care that so much Money may be granted as shall be necessary for our yearly Expence ; for by Estimates and Grants of Money which are afterwards found to be deficient, especially with respect to the Navy, we deceive our Constituents ; we do Injustice to the particular Men employed in the Navy, who are generally obliged to sell their Claims at a Discount ; we enhance the Price of all Materials necessary for the Support of the Navy ; and we discourage our Seamen from entering into the Service of their Country : This we have the more Reason to take notice of at present, because of the great Debt that has been lately contracted on Account of our Navy ; a most extraordinary Debt, considering the short Time in which it has been contracted, and that in a Time of profound Peace. And the Method, which we were last Year obliged to take for paying off a Part of it, ought to make us extremely cautious of being again led into the same Error, by any short Estimates that may be laid before us ; for we may remember, that during the Time we were running ourselves insensibly

sibly into that considerable Debt, there were Estimates yearly laid before the Parliament, which it was pretended, contained an Estimate of the whole Expence necessary for the Service of that Year. The Nation may be accidentally drawn into an additional Expence not to be foreseen; but that additional Expence ought always to be laid before the very next Session of Parliament, and ought to be provided for within the very next Year.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735 6.

Another Consideration, Sir, which ought to make us look the more narrowly into all publick Accounts, is the great Debt the Nation groans under. A Gentleman of an opulent Fortune, may perhaps pass slightly over his Steward's Accounts; he may even allow his Servants to heap up Expences upon him, and to charge him with new and extraordinary Articles, without inquiring whether or no there was any Necessity for them; but a Gentleman whose Estate is deeply mortgaged, and cannot even support the yearly Expence of his Family, without laying Hands upon that Part of his Estate which stands appropriated for paying off old Mortgages, ought to inquire strictly into the Management of his Stewards, and ought never to pass any Account, before he is thoroughly convinced of the Necessity of it. This, Sir, is our melancholy Case at present; we cannot provide, even for the current Service of the Year, without laying Hands upon that Revenue, which was long since appropriated to the Payment of old Debts; and therefore we ought not to approve of any Estimate, till we are thoroughly convinced of the Necessity of every Article; and this can be done only by referring them to Select Committees.

Whether any unnecessary Articles of Expence have been lately brought upon the Nation, is what I shall not at present pretend to determine; but that several new and extraordinary Articles have been of late Years brought into almost every Estimate usually laid before us, is what must be known to most Gentlemen in this House; and no one of them has ever yet been inquired into, in that Manner which is necessary upon such Occasions. It is likewise well known, that we have had of late Years several new Offices erected, new Posts established, and new Salaries granted, all of which are a Charge upon the publick Revenue; and whatever may be the Case as to these new Offices, I believe, upon a proper Inquiry, it would be found that we have many old Offices or Officers that might be spared, and many Salaries which might be altogether suppressed or very much diminished. If the Nation were engaged in War, or if we were in any Danger of being engaged in War, it would not perhaps be proper to enter upon such Inquiries; but by the great Promotion lately made of General Officers, I am convinced the

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Peace of Europe is now fully re-established ; for I am persuaded his Majesty would not have made so many brave Gentlemen useless as Colonels, by promoting them to be Generals, if there had been the least Ground to suspect that we should soon be engaged in War : 'Tis true, few of those Gentlemen lately promoted will, I believe, be brought upon the Establishment as Generals, and therefore it is to be hoped that Promotion will not increase the Publick Expence ; but we are at present in a State of perfect Tranquility, therefore it is the most proper Time for us to inquire into all our publick Accounts ; and as our Navy ought always to be the first Concern of the Parliaments of Great Britain, I shall beg Leave, Sir, to move, That a select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Estimate of the Navy for the Current Year.'

Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Winnington.
Sir W. Yonge.
Sir Ch. Wager.

To this it was answer'd by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Winnington, Sir William Yonge, and Sir Charles Wager, as follows :

Sir,

' I shall not take up your Time with a Dispute about the ancient Usage in Parliament, but if there ever was any such Method as that mentioned by the honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, it is certain that it has not been followed for many Years ; and as no Custom once established, is ever laid aside, without some good Reasons for so doing, we are to presume that if there ever was any such Method established, it was found to be inconvenient or unnecessary, otherwise it had never been discontinued for so many Years. This of itself is a sufficient Reason for our not re-assuming that Custom, unless it could be shewn that the Publick has suffered by its being laid aside ; but there is this farther Reason, that our reviving such a Custom on the present Occasion, would make People suspect that some very great Frauds have been lately committed in the Management of the publick Treasure ; and I cannot think it consistent with that Duty we owe to his Majesty, to give the People any such Alarm, when there is not the least Foundation for such Suspicion.

' Perhaps there may have been some new Articles lately brought into some of our Estimates, but I do not remember any that are very considerable ; and there never was one new Article brought in, but what appeared, at first View, to be absolutely necessary for the publick Service. The honourable Gentleman seems to think it impossible to determine, from a bare Perusal of the Estimates at our Table, that the Articles of Expence mentioned in them are all necessary, and that no one Article has been overcharged ; but I cannot be of his Opinion ; for I never could observe any

Myself cry

Mystery either in the Estimate of the Navy, or in any other Estimates laid before Parliament : The Articles are all well known, because it never exceeds what it was in the preceding Year, without some manifest Reason ; therefore any Gentleman may sufficiently satisfy himself about every Article, by a bare Perusal at the Table ; but if upon such Perusal any Doubt should arise, there are always, in the Committee of Supply, many Gentlemen able to give him as much Information as he can with Reason desire ; so that there never can be a Necessity for our referring any Estimate to a Select Committee.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ The Estimates, yearly laid before Parliament, have always contained the whole Charge necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year, so far as could be foreseen when those Estimates were drawn up ; but as it is impossible to foresee all the Accidents that may happen in the Course of a Year, therefore the Government may sometimes be obliged to increase the publick Charge, beyond what was contained in the Estimate laid before the preceding Session of Parliament : This is an Inconvenience proceeding from the Weakness of human Foresight, and cannot be removed by referring any Estimate to a select Committee of Parliament ; for it is impossible to suppose, that any Committee can foresee every Thing that may happen in the Course of a Year ; nay, it is not to be presumed that they can foresee Things as fully and clearly as those, who are immediately concerned in the Administration, under whose Direction the Estimates are generally drawn up. And if, by future Accidents, it should be found necessary to increase the publick Charge beyond what was at first proposed, an Account of that additional Charge certainly ought to be, and I believe has always hitherto been laid before Parliament, as soon as any such Account could be regularly made up. This was the Case with respect to the Navy-Debt, so that its remaining so long unsatisfied, could not be owing to the Estimates or Accounts not being referred to a select Committee, but to the Inability the Nation was under of providing for it out of the Grants of any succeeding Year.

‘ I shall grant, Sir, that the Load of Debts this Nation labours under at present is very great, but we ought to bear it with the more Chearfulness, when we consider that the whole was contracted in Defence of our Religion and Liberties ; and surely no Man will grudge contributing a small Part of his yearly Revenue, towards paying the Principal and Interest, when he considers, that if it had not been for that Debt, he would have no Property at all. But this Debt, great as it is, was all contracted in Pursuance of Estimates yearly delivered into Parliament, no one of which was ever referred

to

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

to a select Committee ; and yet it cannot be alledged, that the smallest Part of this Debt was unnecessarily contracted, or that the Publick was in the least defrauded by any of those Estimates. I shall likewise grant that we ought to look narrowly into all Estimates laid before us, but when those Estimates are plain, this may be done without sending them to a select Committee ; and let a private Gentleman's Estate be never so much mortgaged, I shall have no Opinion of his Prudence, if he fate half a Year poring over an Account, which a School-boy might fully examine in half an Hour.

' As for new Offices, Officers, or Salaries, I have not heard of any lately erected, and if any of them should ever appear in the Estimates delivered into this House, it will then be Time enough to inquire particularly into them. As for the late Promotion of General Officers, I hope no Gentleman will find Fault with it ; both because there was no additional Expence thereby brought upon the Nation, and because it was absolutely necessary to give our Officers that Rank, which their Services have intitled them to, in order that they may be upon an equal Footing with their Cotemporaries in the Service of those Foreign Powers with whom we are in Alliance ; otherwise, in case we should find it necessary to join our Forces with any foreign Power, an Officer in the British Service, by not being promoted soon enough to the Rank he deserved, might find himself under a Necessity of submitting to be commanded by a foreign Officer of not near so long standing in the Army ; for every one knows, that in Detachments from confederate Armies, the Officers generally roll, first according to their Ranks in the Army, and next according to the Dates of their Commissions.

' To conclude, Sir, if there were any very new and extraordinary Articles in the Estimate of the Navy now under Consideration, if Gentlemen could shew any doubtful Articles in it, which could not be immediately set in a clear Light, there might be some Reason for agreeing to the Motion now made to us ; but as there is no Charge in it but what is usual, I therefore cannot think there is any Occasion for our referring it to a select Committee.'

To this it was replied by the same Members who were for the Motion as follows :

Sir,

Mr. Pulteney.
Mr. Walter Plumer.
Mr. Sandys.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr. Gybbon.

' The honourable Gentlemen are much in the Right not to dispute whether there was ever such a Custom, as that mentioned by the honourable Gentleman who made you the Motion, because it would be immediately determined by referring to the Journals of the House ; it must therefore stand

stand admitted, that there was once such a Method of Proceeding, but how it came to be laid aside is a Question of a very different Nature. I shall agree, that a Custom once established is never laid aside without some Reason ; but that Reason is often very far from being a good one : In the present Case, it is to be presumed, that this Custom of referring publick Accounts and Estimates to select Committees, was found to be very troublesome to Ministers ; and this was the true Reason for its being laid aside ; but this was so far from being a good Reason for laying it aside, that it will always be a strong Reason for re-assuming that laudable Custom.

Anno 9 Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ We are told, Sir, that the reviving of this Custom will make People suspect, that some very great Frauds have been lately committed in the Management of the publick Treasure : But I am of Opinion, that the Nation will be much more alarmed, at least I am sure they'll have much greater Reason to be alarmed, if they see their Representatives in Parliament every Year receiving Estimates for most prodigious Sums of Money, and granting all the Sums desired by such Estimates, without ever making the least Inquiry into any one of them ; for in private Life it is most natural to suppose that a Man will be cheated by his Servants, if he should always pass such Accounts as they are pleased to bring in, without ever examining into any one ; and it is not to be supposed that the Servants of the Publick are honefter, or less inclined to pilfer, than the Servants of private Men.

‘ The Duty we owe to his Majesty, ought never, Sir, to be brought into any Debate in this House ; but it was never more improperly brought in, than it is now by the Gentlemen on the other Side of the Question ; for as this House is the grand Inquest of the Nation, we ought to inquire for the King as well as for the People : We are in some Manner his Majesty's Trustees, and ought to take Care, that neither he nor his People be cheated by the Servants or Officers he employs ; and therefore it is inconsistent with that Duty we owe to his Majesty, to pass any Accounts, or agree to any Estimates presented to us by his Officers or Servants, till we have strictly examined the Truth of every Article.

‘ The new Articles lately introduced into our Estimates, may not perhaps be very considerable, but the Charge upon those, and the additional Charge upon all the old Articles, amount yearly to a very considerable Sum ; and I confess I never was so clear-sighted as to see at first View, that all these additional Charges were absolutely necessary for the publick Service. The Gentlemen say, that the several Articles in our Estimates are all well known, and that the Charge upon each is likewise known, because it never exceeds what it was in the present Year, without some manifest

Reason :

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Reason : This, Sir, might be some Satisfaction, if any strict Inquiry had lately been made into any of our Estimates ; but as no Inquiry has been made for many Years, we do not know but Frauds may have been introduced several Years since, and continued to this very Day ; therefore, it can be no Satisfaction to any Man, who has never examined any of those Articles, to find that they do not exceed the Charge upon the same Articles for several Years past. But, Sir, I will take upon me to affirm, that most of the Articles in all our Estimates ; especially that of the Navy, are of such a Nature, that it is impossible to say whether they are overcharged or not, without examining into them every Year : This every Man must be convinced of, who will but look into the several Articles of the Estimate of the Navy now upon our Table. Can any Gentleman determine how much will be necessary for maintaining superannuated Sea-Officers, or for paying Pensions, without inquiring yearly into the Number and Quality of such Officers or Pensions ? Can any Gentleman determine how much will be necessary for Half-Pay to Sea-Officers, without inquiring every Year into the Number and Rank of such Officers ? It is impossible ; because by the very Nature of the Service, it must vary every Year ; and most of the other Articles of the ordinary Estimate of the Navy will be found to be of the same Nature ; therefore, I am surprized to hear it said, that the Charge upon any of these Articles can be well known to any Member of this House, or that its not exceeding the Charge upon the same Article in former Years, can be an Argument for the Justness of the Charge in any Time to come.

I have, Sir, many Questions to ask, which I think necessary for my Information, in relation to every Article of this Estimate ; but it would be ridiculous to expect the proper Information from any Gentlemen in this House, were he never so well acquainted with the Affairs of the Navy, because every Article of the Estimate refers to a long particular Account, which ought to be examined, before any other Gentleman can have that Satisfaction, which we ought to have as Trustees both for the King and the People. It is impossible for Gentlemen to discover the Fraud of any Article in an Estimate, or to state their Objections in any regular Method, without examining Persons, Papers, and Records, which cannot be done but by referring the Estimate to a Select Committee, with proper Powers for that Purpose. If this be done, I shall think it worth while to ask such Questions as are necessary for my Information ; and I shall be glad to find the Suspicions I at present entertain, are without any Foundation.

‘ What

‘ What was contained in the Estimates of late, yearly laid before us, or whether they contained an Account of all the annual Charge that could be foreseen, I cannot determine; for there is so little Satisfaction to be got from perusing Accounts at our Table, that I never gave myself the Trouble; but this I can say, that if they contained an Account of all the Charge then necessary, it is very extraordinary, that our Foresight should run above 100,000 l. in Debt yearly upon the Article of the Navy only. This I cannot believe, and therefore I am afraid that these Estimates were made deficient on purpose to conceal, for some Time, from the Nation the Expence our Measures had made necessary; because, as our Navy is a favourable Article, it was expected that the Parliament would readily agree, without any Inquiry, to make that Deficiency good, whenever it should be thought necessary to make Application for that Purpose. I am likewise at a Loss to determine whether there was, every Year, laid before Parliament an Account of the Deficiency of the Grants for the former Year with respect to our Navy: But if such an Account was regularly laid every Year before Parliament, it is with me a very strong Argument for referring every Account and every Estimate to Select Committees; for the Disadvantages attending our running into a long Arrear are so evident, that I am sure this House would not have allowed that Arrear to remain so long unsatisfied, if proper Notice had been taken of the Account of those Arrears, which, ’tis said, were yearly laid upon our Table. This shews that most of the Gentlemen of this House expect no Satisfaction from a Perusal of any Account at our Table, and therefore never give themselves the Trouble to look over them, which proves the Necessity of referring all such Accounts to be examined by Select Committees.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ I am convinced, that if the ancient Method of inquiring into all Accounts and Estimates, by Select Committees, had been constantly observed, the Debt the Nation now labours under, would never have risen to so large a Sum, nor would so small a Part of it been paid off in above twenty Years profound Peace. The great Haste made in contracting it, and the slow Steps in paying it off, is another Argument for our beginning to look a little more narrowly into our Affairs, which can be done only by reviving that ancient Method of Proceeding, which the honourable Gentleman has now moved for, with respect to the Estimates of the Navy for this Year.

‘ What the honourable Gentlemen may mean by Mysteries in Accounts, I do not know; but to me every Article in the Estimate now before us seems a Mystery, and must continue a Mystery to every Gentleman, who has never seen

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

the particular Account to which each Article refers. Can any Gentleman understand the very first Article, which is upwards of 28,000*l. per Annum* *, without having looked into the particular Account of what is paid for Salaries and other Charges to the Lords of the Admiralty, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, and Contingencies relating thereto? Or can any Gentleman say, that this whole Sum is absolutely necessary, without having examined whether such Commissioners, Secretaries, Officers, and Clerks, are all necessary for supporting the Business of that Office, and that such Salaries are necessary for supporting such Officers? Let us look into every other Article of the Estimate, and we shall find the same Mystery. Therefore, instead of our not being able to shew any Article that is mysterious, I must desire the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question to shew me any one Article that is not mysterious; especially, considering that no Inquiry has been made into either of the Articles, I believe I may say, within the Memory of any Gentleman now in this House.

I hope, Sir, a Negative will not be put upon this Question; for it will certainly give too just an Alarm to the People of this Nation; they will imagine, that there must be Errors, and even Frauds, in the Estimates and Accounts delivered into Parliament, when the very Gentlemen who deliver them, or at least those who are principally concerned in the making them up, prevent any Inquiry into the Justice of them: Therefore, if Gentlemen are resolved to disagree with the Motion, I hope for their own Sakes, and for the Honour of Parliament, they will put the previous Question, instead of putting a Negative upon the Question now before us.

The Question being then put upon the Motion, it was carried in the Negative by 256 to 155.

Debate on a Motion, to address the King for a farther Reduction of the Forces.

Jan. 29. A Motion was made, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to acquaint him with the Readiness, wherewith his faithful Commons had agreed to the Continuance of the extraordinary Expence, which he had thought necessary in the present Juncture; in which Resolution they had concurred with the greater Chearfulness, as a grateful Return to his Royal Goodness, in ordering so considerable a Reduction of his Forces both by Sea and Land, as soon as the present Posture of Affairs would permit; and in full Confidence, that it was his Royal Intention, as soon as there should be a more perfect Reconciliation among the several

* In the ordinary Estimate of the Navy, for the Year 1736, 28,062*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* is charged for Commissioners of the Navy, with the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, Instruments, and Contingencies relating thereto.

several Powers of Europe, to make such farther Reduction of his Forces, as might be consistent with the Security and Dignity of his Majesty's Royal Person and Government, and with our present happy Constitution; not doubting, but that, from his Fatherly Compassion to his People, he would be graciously pleased to direct, that whatever Land-Force should thereafter be thought necessary, should be established in such a Manner, as should make the Saving more sensible, and the future Burthen less grievous to the Nation.

This Motion was supported by Mr John Pitt, Lord Polwarth, Mr Pulteney, Mr Gybbon, Sir John Barnard, Mr Sandys, and Mr Walter Plumer; and was oppos'd by Mr Winnington, Col. Bladen, Sir William Yonge, and Mr Conduit. But the Question being at last put, in was carried in the Negative without a Division.

February 2. The House having ordered, that the proper Officer should lay before them an Account of all the publick Debts, at the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, due or standing out at Christmas, 1735, with the annual Interest paid for the same; Mr Sandys stood up, and spoke as follows.

Sir,

Every Man is now, I believe, convinced that the great Debt we groan under, is a most heavy Clog upon all publick Measures, and will certainly, while it continues, prevent its being in our Power to act upon any Occasion with that Vigour we ought, either in Vindication of the Honour and Interest of this Nation, or in Defence of our Allies. This of itself is a most terrible Misfortune, but what still adds to it is, that these our unlucky Circumstances are well known to all our Neighbours, which is, I believe, the principal Cause of our having so little Influence on the Councils of other Nations; and while this Load continues we may expect to be insulted by them, as often as they can find the least Pretence for so doing. In such Circumstances therefore it is the most pernicious Thing we can do, to run the Nation any farther in Debt by creating new Funds, or to prevent that Fund, which was long since appropriated, from being religiously applied to the extinguishing yearly a Part of that Debt contracted before the Year 1716; for if we do so in Time of Peace, it will convince our Neighbours, that it would be impossible for us to support an expensive War, which will of course render us contemptible in the Eyes of all foreign Nations. And with respect to our Domestick Affairs, the Consequences of pursuing any such Measure are full as pernicious; for every new Mortgage we make, becomes a sort of Prop for supporting the Interest payable upon the former; whereas we ought to

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Mr John Pitt.
Lord Polwarth.
Mr Pulteney.
Mr Gybbon.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr Winnington.
Col. Bladen.
Sir W. Yonge.
Mr Conduit.

Mr Sandys's Motion for raising, within the Year, the Supplies necessary for the current Service.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1715-16.

use all possible Means to reduce that Interest, not only for the Encouragement of Trade among us, but to encrease the Sinking Fund, which would enable us to pay off all our old Debts much sooner, than it will otherwise be possible for us to do: Nay, I am almost certain, that if no new Debts had been contracted since the Year 1716, nor any Part of the Sinking Fund converted to other Uses than it was originally designed for, the Interest upon all our Funds would have been long since reduced to 3 l. *per Cent.* and a much greater Part of our old Debt would have been paid, by which we should have been enabled to have taken off some of those heavy Taxes, under which the poor Labourers and Manufacturers have groaned for so many Years. The loading Posterity with new Debts, in order to give a little Ease to the present Generation, may be a good temporary Expedient for a Minister; and may prevent the People's making too particular an Inquiry into that Expence, which his Measures have brought upon them: But it is a most pernicious Expedient both for the Royal Family, and for the Nation in general. For when any Sum of Money is raised for the Service of the ensuing Year, by contracting a new Debt, and creating a new Fund for the Payment of that Debt, it is subjecting the Nation to pay at least double that Sum in the End; because in every such Case, the Nation is obliged to pay Interest for the Money raised, and the Expences of collecting for many Years, besides paying the Principal at last; this shews the Loss the Nation sustains by the contracting of any such Debt for the current Service. By a long Continuation of such Measures the People may come to be so loaded with Taxes, and those Taxes so much engaged for the Payment of former Mortgages, that it may be impossible for his Majesty, or some of his Successors, to vindicate the Rights of the Nation, without loading them with heavier Taxes than they are able to bear, which may very probably raise a general Disaffection against our present happy Establishment; and may be of the most dangerous Consequence even to the Creditors themselves; for if ever we should be reduced to such Circumstances, that either the Nation must be ruined, or the publick Creditors left unpaid, it is easy to see which Side of the Dilemma would be chosen. The proper Method to prevent our running into Debt is to diminish our yearly Expence; but as the Number of our Forces for the Service of the ensuing Year has already been agreed to; I cannot now propose any Diminution of our Expence for this Year. We have already granted a great Part of the Supplies necessary for the Service, and we are to go this Day into a Committee of Ways and Means for raising those Supplies. What Methods may then be proposed

posed for that Purpose I do not know ; but as I am of Opinion, that no Consideration ought to prevail with us to contract any new Debt, or to prevent that Fund which stands appropriated for the Payment of the old, I shall take the Liberty to make a Motion which I hope the House will agree to. For if our usual Funds cannot answer the Service we have already agreed to, I think it will be better to lay some new Taxes upon the Luxuries of Life, than to create new Funds ; otherwise we run the Hazard of reducing our Posterity to the Want even of the Necessaries of Life, that we ourselves may live in Affluence ; for this Reason, before we go into the Committee of Ways and Means, I shall take the Liberty to move to resolve, ' That this House will raise within the Year the Supplies necessary for the current Service.' Mr Sandys being seconded by Sir John Barnard and Mr Willmot, the same was opposed by Sir William Yonge, Mr Winnington, Mr Heathcote, and Sir Robert Walpole as follows :

Sir,

' If the Question, now before us, depended solely upon the Influence this Nation has at present in the Councils of all the Powers of Europe, or upon the Regard our Neighbours have shewn to this Nation in all their Measures, a few Words would be sufficient to shew, that we ought not to come to any such Resolution as has been proposed ; for it is certain that we never had a greater Influence than we have at present in every Court of Europe, and that Influence is founded upon the strongest Reason ; because our Neighbours all know very well, that we have now two Funds sufficient for supporting any War we may be engaged in, and which we can upon any such Occasion make use of, without overloading the Subject, or raising Discontent in the Nation ; and these Funds are the Land-Tax and the Sinking-Fund. Tho' our landed Gentlemen would think it hard to pay 4 s. in the Pound Land-Tax, during a Time of Peace, yet they would not certainly grudge that Tax, if they saw the Nation necessarily involved in a War ; and tho' the Sinking-Fund is to be applied in the most religious Manner to the Payment of our old Debts, yet, in Case of a War, I believe no Gentleman will say, but that it would be proper to suspend such Payments (especially as none of the publick Creditors are desirous of having their Money) and to apply that Fund towards supporting the War ; so that our Neighbours know extremely well that we have a Revenue of above two Millions, besides our usual Supplies, which we may raise towards supporting a War without laying any new Tax upon our People.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Debate thereon.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr Willmot.
Sir W. Yonge.
Mr Winnington.
Mr Heathcote.
Sir R. Walpole.

' I shall

Anna 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that the Sinking Fund would be a Gainer, by the Reduction of the Interest payable upon the old Funds, and that it would be an Advantage to the Nation to have the Sinking Fund increased ; but I very much question if it would be possible to reduce the Interest payable upon our old Funds lower than it is at present, even tho’ we should never hereafter contract one Shilling new Debt. I have indeed heard of a great many Projects for that Purpose ; and some of them have appeared well in Theory, but when they came to be examined, it has always been found that they would not do in Practice, and therefore they have been laid aside : Besides, Sir, it would be an Experiment of the most dangerous Consequence, to reduce the Interest payable upon our old Funds lower than it is at present, because it would probably induce Foreigners to draw their Money all at once out of our Funds, which would of course bring our publick Credit into great Distress, and would drain us of all the ready Specie now circulating in the Nation ; and if the publick Credit of the Nation should be once brought into any great Distress, most of our own People would take the Alarm, which would run it so low, that the Restoring of it would be impracticable.

‘ Another Consideration, Sir, of great Weight with me, is, That we cannot well reduce the Interest upon our publick Funds any lower than it is at present, without reducing at the same Time the Interest of Money in general ; and I am persuaded the reducing the Interest of Money in general, to a lower Rate than what it is at present, would bring great Difficulties upon all Ranks of Men in the Kingdom. With respect to the publick Creditors the Difficulties are apparent ; for a third Part of their yearly Income has been taken from them by the Reduction already made ; and if a farther Reduction of one *per Cent.* should be made, they would then have but one half of that Revenue, which they supposed they were to have when they first lent their Money to the Publick.

‘ Then with respect to the Landed Gentlemen, the reducing Interest so low would be a great Hardship, for they would be obliged to give each of their younger Children at least 5 or 6000 l. whereas when Interest is at 5 or 6 *per Cent.* one half of that Sum will enable them to live in a genteel Manner ; so that the reducing of Interest so low would lay all our Landed Gentlemen under a Necessity of ruining their Estates, or at least of mortgaging them very deeply, to provide for their younger Children. And lastly, Sir, with respect to the Trading Part of the Nation, it is very well known, that every Branch of Trade in the Kingdom is already so overstocked, that it is almost impossible
for

for one half of our Tradesmen to live by their Business; and a farther Reduction of Interest would drive so many into Trade, that no Man could live by any Trade he could engage in. Even our Borrowers of Money, Sir, or Gentlemen who owe any Money at Interest, would be reduced to great Difficulties; for the Profit to be got by lending Money, or by leaving Money in any Man's Hand at Interest, would be so small, that no Man would think of employing it in that Way; this would of course bring a general Demand upon all those in the Kingdom who owe any Money at Interest, and at the same Time would render it impossible for them to find any Money for answering that Demand. From all which I think it inconsistent with the publick Good of the Nation, and with that of every particular Man, to reduce the Interest payable upon our publick Funds lower than it is at present. Whatever may be the Consequence with respect to Ministers, I am very certain, Sir, it would be an Expedient of very bad Consequence with respect to his present Majesty, to load his People with Taxes which they may think unnecessary; for the People will always pay voluntarily and freely such Taxes as they think are absolutely necessary for the Support of the Nation, but it will always raise Disaffection to the King upon the Throne, to load the People with Taxes which they think unnecessary at the Time they are laid on. It is for this Reason that in Time of War, a Government may venture to subject the People to Taxes, which would raise terrible Complaints, if they should be raised in Time of Peace; and for the same Reason I am of Opinion, that we ought rather to convert a Part of the Sinking Fund to the current Service of the Year, than to increase any of our old Taxes, or load the People with any new; for as there is at present no Demand for paying off any of our old Debts, and as none of the publick Creditors desire to have their Money, I am convinced the Generality of the People would think it unnecessary to load them with any new Tax, when they know we have such a Fund, to which we may have Recourse for making good the current Service of the Year; and therefore we may presume, that the loading of them at present with any new Tax would raise a general Disaffection to his present Majesty's Person and Government, and consequently be a most pernicious Expedient.

It has been said, that by contracting a new Debt, and creating a new Fund for the current Service of the Year, the Nation comes at last to be loaded with double the Sum so raised, by Means of the Interest and Expences of Management, which they are obliged to pay yearly till the Principal be paid off: But I cannot admit of the Justness of this

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Calcu-

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Calculation ; for, with respect to the Expences of Management, it is well known that no new Debt we have lately contracted, has occasioned any great new Expence ; because the Fund for paying off that Debt has always been committed to the Offices already erected, so that it has occasioned no additional Expence, but that of adding perhaps two or three Under Clerks to some of the Offices before established : And as to the Interest paid yearly by the Nation, does not every private Man save that Interest yearly, or make as much by the Share which he must have contributed to that principal Sum, in case it had been raised within the Year ? If every Man in the Nation should be obliged this Year to contribute 10 s. towards the current Service of the Year, does not he lose the Interest of that 10 s. for all Years to come ? And if by borrowing a Sum of Money upon the publick Credit at 3 or 4 *per Cent.* that 10 s. should be left in every private Man's Pocket, may he not make every Year 5 *per Cent.* of that Money so left in his Pocket ? From hence it must be granted, that the contracting of a new Debt at a low Interest, instead of raising the Money within the Year, is an Advantage rather than a Loss to the Nation in general.

As the Forces necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year both by Sea and Land, have been already agreed to, they must be provided for some Way or other ; and if the usual Taxes shall be found insufficient for that Purpose, every one knows we have but three Ways to make good that Deficiency. We must make it good either by increasing some old Taxes, or by laying on new Taxes, or by taking so much from the Sinking Fund as will make good that Deficiency. As for the first Method, none of our old Taxes will admit of any Increase, except the Land-Tax ; and, considering the heavy Load that has for many Years lain upon the Landed Gentlemen of this Kingdom, I am really surprized, that they have so long allowed themselves to be so loaded by the Trading Interest ; therefore for the sake of Prudence, as well as Justice, we ought not to think of increasing the Land-Tax ; and I hope, in all our future Measures, we shall impose such Taxes as may fall with an equal Weight upon all the Subjects, in Proportion to their yearly Revenues or Profits, whether those yearly Revenues and Profits proceed from Land, Trade or Money. With respect to the second Method, I wish with all my Heart several of the Luxuries which have been lately introduced, or very much increased, were taxed more heavily than they are at present : But I am of Opinion, that it is a dangerous Experiment to lay on any new Tax, in a Time of profound Peace, even upon the Luxuries of Life ; especially as it is generally known,

known, that we have another Fund to which we may have Recourse, without injuring in the least the publick Credit of the Nation, or laying any additional Load upon any Rank of People: And if we should venture upon any such Measure, it would not be proper to make use of any such Tax for the current Service of the Year, because it is impossible to guess how much the Produce of a new Tax will amount to, and I cannot think it would be right to appropriate an uncertain Produce for the Payment of a certain Sum. It is well known, that a great Part of the Debts we are now loaded with, and of which some Gentlemen take all Occasions to complain in the most grievous Manner, were occasioned by that very Method of laying on a new Tax, the Produce of which must always be uncertain, and appropriating that uncertain Produce towards the Payment of a certain Sum; therefore if Gentlemen have a Mind to lay any new Taxes upon the Luxuries of Life, I shall not be against it; but I hope they will order the whole Produce to remain in the Exchequer, in order to attend the future Disposition of Parliament; for before next Session the Amount of such new Tax will be known, or may be nearly guessed at, and then it may safely be appropriated to the current Service of the then ensuing Year; or be made a Fund for answering the current Service of that Year. Whether the usual Taxes will be sufficient to answer the Services already voted, and the other Services that may be thought necessary for the ensuing Year, I shall not pretend to determine; but if they are not, I think it is plain that we must have Recourse to the Sinking Fund, as the most proper Method of providing for any Deficiency: However, we are not at present to determine this Question absolutely; when Gentlemen begin to consider of Ways and Means for raising the Sums necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year, they ought, and they certainly will agree to raise them in that Manner, which shall appear to be the least burthensome to the People; and therefore I think it would be very wrong in us, to restrain ourselves in the Manner proposed by the Motion now before us. But that we may be left altogether free to do in this Respect what we may think proper when we go into the Committee of Ways and Means, I shall propose, that the previous Question may be put, with regard to the Question now before us.

To this it was replied by the same Members, who were for the Motion, as follows:

Sir,

‘ It has been often observed, That new Measures must always be supported by new Doctrines, and it may as justly be observed, that wrong Measures must be supported by wrong

VOL. IV.

S

Doctrines.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Mr Sandys.
Sir John Barrow.
Mr Willmot.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Doctrines. This is the Case with respect to the Question now before us. The Doctrines advanced in favour of that Measure against which the present Question is intended, are all so deceitful, that they are a plain Proof that the Measure must be wrong. What Influence our Ministers may think they have in the Councils of Foreign Powers, I shall not determine ; but I am sure it does not appear that we have any great Influence, either from the Advantages that have been lately obtained in Favour of this Nation, or from the late Behaviour of some of our Neighbours towards our Allies. I hope it will not be said, that the Courts of Vienna and Madrid had any great Regard for us, when they concluded that Treaty of Vienna which produced the Treaty of Hanover, and made such a Bustle in Europe ; and I am sure it cannot be said, that the Courts of Paris, Madrid, and Turin, shewed any great Regard for us, when they made that private Alliance, by which they parcelled out among them, our Ally the Emperor's Dominions in Italy ; nor can it, I think, be said, that the Emperor placed any great Confidence in our Assistance, when, in order to obtain a Peace, he agreed to yield up to France the whole Dutchy of Lorrain.

I have not the Honour, Sir, to be in the Secret of Affairs, therefore I must judge from publick Appearances ; and from them it is to me evident, that our Influence has of late greatly decayed, and will, I am afraid, decay more and more : Foreigners, Sir, know our Circumstances better than we seem to do ourselves : They know that now, after a Term of twenty Years Peace, our publick Debts are very near as great, and our Circumstances as bad as they were at the End of the last War : They know that by a Land-Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, we cannot provide for the yearly Supplies we think necessary, even in Time of Peace, without running ourselves into some new Debt, to the Amount of 5 or 600,000 l. yearly, or taking so much from the Sinking Fund ; and they know that, as the Sinking Fund we now have arises wholly from our Consumptions being much greater in Time of Peace than in Time of War, the greatest Part of it would be annihilated in case we should engage in a War ; from which, every Foreigner must conclude, and I should think every Englishman too, that with 4 s. in the Pound Land-Tax, we could not raise 500,000 l. a Year more than has been found necessary for supporting our Government in Time of Peace ; and that therefore we could not support a War without loading the People with many new Taxes, or greatly increasing those we now have ; neither of which, I am afraid, our People would patiently submit to.

‘ Now,

‘ Now, Sir, give me Leave to consider the extraordinary Doctrines advanced, for the Support of that Measure which the opposing of this Question seems to point at : In the first Place we are told, it would not be possible for us to reduce the Interest payable upon our old Debts, even tho’ we should never contract any new Debt : This, Sir, is contrary to one of the most established Maxims, which is, That the natural Interest of Money must always depend upon the Proportion there is in any particular Country between the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, and the Demand for lending Money at Interest ; for as we have a Sinking Fund capable of paying off a very large Sum yearly, if we never perverted any Part of that Fund, which is always the same with contracting a new Debt, we should be every Year diminishing the Demand for borrowing, and increasing the Demand for lending ; so that the natural Interest of Money, would necessarily of itself decrease, without any Projects for that Purpose.

‘ This, I say, Sir, would of course happen in a few Years ; but even at present, if no new Debts were to be contracted, I do not know but Methods might be found for reducing immediately the Interest of all our Funds to 3 and a half, perhaps to 3 *per Cent.* what these Methods may be, I shall not take upon me to mention, because some Gentlemen seem resolved that no Proposition shall be received, except those offered by themselves. And to frighten us from any such Projects, we are told, that the Foreigners would, in such a Case, draw their Money out all at once, and drain us of all the current Specie in the Kingdom ; but to those who understand the Circumstances of Europe, and are apprised of the Lowness of Interest in some Countries, and the Precariousness of the Security in others, this must appear to be a meer Bugbear.

‘ Besides, Sir, the Thing would either be in itself impossible, or it is an Event we have no Occasion to be afraid of ; for if Foreigners should all at once resolve to sell out, it would either run the Price of all our Funds a great deal below *Par*, or it would not ; if it did, they would be obliged to suspend their Resolution, and take 3 *per Cent.* rather than sell out a 100 l. Stock for 80 or 90 l. in ready Money ; and if their selling out did not run the Price of our Stocks below *Par*, we can have no Occasion to be afraid of any such Resolution ; because their selling out could not ruin our publick Credit, and the ready Specie they could carry out would soon be replaced by the general Balance of our Trade, if we had no Interest to pay yearly to them ; for it has been for many Years, and while it continues, it must always be a terrible Drawback upon our general Balance of Trade, to

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

have a Sum of 4 or 500,000 l. sent yearly out of the Nation, in order to pay the Interest due to them, every Farthing of which is entirely lost to us ; because the whole is spent by them in their own Countries, or converted into Principal here, to increase their future yearly Demand.

‘ Another Paradox, advanced against the Question now before us is, That the reducing the Interest of Money in general, would bring great Difficulties upon all Ranks of Men in the Kingdom. This, Sir, is evidently contrary to another established Maxim, which is, That the lower the Interest of Money is in any Country, the more flourishing it must be in its Trade and Commerce : I shall grant, that it would diminish the Revenue of our publick Creditors, as well as of all other Money-Lenders, but it would not diminish their Capital, and those that could not live idly upon the Interest of their Money, would be obliged to betake themselves to Trade, or to some other industrious Employment, which might be a Service to themselves, and a certain Advantage to their Country.

‘ As to the Landed Gentlemen, I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that the reducing of Interest would be a Hardship upon them, considering how many, I am afraid too many of them, are like their Country, involved in Debts, and Mortgages. On the contrary, it would be a great Advantage to every Landed Gentleman in the Kingdom, because, besides reducing the Interest he is to pay for the Debt he owes, if he has any, it would greatly increase the Value of his Lands, as well as of all the Lands in the Kingdom ; and as for his younger Children, he would be under no Necessity to give them any greater Fortunes than before ; but, if he were, a Mortgage of 6000 l. at 3 *per Cent.* is no greater Burthen upon an Estate, than a Mortgage of half that Sum at 6 *per Cent.* Interest ; and if any Part of the Estate were to be sold for the raising of that Money, as the Price of Lands will always rise in Proportion as the Interest of Money falls, when Money comes to be at 3 *per Cent.* Interest, the same Parcel of Land to be sold, will then fetch 6000 l. which would have sold but for 3000 l. when Money was at 6 *per Cent.* I do not know what the honourable Gentleman means by enabling younger Children to live in a genteel Manner ; unless he means in an idle and extravagant Manner ; and the fewer there are of such Persons in any Country, I am sure it is the better for the Country ; which would be the Consequence in the present Case : For as few Gentlemen could propose that their younger Children should live upon the Interest of the Fortunes they could give them, they would breed them all up to some Trade or Business ; so that instead of a great Number of idle and extravagant

vagant Gentlemen, we should have a great Number of industrious and frugal Tradesmen or Merchants ; and which would be of most Advantage to the Country, is very easy to determine.

Anno 9 Geo. 9.
1735-36.

' It is, Sir, a very great Mistake, to imagine that there can be in any Country too great a Number of Merchants and Tradesmen, or that any Sort of Trade, which deserves that Name, can be overstocked. Shopkeeping, or any other Business, which tends to support the Luxury of a People, may, 'tis true, be overstocked ; and it is always a Disadvantage to the People to have too great a Number of such among them ; but as for Merchants, Manufacturers, and Mechanicks, there can never be too great a Number of them in any Country ; because the more there are of them, the more foreign Trade the Nation will have, the greater its Exports will be, and the more easy will it be for every particular Man, if he be industrious and frugal, to provide a Support for himself and Family. This is justified by Experience in all Countries, and in all Times ; and therefore among the many other Misfortunes attending our publick Funds, this may be reckon'd as one, that a great Number of our People are thereby enabled to live idly upon the Interest of their Money, which must necessarily diminish the Number of our Merchants, Manufacturers, and Mechanicks.

' To imagine, Sir, that the reducing of Interest to 3 *per Cent.* would bring any Distress upon those who have Occasion for Money, is something very new ; for the more Trade there is in a Country, the more Money there will always be to be lent at Interest ; and those who have more Money by them than they can make use of in their Trade, will always lend it upon good Security, even at 1 *per Cent.* rather than keep it in their own Coffers. But upon this Occasion I cannot omit taking Notice, that in this Respect too, our publick Funds are of great Detriment to the Trade and private Credit of the Nation, because the monied Men of the Kingdom have so ready a Way of getting an Interest for their Money by Means of these Funds, that they never think of lending their Money to private Men, but at an extravagant Interest or Premium ; by which Means our private Credit between Man and Man is very much lessened, and great Sums of Money drawn out of Trade, which is therefore a very strong Argument in favour of the Question now before us.

' The People, Sir, never grudge the contributing what is necessary for the Support of the Government in Time of Peace, no more than they grudge what is necessary for the Support of the Government in Time of War : The only Thing they grudge is, to find the Nation loaded with an
Expence

Anno 9. Geo. 4th.
1735-36.

Expence that is not necessary, or the Money they contribute improperly applied; and tho' the perverting of the Sinking Fund, or running the Nation in Debt, may prevent the People of the present Generation from being sensible of an unnecessary Expence, and consequently may prevent their inquiring strictly into that Expence, yet such a Measure will make the present Expence fall with double Weight upon their Posterity, and when they find themselves obliged to submit to heavy new Taxes, because all the Old stand engaged for the Payment of old Debts, which will certainly be the Case as soon as the Nation comes to be engaged in any War, they will then with Reason complain, that an insupportable Load has been thrown upon them, for the Sake of a temporary Ease given to their Ancestors. This may very probably raise a general Disaffection to the present Establishment, and it will be the more dangerous, because it will happen at a Time when our Enemies will certainly be in Earnest about playing the Pretender upon us. This Consideration must, in my Opinion, have great Weight with every Gentleman, who has a sincere Regard for the illustrious Family now upon the Throne, and especially for that Royal Prince, who, 'tis to be hoped, will one Day sway the Scepter of this Kingdom; for by thus perverting the Sinking Fund, or running the Nation into new Incumbrances, even in Time of Peace, he may be left in such Distress, as not to have it any Way in his Power to support the Government with any Lustre, or to vindicate the Rights of the Nation with any Vigour.

' That no new Office or Officer has lately been created may be true, but, Sir, we know that a very great and a very grievous Office, and a great Number of Officers, were lately revived in Pursuance of the same Measures now pointed at; [*The Salt-Tax. See Vol II. p. 159.*] and we likewise know that the collecting of our Taxes, and the managing of our Funds, cost the Nation a most prodigious Sum of Money yearly, a much greater Sum, I believe, than is necessary for that Purpose; for if a narrow Scrutiny were made into that Affair, I am convinced it would be found, that the Business of two or three Offices might be managed by one, without employing a greater Number of Officers and Clerks in that one, than is now employed in any one of the three; so that several Offices, and a great Number of Officers and Clerks might be laid aside, by which a very large Sum of Money might be saved yearly to the Publick. This would contribute greatly towards preventing our loading the People with new or additional Taxes, or running the Nation in Debt, by creating new Funds, or perverting the old; and this the People would certainly insist on, if they were every Year
made

made sensible of the Sums necessary for the publick Service ; but this, it may be presumed, will always be avoided by those who have the Disposal of such lucrative Posts and Employments.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ It has been insinuated, as if it were an Advantage to the People to run the Nation in Debt yearly, rather than raise the Sums necessary within the Year ; because the Money is thereby saved in every private Man’s Pocket ; of which he may, as long as he keeps it in his own Possession, make an Interest or a Profit of 5 *per Cent.* perhaps more ; whereas the Publick may borrow at 3 *per Cent.* or 4 at most ; and from the same Way of Reasoning, it may be argued, that it will be an Advantage to the People to run the Nation every Year into some new Debt, and never pay off one Shilling of the old. But do not we know, Sir, that in all Countries, People look upon the publick Taxes as a Part of their yearly Expence ; when those Taxes are high, every Man must contract his yearly Expence in other Articles, and when the publick Taxes are low, every Man may, and generally does launch out a little into Expences upon other Articles, which he would otherwise have saved ; so that if by borrowing a Sum of Money upon the publick Credit for the Service of this Year, we should prevent our being under a Necessity of imposing a Tax of Ten Shillings upon every Man in the Kingdom, that Ten Shillings would not be saved and laid out at Interest by any Man in the Kingdom, at least not by any Man, I believe, with a View to answer his Share of the Principal and Interest of that Sum that had been borrowed by the Publick : No, Sir, every Man would live in his usual Way, as if no such Ten Shillings had been, or were ever to be paid ; no Man would contract his usual annual Expence on account of his Share of that Sum borrowed by the Publick ; so that the Sum so borrowed by the Publick, and the Interest thereof, would remain a Charge upon every Man’s Posterity, without their having any Thing left them by their Ancestor for answering that Charge. Even the Posterity of the most frugal Man in the Kingdom would not be One Shilling the richer, on account of that Ten Shillings which was saved in the Pocket of their Ancestor ; because he might have saved Ten Shillings of his yearly Expence in any one Year, and would certainly have saved it, if he had found himself under a Necessity of paying a Tax of Ten Shillings to the Publick.

‘ Sir, we have seen of late Years several Attempts made to throw a Division, and to breed a Dissension between the Landed Interest and the Trading Interest of this Nation ; but such Attempts will, I hope, always prove fruitless, for their Interests are inseparable, and will always be thought

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

fo by every Man who has a Respect for either. There is not a Landed Gentleman of any Sense in the Kingdom, but knows how greatly the Rents of his Estate would be diminished, if our Trade should be undone; and therefore he will never consent to the throwing of any unnecessary Burthen upon it. There is not a Trading Man in the Kingdom, of any Consequence, but has a View to settle himself or his Posterity in a Land-Estate, and therefore he will never agree to the throwing of any unnecessary Burthens upon Land: But, Sir, there has been lately a third Interest reared up in this Kingdom, inconsistent with both: I mean, Sir, the Interest of those concerned in our public Funds: This is an Interest for the Support of which both our Landed Interest, and our Trading Interest are now greatly distressed; and it is an Interest which some Gentlemen seem to have a much greater Regard for than for either of the other two: Such Gentlemen will, I believe, always be for creating new Funds, as long as we have any Thing left unmortgaged, or any Thing upon which a new or additional Tax can be laid; because the creating of new Funds will always increase that Interest which they seem to have so much at Heart; and will prevent its being ever in our Power to diminish those Annuities we are obliged to pay them; but they ought to consider, that the Number of Men concerned in our Landed and Trading Interest, must always be much greater than the Number of those concerned in our Funds; so that if People find that either our Landed Interest, and our Trading Interest must be destroyed, or our publick Fund Interest annihilated, it is easy to see upon whom the Ruin must fall; and therefore, if those Gentlemen consider right, they must conclude that it is against the Interest of the Proprietors of our Funds to make any Additions to them, or to divert that Money which is appropriated, and ought to be applied yearly, to the diminishing of them.

Whether or no it may be necessary to impose any new Taxes, I shall not determine; I hope not, but if it should be found necessary, the Produce of a new Tax may be appropriated to the current Service, as well as the Produce of an old; because if any Deficiency happen, it may and ought to be made good out of the Grants of the succeeding Year; for our present Debts did not proceed from appropriating the Produce of any new Tax, but from not taking Care to make good in every succeeding Year the Deficiencies, which had happened in the Grants for the Service of the former. We all know, Sir, how dangerous it is to have Money lying in the Exchequer unappropriated; we know what a Temptation it is for some Gentlemen to form extravagant Projects, and to put the Nation to a needless Expence: Nay, we know how

how apt some Gentlemen are to break thro' the most strict, and the most necessary Appropriations, in Cases where there is not an immediate absolute Necessity to apply the Sums so appropriated to the Uses for which they were originally designed ; and our Experience in this Particular is one of the chief Reasons, and one of the strongest Arguments for the Question now before us ; therefore if we agree to the laying on of any new Tax, I hope it will be immediately appropriated to the Service of the ensuing Year.

Ann^d 9 Geo. II.
1735-36.

' The very Question now before us is, whether we ought to lay a Restraint upon ourselves, with respect to the contracting of any new Debt, or diverting the Sinking Fund from that Use for which it was originally designed, and to which it stands appropriated by the express Words of those Acts of Parliament by which it was established ? The Restraint now proposed, is only for this Session ; but I wish the Restraint were for all Sessions to come ; and I am sure if we have any Regard for our Posterity, if we have any Regard for the present illustrious Family, if we have any Regard for the future Happiness, I may say Preservation, of the Nation, we will at least for this Session act as if we were under such a Restraint ; therefore there can be no Harm in laying ourselves under any such. And there is the more Occasion for it, because of the frequent Deviations we have lately made from this necessary Rule, and because of the bad Use that may be made of some late Precedents ; for if a Check be not speedily put to such Measures, as all Administrations are but fleeting Things, we may expect that every Administration will endeavour to make themselves easy, and to put off the evil Day as long as they can, by contracting some new Debt every Year, and mortgaging some Part of the Sinking Fund as long as there is a Shilling of it left. As we have at present a pretty considerable Sinking Fund, this Measure may perhaps support the present Administration as long as it can well be supposed to last, especially if no War happens in the mean Time ; but sad and melancholy will the Reckoning certainly come to be at last, when we find ourselves engaged in a dangerous and expensive War, our People loaded with as heavy Taxes as they can possibly bear, and all those Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of Debts, except just as much as may be sufficient for the Support of our Civil Government. This Prospect, Sir, gives me a most terrible Alarm, and therefore I am most heartily for the Question before us.'

Then the Question being put, That the Question be now put ; it was carried in the Negative without a Division.

Ann. 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Mr Heathcote voted
duely elected for
Southwark.

A Petition of the
Justice of Peace
for Middlesex, a-
gainst the excessive
Use of Spirituous
Liquors, which is
referred to a Com-
mittee of the whole
House.

Feb. 17. The House resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That George Heathcote, Esq; was duely elected a Burgess for Southwark: Mr Sheppard the Petitioner having some Days before given up the Dispute.

Feb. 20. A Petition of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, in their general Quarter Sessions assembled, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, That the drinking of Geneva and other distilled Spirituous Liquors, had for some Years past greatly increased, especially among the People of inferior Rank; and that the constant and excessive Use thereof had already destroyed Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects, and rendered great Numbers of others unfit for useful Labour and Service, debauching at the same Time their Morals, and driving them into all manner of Vice and Wickedness; and that that pernicious Liquor was then sold, not only by the Distillers and Geneva Shops but many other Persons of inferior Trades; by which Means, Journeymen, Apprentices, and Servants, were drawn in to taste, and by Degrees to like, approve, and immoderately to drink thereof; and that the Petitioners apprehended the publick Welfare and Safety, as well as the Trade of the Nation, would be greatly affected by it, as that Practice was dangerous and mischievous to the Health, Strength, Peace, and Morals, and tended greatly to diminish the Labour and Industry of his Majesty's Subjects; and therefore praying that the House would take the Premises into their serious Consideration, and apply such Remedy as the House should judge most proper. This Petition was ordered to be referred to a Committee of the whole House; and it was resolved that the House would resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the 23d, to consider of the said Petition.

Four Resolutions of
the said Committee
thereupon.

Feb. 23. The House having resolved itself into the said Committee, Sir Joseph Jekyll mov'd for the following Resolutions, viz. I. That the low Price of Spirituous Liquors was the principal Inducement to the excessive and pernicious Use thereof. II. That in order to prevent the excessive and pernicious Use of Spirituous Liquors, a Discouragement should be given thereto by a Duty to be laid on all such Liquors by Retail. III. That the vending, bartering, or uttering the said Liquors should be restrained to Persons keeping publick Brandy-Shops, Victualling Houses, Coffee-Houses, Ale-Houses and Innholders, and to such Apothecaries and Surgeons, as should make use of the same by way of Medicine only. IV. That no Person keeping a publick Brandy-Shop, a publick Victualling House, Coffee-House or Ale-House, or being an Innholder, should be permitted to vend,

vend, barter, or utter the said Liquors, but by Licence, with a Duty payable thereupon.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Which are agreed
to by the House.

These Resolutions were all agreed to without Debate in the Committee, and being next Day reported to the House, were there likewise agreed to. Then it was ordered, That the said Report be referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply.

Feb. 24. The House proceeded, according to Order, to the Hearing of the several Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of York, and the Deputy-Clerk of the Peace for the East-Riding of the said County, having produced several Books, as the original Poll taken at the said Election; and being examined as to the Time, Place, and Manner of the Delivery thereof to him by the High-Sheriff of the said County; the Counsel for the sitting Member, Sir Miles Stapylton, Bart. against whom only the Petitions were aimed, objected that the said Books ought not to be admitted as Evidence, the same not having been delivered over upon Oath, nor within the Time limited by Law, nor any Proof given, that no Alterations had been made therein after the said Election, and before the said Delivery. Upon this Objection the Counsel of both Sides being heard, and the Preamble and the fifth Section of an Act made in the 10th Year of Queen Anne, intituled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of the shires to serve in Parliament*, was read, whereby it was enacted, That in taking the Poll, the Sheriff, &c. shall
 ‘ enter the Place of the Elector’s Freehold, and of his
 ‘ Abode, and shall mark *Jurat.* against his Name, and the
 ‘ Returning-Officer shall, within twenty Days after the Elec-
 ‘ tion, deliver over to the Clerk of the Peace all the Poll-
 ‘ Books, on Oath made before the two next Justices of the
 ‘ Peace, *Quorum unus, &c.* without Imbezzlement or Altera-
 ‘ tion; and in such Counties where there are more than one
 ‘ Clerk of the Peace, then he shall deliver the original Poll-
 ‘ Books to one, and the attested Copies to the rest, to be
 ‘ preserved amongst the Records of the Sessions of the Peace.*
 Then the Journal of the House of the 12th of March, 1727, in relation to the Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, touching the Election for the County of Bucks was read; after which the said Clerk was again called in and examined as to the keeping of the said Books, since the Time of the said Delivery thereof, and as to the taking Copies of and collating the said Books, and as to the Declarations of the said High-Sheriff, and other Circumstances before and at the Time of such Delivery: After which the

Proceedings on the
Petition of Sir R.
Winn, complaining
of an undue Electi-
on for the County
of York.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

following Question was proposed, That Books, called the Original Poll-Books of the last Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the County of York, produced by Robert Appleton, Deputy-Clerk of the Peace for the East-Riding of the said County, and which were delivered over to him by the High-Sheriff of the said County in open Court, at the Quarter-Sessions of the Peace for the said Riding, about two Months after the said Election, as the original Poll taken at the said Election, and which have been kept by him the said Deputy-Clerk of the Peace ever since among the Records of the Sessions of the Peace for the said Riding, the said Books not being delivered over by the said Sheriff within the Time, nor upon Oath, as required by the Act of the 10th Year of the Reign of Queen Anne, *For the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of Shires to serve in Parliament*, be admitted as Evidence?

After Debate, the Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 201 to 164: Hereupon the said Poll-Books, and Copies of them, were delivered in; and then it was ordered that the farther Hearing of the said Petitions be adjourned to the 26th.

A Bill ordered in,
for limiting the
Number of Officers
in the House
of Commons.

Feb. 25. Mr Sandys moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, *For the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons*; and Leave was accordingly given, and Mr Sandys, Mr Greenville, Mr Gore, and Mr Howe, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Second Debate on
the Yorkshire Election.

Feb. 26. The House proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petitions complaining of an undue Return for the County of York, and the Counsel for the Petitioner Sir Rowland Winn, Bart. and the other Petitioners, having proposed, in order to disqualify John Maken, who voted for Sir Miles Stapylton at the said Election, and then swore that he was a Freeholder, to prove by Parol-Evidence, that he had no Freehold at the Time of the said Election, in the Place where he then swore that his Freehold did lie: The admitting of such Evidence was objected to by the Counsel for the sitting Member, who alledged, that no Man's Parol-Evidence could be admitted, or received as any Proof, against the Affidavit of another Man; and the Counsel on both Sides being heard upon this Objection, and several Journals relating to it read, the following Question was proposed, viz. That the Counsel for the Petitioners be admitted to give Parol-Evidence, as to a Person being no Freeholder at the Time of the Election, who swore himself then to be a Freeholder?

This

This Motion likewise occasioned a long Debate, but at last the Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 206 against 152 ; after which the farther Hearing of the Matters of the said Petitions was adjourned to the 2d of March.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Feb. 27. The House having resolved itself into a Committee, to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, and the Surplusses stated at Lady-Day and Michaelmas having been referred to the said Committee, a Motion was made, That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, his Majesty be enabled to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money not exceeding 600,000 l. at an Interest not exceeding 3 l. *per Cent. per Ann.* by Loans to be charged upon the Surplusses, Excesses, or overplus Monies commonly called the Sinking Fund, redeemable by Parliament.

Debate on a Motion for enabling the King to borrow 600,000 l. at 3 l. *per Cent.* chargeable on the Sinking Fund.

Upon this Motion there was a Debate, in which the Courtiers urged, The Necessity of raising, some Way or other, the Supplies voted for the current Service of the Year ; the Impossibility that there was of raising them any other Way, but by throwing the Burden upon the landed Interest, which would be the more unreasonable, because that Interest had been for many Years overloaded, and obliged to contribute much more than their proportional Share towards the annual publick Expence ; the absolute uncontrollable Right the Parliament had to dispose of the Sinking Fund yearly to such Purposes, as they should think most for the Benefit of the Nation in general ; the Inconvenience of paying off too much of the publick Debt at once ; the Unwillingness of the publick Creditors to receive their Money ; and the small Interest the Nation would be obliged to pay for what Money was necessary to be borrowed upon the Credit of the Sinking Fund.'

To this it was answered, ' That the Supplies, necessary for the current Service of the Year, might have been greatly reduced, if some Gentlemen had thought fit ; in which Case they would not have been obliged either to throw an additional Burden on the landed Interest, or to incroach upon that Fund, which had always, till of late Years, been deemed sacred to the Payment of our publick Debts : That if Words in an Act of Parliament could appropriate any Sum to a particular Use, the Sinking Fund was originally appropriated, in the most express Terms, to the Payment of the publick Debts contracted before the Year 1716 ; and the only Power that was left to future Parliaments, by its original Constitution, was to dispose of it to the Payment of such of those Debts, as should at the Time be thought most necessary to be paid off : That it would be happy for the

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

the Nation, if they could pay off all their publick Debts at once : That the Unwillingness of the publick Creditors to receive their Money was a certain Sign of their having an advantageous Bargain ; and was therefore a Demonstration, that it was the Interest of the Publick to pay them off as fast as possible : And that, tho' they might perhaps be able to borrow the Sum then proposed at 3 l. *per Cent.* yet even at that Rate, it was adding to the future yearly Expence of the Nation a Sum of 18,000 l. *per Ann.* for ever ; which, tho' perhaps a small Sum in the Eyes of Gentlemen who dealt in Millions, was however a Sum, that might thereafter be greatly wanted for the current Service of some succeeding Year : That considering the great Expence we had been at in the then current Year, and the great Expence we were like to be put to in the next, for the Defence of a Foreign Nation, they were surprized to find that no Subsidy had been received, nor any Sum like to be brought, at least to the publick Account, for answering the Expence we had been, or were like to be at on that Occasion : That we found by Experience, no Nation would so much as promise us any Assistance, without our granting them a large annual Subsidy, to commence as soon as the Promise was made, and to be paid, tho' no such Assistance should ever be wanted : That even when some of our Allies had, for very valuable Considerations, engaged to assist us at their own Expence, yet when that Assistance was required, they had always found Pretences for not complying, 'till we engaged to defray any Expence they should be put to upon that Account : That it was certainly our Interest to protect our Allies, and to prevent any one of our Neighbours growing too powerful by conquering another ; but if we always shewed ourselves ready to protect the weakest Side at our own Expence, every one would find Pretences for throwing all the Burden upon our Shoulders, by which Management we must necessarily at last become the weakest of all our Neighbours ; and having thus spent our whole Force, and thrown away all our Money in the protecting of others, we should at last have nothing left wherewithal to protect or support ourselves.'

To this it was replied again, ' That we had given no Assistance, nor had lately put ourselves to any Expence in the Defence of any Nation, but what we were obliged to, not only by the most solemn Treaties, but even for the Sake of our own Preservation : That with regard to the Nation supposed to be nextant [*Portugal*] it was very well known, that we were as much interested in the Defence and Preservation of that Nation as of any other ; and it was likewise known, that we were far from being at all the Expence, for that Nation itself had been at a very great Expence in providing for its own

own Defence, and a great Part of the Money laid out in that Provision had been brought to this Kingdom : That as that Affair was then upon the Anvil, it could not at this Time be fully explained, but a Time would come when it might ; and when that Time did come, the House might then, if they thought fit, inquire into it ; upon which Occasion the Necessity, the Justice, and the Wisdom of our present Conduct would, they believed, be easily explained to the Satisfaction of almost every Gentleman, who might then have the Honour of being a Member of that House.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Then the Question being put for agreeing to the Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

March 2. The House having re-assum'd the Hearing of the Petitions relating to an undue Election for the County of York, the Counsel for the Petitioners examin'd Joshua Wilson, in order to disqualify the above-mentioned John Maken, as having had no Freehold, at the Time of the said Election, in the Place where he then swore that his Freehold did lie ; and the said Wilson beginning to give Evidence of that Disqualification, by relating the Confession of the said John Maken, he was interrupted by the Counsel for the sitting Member, who said, That as the House would not admit of a Man's Confession, even before them, as an Evidence against what he had sworn at the Time of an Election, they would not surely admit of a Man's private Confession to a Neighbour in the Country, as an Evidence against what he had sworn at the Time of an Election. Upon this the Counsel of both Sides were heard, and several Journals read, particularly the Resolution of that House of the 12th of Feb. then last, in the Case of the Election of the Borough of Southwark, against admitting the Petitioner's Counsel to examine Thomas Gaman, in Contradiction to his Oath at that Election : And then the following Question was proposed, viz. ' That the Counsel for the Petitioners be admitted to give Evidence, as to what a Voter confessed of his having no Freehold, who at the Time of the Election swore he had.' Upon this Motion there was also a Debate ; but upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 181 to 132.

Farther Debate on
the Yorkshire Election.

After this the Counsel for the Petitioners proceeded to examine the said Wilson and several other Witnesses, in order to disqualify several other Persons, who voted for the said sitting Member at the said Election ; and having begun to examine a Witness, in order to disqualify one of those Persons, to whom the Petitioners, in the Lists by them deliver'd, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 16th of January last, had objected, that he was not assessed, nor had

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

a Freehold of 40 s. *per Ann.* in the Place, where, at the Time of the said Election, he swore that his Freehold did lie; and it appearing that the Evidence, which the Witness gave, tended to prove that such Person had no Freehold at all there, he was interrupted in his Evidence by the Counsel for the sitting Member, who said, That by the said Order, Petitioners were obliged to deliver to the sitting Members Lists of the Persons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted for the sitting Members, giving in the said Lists the several Heads of Objection, and distinguishing the same against the Names of the Voters excepted to: That as the Petitioners had not objected to this Person that he had no Freehold at all, but only that he had not a Freehold of 40 s. a Year, where, at the Time of the said Election, he swore that his Freehold did lie; therefore no Evidence was to be admitted for proving that he had no Freehold at all. The Counsel of both Sides being heard upon this Objection, after some Debate, the Question was put, and carried, That the Counsel for the Petitioners be admitted to give Evidence as to a Person's having no Freehold at all, to whom the Petitioners had objected, in their List of Objections, that such Person had not a Freehold of 40 s. *per Annum.* Then the farther Hearing of this Affair was adjourned to the 4th Instant.

A Petition of the
Quakers for Relief,
relating to Tithes;

The same Day a Petition of the Quakers was presented to the House, and read, setting forth, ' That notwithstanding the several Acts of Parliament made for the more easy Recovery of Tithes, Church-Rates, Oblations, and other Ecclesiastical Dues, in a summary Way, by Warrant from Justices of the Peace; yet as the said People conscientiously refused the Payment thereof, they were not only liable to, but many of them had undergone grievous Sufferings by Prosecution in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts, to the Imprisonment of their Persons, and the Impoverishing and Ruin of them and their Families, for such small Sums as were recoverable by those Acts; and therefore praying, that the House would be pleased to take the Premises into Consideration, and afford them such Relief therein, as to the House should seem meet. Hereupon it was order'd, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend, and render more effectual the Laws then in being, for the more easy Recovery of Tithes, Church-Rates, Oblations, and other Ecclesiastical Dues from the People called Quakers, and that Mr * Glanville, Sir William † Yonge, Mr Henry Archer, and Mr Hampden, should prepare and bring in the same.

March

* A Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland.

† Secretary at War.

A Bill order'd in
a Committee.

March 8. The House being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, Sir Joseph Jekyll mov'd to resolve, That for all Spirituous Liquors, which any Retailer thereof should, from and after the 24th Day of June, 1736, be possessed of, there should be granted to his Majesty a Duty of twenty Shillings *per* Gallon : But this was oppos'd by several Members, who thought the laying on so high a Duty was in some Measure a Prohibition : And upon this Occasion Mr William Pulteney stood up, and spoke as follows :

Sir,

' I believe it will be admitted by every Gentleman, that the constant and excessive Use of spirituous Liquors among the inferior Rank of our People, is a Practice which has of late Years grown to a monstrous Height, and it will be as generally and as readily admitted, that this Practice is dangerous and mischievous to the Health, Strength, Peace, and Morals of the People ; and that it tends greatly to diminishing the Labour and Industry of his Majesty's Subjects ; therefore I believe we shall all agree in this, that some Method ought to be taken for putting a Stop to this Practice ; but whether it be necessary for this End, to lay a total Prohibition upon the Retail of such Liquors, is a Question that will, in my Opinion, admit of some Doubt, and deserves our most serious Consideration, because of the many bad Consequences with which such a Prohibition must certainly be attended.

' Let us consider, Sir, that the Distilling Trade is a Business which has been carried on by Royal Authority for about an hundred Years, and that it has been not only highly approved, but very much encouraged by several Acts of Parliament passed since the Revolution. Under such publick, such great, and such solemn Sanctions, what Person in the Kingdom could imagine that the Trade was in itself pernicious, or that it was inconsistent with the Health and Welfare of the People ; no Man could : And accordingly great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects, especially within these last forty Years, have betaken themselves to this Business, and have employed all the Money they were Masters of in providing Materials proper for the Business. And farther, Sir, as the distilling of such Spirits has met with great Encouragement from the Legislature for many Years past, so likewise the Retail of them hath been so much encouraged, or at least connived at, and there is not now an Inn, an Alehouse, or a Coffeehouse in the Kingdom, but what owes a great Part of its Profits to the Retail of such Liquors : By which Means there are now such Multitudes of Families in the Kingdom who owe their chief, if not their only Support to the distilling, or to the retailing

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Sir J. Jekyll's Motion for a Duty of 20 s. *per* Gallon to be laid on all Spirituous Liquors.

Mr Pulteney's Speech against the Motion.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

such Liquors, that they very well deserve the Care and the Consideration of a British House of Commons. The only Complaint now before us, Sir, is against the constant and excessive Use of spirituous Liquors among Persons of inferior Rank : There is no Complaint against the Liquors themselves, nor was it ever said that a moderate Use of any sort of such Liquors was hurtful ; nay, it will be granted, I believe, that the moderate Use of them is upon many Occasions convenient, if not necessary ; so that by a total Prohibition of such Liquors by Retail we seem to be carrying the Remedy much farther than the Disease, even with respect to our home-made Spirits. But with respect to Rum, I am sure there never was any Complaint against the constant and excessive Use of that Liquor among Persons of inferior Rank ; therefore I can see no Reason for putting a Stop to the Retail of that Liquor ; and when we consider the present low and distressed Condition of our Sugar-Colonies, and that they are now chiefly supported by the Sale of their Rum, I think we ought not to put almost an intire Stop to the Consumption of that Liquor, without some very strong and very urgent Reasons for so doing.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will suppose or imagine, that I am arguing against our taking some Method for putting a Stop to the constant and excessive Use of such Liquors amongst Persons of inferior Rank. No, Sir, I shall readily and willingly agree to any proper Method for that Purpose ; but I must declare that my Concern is so great for the Multitudes of Families both in this Island and in the West-Indies, who now owe their chief Support to the making and vending of such Liquors, that I cannot give my Consent to any Regulation which will turn them entirely, and at once, out of the Business to which they at present owe their chief Support ; especially, as I am convinced the Disease we have under our Consideration does not any Ways stand in need of such a desperate Cure : And I have likewise so great a Regard for his Majesty and his illustrious Family, and for the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom, that I cannot give my Consent to a Regulation which I foresee will raise great Disaffection to the present Government, and may produce such Riots and Tumults, as may endanger our present Establishment, or at least such as cannot be quelled without spilling the Blood of many of his Majesty’s once faithful Subjects, and putting an End to the Liberties of the People. It is a dangerous, it is, Sir, a terrible Thing, to reduce many thousands of Families at once to a State of Despair, which will be the certain Consequence of laying such high Duties upon the Retail

tail of spirituous Liquors as will amount to a total Prohibition.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

The constant and excessive Use of spirituous Liquors, amongst the inferior Rank of our People, is the only Complaint now properly before us, and as it is evident that this Grievance proceeds entirely from the low Price of our home-made spirituous Liquors, it is certain that a Duty upon all such, perhaps less than that which was imposed by the late Act against Geneva, would prevent the constant and excessive Use of such Liquors amongst the inferior Rank of our People: This, Sir, I think is evident from the Effect of those high Duties which are laid upon Brandy and Rum; for it is certain that Brandy and Rum are more coveted by the Vulgar, and may easily be made more palatable than any sort of home-made Spirit; yet we have never heard of great Complaints made against the constant and excessive Use of Brandy or Rum among Persons of inferior Rank; the Reason of which certainly is, because the Duties upon these Liquors have raised the Price so high, that the lower sort of People cannot afford to make a constant and excessive Use of them; and therefore it is plain, that if the Price of all home-made Spirits were, by a Duty to be laid upon them, made as high as the Price of Rum is at present, it would prevent the constant and excessive Use of them among the Vulgar.

It cannot be said, Sir, that nothing but a total Prohibition can be an effectual Remedy against the Evil complained of, because we all know that the late Act against Geneva was effectual so far as it went: It was made, we know, to extend only to Compound Spirits, and with respect to them it was an effectual Remedy, for it put an entire Stop to the constant and excessive Use of such Spirits amongst those of inferior Rank; but some of the Distillers immediately began to make a sort of plain Spirit, which, I believe, in Derision of the Act, they called Parliament Brandy, and this the Common People made as constant and as excessive an Use of, as they had before done of Compound Spirits: This was the Case of that Act, and if it had been amended, and made to extend to all home-made Spirits, instead of being repealed, there would never have been Occasion for any such Complaint as that we have now before us: How it comes to be repealed, I shall not now take upon me to explain; but upon recollecting what was the Effect of that Act, I think we need not give ourselves any great Trouble in searching after a Remedy for the Disease now complained of: Let us but revive that Act, extend it to all home-made Spirits, and add some Clauses for preventing any

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Person's selling spirituous Liquors without a Licence, and I am convinced the Remedy will be found to be effectual.

‘ But admitting that nothing but a total Prohibition will do ; yet, for God's Sake, Sir, let us have some Regard to the many poor Families that are now supported by the distilling and vending of spirituous Liquors : Do not let us, for God's Sake, turn them all at once out of their Livelyhood : Let us consider how difficult it is for a Man who has been bred up to, and long exercised one sort of Business, to turn himself all at once to another, by which he may support his Family : Let us consider what a Loss he must sustain by the Sale of those Utensils he had occasion for in his former Way of Business ; The Difficulty must upon all Occasions be great, the Loss must be considerable ; but by turning such Multitudes adrift at once, we shall make the Difficulty insurmountable, and the Loss irreparable ; for there will be such Numbers brought at once to look out for new Employments, that it will make it impossible for any one of them to succeed ; and there will be such a large Quantity of a certain Sort of Materials brought at once to the Market, that none of them will bear any Price. In short, Sir, the Difficulties and Distresses which many poor Families must be drove to, raise in me the most melancholy Reflections, and they must raise in the Breast of every Man that hears me, the most compassionate Concern ; therefore, if it be thought absolutely necessary to lay on such Duties as will amount to a Prohibition, I hope they will not be laid on all at once : We may now lay on a small Duty upon all sorts of Spirits sold by Retail, and a small Duty upon Licences for selling by Retail ; we may increase those Duties the next Session, and we may go on increasing yearly, till they be at last brought up so high as to amount to a Prohibition : By this Method People will have time to look about them, and will get out of the Trade by Degrees ; which will make it the less hurtful to every particular Man, and the more easy for him to fix himself in some new Way of Business, by which he may be able to support his Family.

‘ I have often heard, Sir, of Sumptuary Laws, by which certain Sorts of Apparel, or rather Decorations, have been forbid to be worn by Persons of inferior Rank ; but I never yet heard of a Sumptuary Law, by which any Sort of Victuals or Drink were forbid to be made use of by Persons of a low Degree ; yet this is, as it appears to me, what seems to be now intended : We are absolutely to forbid the Use of Spirituous Liquors to all those, who are not able to purchase a certain Number of Gallons at a Time : A poor Journeyman or Labourer shall not have a Dram, shall not have a Glass of Punch, unless he can spare to lay out eight or ten Shillings at a Time,

a Time, which I am sure two Thirds of our People cannot well spare to do: Whereas, if a Man is rich enough to lay out eight or ten Shillings at a Time, or profligate enough to pawn his Coat, in order to raise the Money, he may drink as much, he may commit as many Debauches in that Liquor as he pleases; the Law, contrived by the Wisdom of the British Legislature against the excessive Drinking of Spirits, shall put no Restraint upon any such Man: If Spirituous Liquors, even when taken in the most moderate Way, are of such a pernicious Nature, that they ought never to be tasted without the Advice and Prescription of a Physician, we ought to take Care of the Rich as well as of the Poor, by putting it out of the Power of the former, as well as of the latter, to taste the bewitching Cup without such Advice and Prescription; but if the moderate Use of such Liquors be no way hurtful, I can see no Reason for our making any invidious Distinction between the Poor and the Rich; let us leave the moderate Use of such Liquors to all, and take all proper Methods for preventing their being immoderately used by any. This, I think, Sir, may be done by a much lower Duty than that now proposed, and therefore, tho' I have as great a Regard for the Health and the Morals of the People, as any Gentleman in this House; yet I cannot but be against the Motion now made to you, because of the terrible Consequences with which it must necessarily be attended.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

In answer to the above Speech of Mr Pulteney's it was urg'd, ' That no sort of distilled Spirituous Liquor was absolutely necessary for the Support of Nature; that such Liquors were at first used only by Physicians, in some dangerous Distempers, and were never dispensed but in small Quantities; but when such Liquors were to be met with at every Corner, and People left at Liberty to take as much of them as they pleased, few could keep themselves within any Bounds, because a small Quantity deprived them of their Reason, and the Companions they usually met with at such Places, encouraged them to drink to Excess: That it was impossible to prevent this Excess, without diminishing the Number of Retailers of such Liquors, and raising the Price so high, as to put them out of the Reach of Persons of inferior Rank, who were the only Sort of People apt to make a Custom of getting drunk with such Liquor; for that very few of the better Sort had ever been found to commit frequent Debauches in such Liquors; and even with respect to them, by putting it out of their Power to meet with such Liquors at a cheap Rate in any Place of publick Resort, the Temptations which might arise from promiscuous Company, would be entirely taken away, and

Arguments in Be-
half of the Mo-
tion.

very

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

very few Persons were so ridiculously abandoned as to get drunk by themselves.

‘ That they were very sensible of the Difficulties to which great Numbers of his Majesty’s Subjects would be reduced by the Duties to be laid upon the Retail of such Liquors ; but the Interest of every particular Man must give way to the general Interest ; and where the Preservation of the Society was so essentially concerned, the Prejudice of some few particular Persons was not to be regarded. However, that all possible Care would be taken of those that might suffer by the Duties to be laid upon the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, in order that they might be enabled to fall upon some other Way of supporting their Families ; and as every one would be convinced that their being turned out of their present Way of supporting them, was necessary for the publick Good, it was to be presumed that every Man would willingly submit to such a Regulation ; so that it could not raise any Disaffection to his Majesty’s Government.

‘ That with respect to Rum and Brandy, it was very certain that they likewise had been often drank to great Excess, notwithstanding the high Duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious, both to the Health and the Morals of the People, as any home-made Spirit : That it would be ridiculous to lay a higher Duty upon home-made Spirits, which were the Manufacture of the Subjects of this Island, than upon Rum and Brandy, especially the latter ; and that if our Sugar-Islands should suffer a little by our lessening the Consumption of Rum, they could not complain, when they considered that it was for the Sake of preserving their Mother-Country, the general Interest of which was always to be preferred to the particular Interest of any Colony : for if any sort of Spirit should be exempted from the Duties then to be imposed, the Retailers would sell all Sorts of Spirits under that Denomination, and the Distillers would compound them in such a Manner, that it would be impossible to discover the Fallacy.

‘ That they would willingly agree to the Method proposed by the honourable Gentleman, of laying on but a small Duty at once, and raising that Duty by Degrees ; but they were very sure the laying on a small Duty would not be an effectual Remedy for the Evil so loudly complained of : And if the Resentment, then in the Nation against all Sorts of distilled Spirituous Liquors, should be allowed to subside, they were afraid they would never be able to get a new Act passed for raising that Duty, because of the Multitudes of People that would always be engaged, by their own private Interest, to oppose the passing of any such Law ; therefore they thought it was absolutely necessary to take
Advantage

Advantage of present Conjuncture, to put an effectual Stop to a Practice so long, and so justly complained of ; and for that Reason they were for agreeing with the Motion.

The Question being then put upon Sir Joseph Jekyll's Motion, the same was agreed to without any farther Debate ; as was likewise the following, viz. That from and after the 24th Day of June, 1736, the Sum of 50 l. yearly should be paid to his Majesty, for a Licence, to be taken out yearly by every Person keeping a publick Brandy-Shop, a publick Victualling-House, Coffee-House, or Ale-House, or being an Innholder, who shall vend, barter, or utter, any such Spirituous Liquors.

The Chairman of the Committee being about to make a Report of the two foregoing Resolutions to the House, Sir Robert Walpole stood up and mov'd, ' That the Committee might sit again before any Report was made to the House, because as the Duties propos'd to be laid upon Spirituous Liquors would certainly very much diminish the Consumption of such Spirits, it was not to be expected that the Duties upon such Spirits would produce so much yearly as they had formerly done ; and as the former Produce stood appropriated for answering certain Annuities and Payments, particularly to the Civil List, it would be necessary to consider of Ways and Means to make good the Deficiencies, that might happen by the two Resolutions they had then agreed to : Hereupon the Committee agreed to sit again upon that Affair before making any Report.

March 9. The House proceeded farther on the contested Election for the County of York, and the Counsel for Sir Rowland Winn having propos'd to disqualify William Stothard, who voted in Right of a Freehold at Acomb in the Wapontake of Aynsty, within the County of the City of York, and having examin'd a Witness concerning the Usage of voting for Freeholds lying in the said Hundred at Elections for the County of York, the Counsel for Sir Miles Stapylton, sitting Member, were heard in Answer to the Evidence of that Disqualification. And a Copy of the Record of the Letters Patent granted by King Henry VI. to the Mayor and Citizens of York was read, reciting that the Mayor and Citizens were Bailiffs of and in the Hundred of Aynsty, and granting to them and their Successors that the said Hundred or Wapontake, with the Appurtenances, should be annexed and united to the County of the said City, as Parcel thereof, excepting the Castle of York and its District ; and saving to the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter ; and all other Persons, all kind of Franchises, Privileges, &c. to them of right belonging : Hereupon it was resolv'd, That Persons whose Freeholds lie within that Part of the County

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-6.

The Motion for laying a Duty of 20s. per Gallon on all Spirituous Liquors agreed to in the Grand Committee, who resolv'd also, That all Retailers thereof shall pay 50 l. yearly for a Licence.

Sir Robert Walpole moves, That the Committee might sit again, to make good what Deficiencies might happen in the Civil List, by the above Resolutions, which is agreed to.

The House proceed farther on the contested Election for York-shire, and resolv'd, That Freeholders in the Aynsty have a Right to vote for Knights of the Shire.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

A Petition of the
Druggists, &c.
complaining of
the unequal Du-
ties upon Tea,
and the pernicious
Practice of Smug-
gling.

of the City of York, which is commonly call'd the Aynsty, have a Right to Vote for Knight of the Shire for the County of York.

March 10. A Petition of the Druggists, and other Dealers in Tea, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, ' That the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Interest of the fair Trader in Tea would have been effectually secured by an Act passed in the 10th Year of his late Majesty, by which an Inland Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound was laid on all Tea, without Distinction of Quality; but notwithstanding the Regulations made by that Act, and the many Penalties the Smugglers of Tea and their Accomplices were liable to by Law, the Petitioners had fatally experienced, the clandestine Importation of that Commodity was so far from being prevented, that it was carried on to such a Degree, that the Petitioners had the strongest Reason to believe, near one half of the Tea consumed in this Kingdom paid no Duty; and that the very high Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound, as well as the Inequality of its being laid, were the principal Foundations of the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, the coarser Sort bearing much too great a Proportion of the said Duty, and by the Smugglers bought Abroad at one third of the Price it would stand the fair Trader in at Home; and that unless some Remedy should be applied effectually to prevent that known Evil, the Petitioners and all fair Traders would be under extreme Difficulties in carrying on their Trade, by reason of the Disadvantages they were under, from the Practices of Smuggling, as well as from the Hardships they endured, and the Trouble they were put to, by the Execution of the said Act; and that the Petitioners conceived the most effectual Means of putting a Stop to the clandestine Importation of Tea would be, to alter the Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound to a certain Rate *ad Valorem*, according to the Prices Tea should sell for at the East-India Company's Sale; by which Alteration, the Petitioners apprehended, the Amount of the Duty to the Publick would be equivalent, considering the Quantity, before that Time fraudulently imported, would be then added to the Revenue; and therefore, for the Preservation of that Trade to the Petitioners, by putting an End to the Practice of Smuggling, and for securing a Revenue to the Publick, by the Importation of that Commodity in British Ships from China and other Parts of India, and for preventing any Money being sent to neighbouring Countries for the Purchase of Tea to be clandestinely imported and consumed in this Kingdom, praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, and give the Petitioners such Relief, as to the House should seem meet.' Hereupon it was resolved, *Nem. Con.* That that House would, upon

upon that Day Seven-night, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the most effectual Means to put a Stop to the great and growing Evil arising from the unwarrantable and illegal Methods of importing Tea and other Goods into this Kingdom ; and the said Petition was order'd to be referred to the Consideration of the said Committee.

Ann^o9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

March 12. A Motion was made by Mr Walter Plumer, That an Act made in the 25th of King Charles II. intituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*, might be read ; and the same being read accordingly, Mr Plumer stood up and spoke as follows :

Mr Plumer's Motion for repealing the Test-Act.

Sir,

‘ I believe every Gentleman that hears me may easily judge, with what View I have desired this Act to be read to you. It is, Sir, with a Design to have some Part of it repealed, and another Part so amended and explained, as to make it consistent with that Charity and good Nature which every Member of the Christian Religion ought to shew to another.

‘ The Motion I am now to make, Sir, proceeds chiefly from these three Considerations : That I am, and I hope shall always be, an utter Enemy to all manner of Persecution ; That I have a great Reverence for that solemn Institution called the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and That I shall always be for every thing which I think may tend towards establishing and preserving the Unity, Peace, and Trade of my Country. These are Considerations which I am persuaded are of as great Weight with every Gentleman of this House as they are with me ; and therefore, if I can shew that there is any Thing in this Act that looks like Persecution, any Thing that brings a Contempt upon that holy Institution of our Religion, or any Thing inconsistent with the Unity and Peace of our People, or with the Trade of our Country, I make no Doubt of having the unanimous Assent of this House to what I am to propose ; and, in my Opinion, it would contribute greatly to the Glory of this Generation, as well as the Honour of this House of Commons, to have it agreed to *Nemine contradicente*.

‘ I hope, Sir, it will be granted me, that the subjecting a Man to a great Penalty if he refused to subscribe to an Opinion which he thought inconsistent with the Christian Religion, or to join in any Ceremonies of publick Worship which he thought sinful or perhaps idolatrous, would be a very heavy Persecution ; and I hope it will likewise be granted, that to render a Man upon any such Account incapable of holding a Land-Estate, or of succeeding to any

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Estate as next Heir or next of Kin, would also amount to a high Degree of Persecution: Now in this Statute which has been read to you, there is one Clause which enacts, 'That all Persons that shall bear Office, Civil or Military, or receive any Salary or Wages by any Grant from the King, or shall have Command or Place of Trust from or under him, or shall be in his Navy or Household, in England, Wales, Berwick, Jersey, or Guernsey, shall not only take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, in the next Term, or at the Quarter Sessions, within three Months after their Admittance, but shall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England, of which they are to deliver a Certificate, and make Proof, at the Time of their taking the said Oaths; in Failure of which they are *ipso Facto* disabled to enjoy the said Offices or Employments, or any Profit thereby: ' And by another Clause, ' Persons beyond the Seas or under any of the other Impediments there mentioned, are to receive the Sacrament and take the said Oaths, within four Months after such Impediment removed.' By this Regulation it is evident, that no Man can hold or enjoy an Office or Employment, Civil or Military, without declaring himself a Member of the Church of England as by Law established; and as there are great Numbers of faithful Subjects, who have the Misfortune of believing that some of the Opinions established by our Church are not entirely consistent with Christianity, and that some of our religious Ceremonies tend towards Idolatry, such Men cannot sincerely communicate with the established Church; upon which Account, and upon that only, they may therefore be subjected to Penalties, or deprived of a yearly Revenue, according to the Nature of the Office they may be named or entitled to; for if the Post or Office be such a one as is attended with Trouble only, there is generally a Penalty upon a Man's refusing to serve it; which Penalty every Man must pay who is not a Member of the Church of England; because by this Clause he is debarred from serving the Office; whereas if it were not for this Incapacity he is laid under, he might probably chuse to serve the Office rather than pay the Penalty; and I would be glad to know the Difference between subjecting a Man directly to a Penalty for refusing to join in any religious Opinion or Ceremony, and this indirect Manner of subjecting him to it, by tacking to an Office, in itself merely temporal, a most solemn Approbation of all the religious Doctrines and Ceremonies of the established Church.

' Again, Sir, if the Post or Office to which a Man is named or intitled, be one of those to which a yearly Salary or Revenue is annexed, from the Day of his Nomination
he

he has as good a Right to receive the Profits of that Office as any Man has, or can have, to his Ancestor's Estate, they being both founded chiefly upon the Law of the Land; nay it often happens, that the Person named to any Post or Office has by long and faithful Services fully deserved that Nomination; and this I take to be a more meritorious Title, than the Title any Man can have to the Estate of his Ancestor or next Relation. Suppose we should have a new foreign War of ten Years Duration, as we had in the late Queen's Reign; suppose a Gentleman of the Dissenting Persuasion should in the Beginning of that War go abroad a Cadet in one of our Marching Regiments, and in Consideration of much Blood lost, and many brave Services performed in the Cause of his Country, should be at last made Colonel of a Regiment, would not such a Man be fully intitled to the Profits of his Commission, during the Time his Majesty should think fit to continue him in Command? Would it not be downright Persecution to turn him out of his Commission, and reduce him to a starving Condition, meerly for the sake of a Scruple of Conscience? Yet the Case would be so, if this Law should be then in Force: Upon the first Return of the Regiment to England, he would be obliged, within four Months to give up his Regiment, or receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Usage of our Established Church, which his Conscience would not permit him to do, if he should happen to be a sincere Dissenter: Therefore I must look upon this as a much higher Degree of Persecution, than it would be to render a Man, on Account of any religious Opinion, incapable of holding a Land-Estate, or of succeeding to any Estate as next of Kin.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear that a very high Degree of Persecution lurks under the incapacitating Clauses I have mentioned, and therefore, in my Motion for the Repeal of them, I hope I shall have the Concurrence of all those who are real Enemies to that Anti-christian Practice; but when I consider the Reverence due to the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper; a sacred Mystery which none ought to approach, without having first diligently examined themselves, and to which all are to be invited, but none to be compelled, I am surpris'd that it should ever have been turned to such a prophane Use, as that of qualifying a Man for being an Adjutant to a Regiment, or the Bailiff of a little Borough. This, Sir, is perverting it to an Use for which I am sure it was never intended, and this Perversion has already produced, and will always produce, many and great Abominations. It is well known how many have become unworthy Partakers of the Holy Communion,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

for the sake only of intitling themselves to some lucrative Post or Employment ; it is well known what terrible Indecencies some have been guilty of, upon such Occasions, and what a Scandal has often been thereby given to all those who are truly devout. This is so generally known that it is now the common Practice in all the Churches of England, for the Curate to desire the legal Communicants if any there be, I mean those who come there in Obedience to that Statute, to divide themselves from those who come there purely for the Sake of Devotion ; and, indeed, it were to be wished that none of the former should ever be allowed to Communicate in the Presence of, much less at the same Table with any of the latter ; for the former are often so well and so generally known to be unworthy Partakers, that their being admitted upon any Pretence whatsoever, gives great Offence to the truly Religious, and tends to subvert the Morals of the Vulgar, by lessening that Esteem which they ought to have for the established Religion of their Country, and which wise Magistrates will always cultivate with all possible Care ; but this by long and general Experience we know, is not to be done by Penal Laws. On the contrary, such Guarantees for the established Religion of any Country, have always produced Pride, Ignorance, Luxury, and Oppression, among those of the Established Church, and invincible, nay, often victorious Enthusiasm, among those of the contrary Religion. Even in this Kingdom, we know, that Penal Laws and Persecution raised so high the Torrent of Enthusiasm among us, that our Established Church was at last quite overwhelmed by the dissenting Interest ; and happy was it for our Church that those Enthusiasts destroyed our Constitution, as well as our established Religion ; for if they had preserved the former, I am afraid the latter had never been restored. Since the Repeal of most of our persecuting Laws, the dissenting Interest has daily decreased ; and I am convinced those Remains of it that are now among us, are chiefly owing to the Act now under our Consideration, and one other Act of much the same Nature.

‘ With regard to the Peace and Unity of our People, I must say, Sir, it is Matter of great Surprise to me, how the Legislature of any Country could be prevailed on to annex temporal Rewards or Punishments to speculative Opinions in Religion. I can easily conceive how Doctors might differ in speculative Points of Divinity, as well as in speculative Points of Law, Physick, or Philosophy ; and I know with what Vehemence a learned Doctor in either of those Sciences maintains his own Opinion, and with what Envy, Malice, and Rage, he pursues his Adversaries ; but I cannot easily

easily conceive what Reasons the Lawgivers of any Country could have, to adopt and establish speculative Opinions of any particular Doctor in Divinity, while at the same Time they shewed a very great Indifference, with regard to the speculative Opinions of the Doctors in all other Branches of Literature : The Cause of this different Behaviour in our ancient Lawgivers, I say, I cannot well comprehend ; but whatever may have been the Cause, if they thereby intended to establish an Uniformity of Opinion with respect to religious Matters, Experience has shewn that they have been most egregiously mistaken ; for the annexing of temporal Rewards and Punishments to speculative Opinions, has been so far from reconciling Men's Minds, and making them agree in any one Opinion, that it has rendered those of different Opinions in Religion, not only implacable, but most cruel and barbarous Enemies to one another ; an Effect which has never been produced by Difference of Opinion in any other Science. In Law, in Physick, in Philosophy, there are, and always have been, Doctors of different Opinions ; and among them too there have always been, I believe, some who would have gladly confuted their Adversaries by Fire and Faggot, especially when they found themselves overcome by fair Reasoning ; but as the Law of no Country has as yet thought fit to interpose in those Disputes, we find the Followers of these Doctors have generally argued the Matter very coolly, and when the Dispute was over have parted as good Friends as they met. This has hitherto been the Case in all Sciences except Divinity ; but if we should make a Law for punishing those who did not agree with the Newtonian System of Philosophy, or for rendering all such incapable to hold any Post or Office in our Government, I am persuaded we should have, in a few Years, great Numbers of our People who would be ready to sacrifice Life and Fortune in Defence of the Aristotelian or the Cartesian System : Nay, if any such Law were made against all those who did not believe that the three Angles of every Triangle, are equal to two right Angles, I make no doubt but that this plain Demonstration would be most violently opposed by great Numbers of Men in the Kingdom ; for when the Passions of Men are stirred up by temporal Rewards and Punishments, the most reasonable Opinions are rejected with Indignation, the most ridiculous are embraced with a frantick Sort of Zeal. Therefore, Sir, if we have a Mind to establish Peace among our People, we must allow Men to judge freely in Matters of Religion, and to embrace that Opinion they think right, without any Hopes of temporal Rewards, and without any Fears of temporal Punishment.

Anno 9. Geo. 9.
1735-36.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Debate thereon.

Sir Wilfr. Lawson.

Ld Noel Somerfet.

Ld Tyrconnel.

Mr Danvers.

Mr Shippen.

Sir R. Walpole.

' As to our Trade, Sir, the Advantages we have reaped in that respect by the Toleration Act are so apparent, that I shall not take up your Time with enlarging upon that Subject ; but in order to retain those Advantages, and to improve them as much as possible, I shall beg Leave to move, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the said Act passed in the 25th of Charles II. intituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*, as obliges all Persons, who are admitted to any Office, Civil or Military, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, within a Time limited by the said Act, and for explaining and amending so much of the said Act, as relates to the Declaration against Transubstantiation.'

Mr Plumer being seconded by Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; the same was oppos'd by Lord Noel Somerfet, Lord Viscount Tyrconnell, Mr Danvers, Mr Shippen, and Sir Robert Walpole, who urged the following Arguments against the Motion.

Sir,

' As I have hitherto appeared to be an utter Enemy to all Persecution, I hope my disagreeing with this Motion will not be looked on as any Sign of my having changed my Opinion, or of my having any Intention to alter my Conduct for the future : So far otherwise, Sir, I have still, and I hope shall always have, as tender a Regard for the Dissenters of all Denominations, as any Man can have, who is a true Member of the Church established by Law. As a sincere Member of the Church of England I must, and I do wish that all the Dissenters in the Kingdom could be gained over to the Established Church ; but though I wish for this happy Event, yet I shall never be for attempting the Accomplishment of that Wish by any Methods that have the least Tendency towards Persecution, or towards doing a real Injury to any Man whose Conscience will not allow him to embrace the Established Religion of his Country : For all such I shall continue to have a real Concern ; because I think this Difference of Opinion is a Man's Misfortune, and not his Crime.

' But, Sir, the Word *Persecution* has, in my Opinion, been very much mistaken by the honourable Gentleman who made you this Motion ; for according to the Meaning he has put upon the Words, there could be no established Church, or established Religion in the World, but what must be deemed guilty of persecuting all those who differ from it ; and yet those Gentlemen will, I believe, grant, that in every Society there ought to be an established Religion, or a certain Form of publick Worship established by the Laws of that Society ; therefore we must find out a
Meaning

Meaning for these Words different from that which has been put upon it.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

‘ As there is in every Society a certain Form of Government established, I hope it will be granted, that it is the Duty of every Member of that Society to support and preserve that Form of Government as long as he thinks it the best that can be established ; and on the other Hand, if there be any Man, or any Set of Men, who are convinced that a different Form of Government would render the Society much more happy and powerful, I believe it will likewise be granted, that it is the Duty of all such Men to endeavour, in a peaceable Way, at least, to bring about an Alteration. These two Duties therefore being altogether inconsistent, nay, even destructive of one another, it is absolutely impossible for the one Set of Men to do their Duty, without laying the other Set under some Hardships : When those Hardships are no greater than what are absolutely necessary for the End intended, they are just and reasonable, and such as those who are subjected to them, ought not to complain of ; but when they are greater than what are necessary, they then begin to take and to deserve the Name of Oppression, and according to the Degrees of this Excess, the Degrees of Oppression are always to be computed. In this Kingdom we know there is a Set of Men who think it their Duty to endeavour to bring about an Alteration of our present happy Establishment, I mean our Nonjurors ; who for that very Reason are excluded from all Posts and Places in our Government, which is certainly a Hardship upon them ; but I am sure it cannot be called an Oppression ; nor can this Exclusion with Respect to them be called a Punishment.

‘ And if there be a Set of Men in this Kingdom who think the Doctrines of the established Church inconsistent with Christianity, or the Ceremonies of our publick Worship idolatrous, it is their Duty as Christians to attempt to bring about an Alteration in our established Religion, and they certainly will attempt it as soon as it is in their Power ; nay, with all Deference to the honourable Gentlemen who have spoke upon the other side of the Question, for all of whom I have the greatest Esteem, I must look upon this very Motion as a Beginning of that Attempt ; but as I am a Member of the Church of England, and think it the best Religion that can be established, I think it my Duty to prevent its being ever in the Power of such Men to succeed in any such Attempt ; and for this Purpose, I think it absolutely necessary to exclude them from any Share in the executive Part of our Government at least ; because if the executive Part should once come to be generally in their Hands,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Hands, they would very probably get the Legislative Part likewise, from which Time it would be in vain to think of preventing, in a peaceable Manner, their doing whatever they had a Mind ; and it must be presumed they would do what they thought themselves in Duty bound to do. To exclude a Man from a profitable Post or Employment, I shall admit to be a Hardship upon the Man so excluded ; but as it is absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our established Church, to exclude those, who think it their Duty to destroy it, from any Share in the executive Part of our Government ; therefore this Exclusion can no more be called Persecution, than it can be called Oppression, to exclude Nonjurors from any Share of our Government Executive or Legislative, nor can such Exclusion be deemed a Punishment in the one Case any more than in the other.

‘ In the supposed Case of a brave Dissenter’s being advanced to the Command of a Regiment, I shall grant that it would be a great Hardship upon him to be turned out of his Command, and to be exposed to a starving Condition, upon his return to his Native Country ; but the same Case may be supposed with respect to a Roman Catholick Gentleman ; yet there would be no Persecution in either Case ; because the excluding of all such Men from any Command in our Army, especially here at Home, is, I think, absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution in the happy State it is in at present : Nor could such an Exclusion be called a Punishment upon the Man so excluded, no more than it can be called a Punishment upon a Man of five Foot and a Half to be excluded from being a Soldier in the Guards ; for neither of these Exclusions proceeds from any Crime or Fault in the Man, it being as impossible for a Man to alter his Opinion when he has a Mind, as it is to add two or three Inches to his Stature when he has Occasion for it ; but as the latter becomes necessary for the Sake of preserving the Beauty and Symmetry of a Regiment, so the former becomes necessary for the Sake of preserving the Beauty and Symmetry of a Society.

The Argument raised from the supposed Abuse of the blessed Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, is founded upon a Fact which I cannot admit ; for as there is nothing in this Law that can compel the Admission of an unworthy Person ; as the Ministers of our Church may refuse to admit any Person to that Sacrament, who does not devoutly and humbly desire it, or for any other lawful Cause, [*See Statute 1 Edward VI. Chap. 1.*] I must presume no unworthy Persons are admitted ; or at least, if there be, it does not proceed from any Fault in this or any other of our Statutes, but

but from the criminal and irreligious Neglect of the Minister who admits them.

Anno. Geo. II.
1735 36.

‘ As to the Unity and Peace of our People, I am persuaded, Sir, the Repeal of this Law, and another which I believe is likewise intended, would raise most terrible Disturbances and Confusions ; for with Respect to all Posts and Employments that go by Election, we should have all the Dissenters combining closely together to bring in their Friends, which would of course breed many Riots and Tumults. And as to our Trade, it depends so much upon the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation, that if we have a Mind to preserve it, we ought not to make any new Regulation or repeal any old, if by so doing we run the Risque of raising Heart-burnings and Jealousies among our People.

To this it was replied by Lord Polwarth, Mr Heathcote, and Mr Holden, as follows :

Lord Polwarth.
Mr Heathcote.
Mr Holden.

Sir,

‘ I shall take up very little of your Time in replying to what has been said ; for in my Opinion, the Arguments for the Motion have been enforced by what has been said by way of Answer to them.

‘ If the Hardships imposed upon the Dissenters, by the Law under our Consideration, are greater than what are absolutely necessary for preventing its being in their Power to destroy the Established Church, it must be granted, from what has been said of the other Side of the Question, that this Law is a persecuting Law : Now, Sir, to determine this Question in the Affirmative, we need have Recourse to no other Nation but Scotland : With regard to that Nation, we know that the Presbyterian Religion, which is here one of our Dissenting Religions, is there the Established Church, and what is here our Establish’d Church, is there a Dissenting Religion ; yet the Established Church in Scotland have never thought it necessary, nor does it appear to be necessary, for their Preservation, to exclude their Dissenters from all Posts and Employments in the executive Part of their Government, nor have they any Law for such a Purpose ; but on the contrary some of their Judges and Magistrates, and many of those in Posts and Employments in that Kingdom, go openly, and in the most solemn Manner, to the Episcopal or Church of England Meeting-Houses ; and tho’ this Practice or Indulgence has been continued for many Years, and continues to this Day, yet the Established Church in that Country is so far from being in any Danger of being overturned by what is there the dissenting Interest, that the former is daily gaining Ground upon the latter ; which evidently shews the great Weight and Effect of a legal Establishment, with respect to Religion, when the Minds of Men are not irritated by any

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

unnecessary Hardships put upon them. I could likewise instance Holland, and several other Protestant Countries, to shew that rendering Dissenters incapable of serving the Crown in any Post of Honour, Trust, or Profit, is a Hardship put upon them, which is so far from being absolutely necessary, that it is not at all necessary for preserving the Established Religion of any Country ; and therefore this Hardship must in the strictest Sense be called Persecution, even according to the Meaning put upon it by the honourable Gentlemen, who have spoke on the other Side of the Question.

With respect to Nonjurors and Roman-Catholicks, the Hardships put upon them are not for the Sake of a Scruple of Conscience in any Matter of a religious Concern, but because they are Enemies to the State, and to the present happy Establishment ; but I am surprized to hear it said that the rendering of them, or the Dissenters, incapable of holding any Post of Honour, Trust, or Profit under the Crown, is no Punishment, when I consider that that very Punishment has often been inflicted by Parliament, as one of the greatest Punishments they could inflict upon Crimes of a very high Nature : Surely this legal Incapacity must be looked on as a Punishment upon both, but with this Difference, that upon Nonjurors or Roman Catholicks, it is with great Justice inflicted, but upon Dissenters it is inflicted without any Occasion, no Party among the latter having ever yet been suspected of being Enemies to our present Establishment, unless the rejecting of this Motion should make them so. I am sure every Gentleman that hears me must grant, that there is some Difference between a Capacity of being a Soldier in the Guards, and a Capacity of holding any Post or Preferment under the Crown : The Guards are the King's own Servants, and every Man may chuse what sort of Servants he has a mind ; therefore no Man has a Title to any Capacity of being a Soldier in the Guards ; but every Subject has a Title to a Capacity at least of sharing in the Honours and Preferments of his Country, and that Capacity ought not to be taken from him, but by way of Punishment for some very high Crime or Misdemeanour ; for it is a Punishment so dishonourable and severe, that we never find it inflicted by our Laws upon Crimes of an ordinary Nature.

I shall grant, Sir, that a Minister of the Established Church is not, by any express Words in this Act, ordered or compelled to administer the Sacrament to an unworthy Person, who desires it only for the Sake of enabling himself to hold a beneficial Employment ; but if a Minister of the Church of England should refuse to administer the Sacrament to any Person, upon such Occasion, and that Person should by means of such Refusal lose his Post, or only
a Year's

a Year's Salary, he might bring his Action at Common Law upon the Statute of King Edward VI. against such Minister, and would recover great Damages, if the Court should not approve of the Minister's Reason for refusing to administer the Sacrament to the Plaintiff: Whereas, before the receiving of the Sacrament was made a Qualification for a civil Employment, no such Plaintiff could have recovered any considerable Damage; nay, I doubt if he could have recovered any Damage at all; for he could not probably have proved any temporal Damage by his not receiving the Sacrament when he desired it; and I do not see how a Jury could pretend to put a Value upon the spiritual Damage he might pretend to have received. Those Laws therefore, which have made the receiving the Sacrament a Qualification for a civil Employment, have subjected all the Clergymen of the Church of England to a very great Difficulty; because they are by those Laws, and by those only, subjected to the Danger of having such Damages given against them as may ruin them and their Families for ever, in Case they refuse to administer the Sacrament to a Person, whom they know to be a most profligate and impenitent Sinner; for this a Minister of our Church may be fully convinced of, and yet it may be impossible for him to make the same appear to a Jury.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

To pretend, Sir, that if those incapacitating Laws were repealed, the Dissenters would combine closely together in all Elections, and that these Combinations would occasion terrible Disturbances, is contradicted by Experiences, is contradicted by Experience in England as well as Scotland; for tho' many of the Dissenters in England do communicate sometimes with the Established Church, and in Consequence thereof become Candidates, from Time to Time, for almost every elective Civil Post in the Kingdom; and tho' the Dissenters do generally join pretty unanimously upon such Occasions, I believe more unanimously than they would do if these Laws were repealed, yet we find it never produces any Disturbances. And in Scotland, where the Dissenters from their Established Church are under no incapacitating Laws, we find that the Disputes about Elections never produce any Disturbances between the two religious Parties in that Kingdom; altho' it must be granted that the People of that Country are as violent in all their Desires, as bold and enterprising in their Designs, and as turbulent under Disappointments, as the People in any Country, I believe, upon the Face of the Earth. We must therefore from Experience conclude, that the Repeal of those persecuting Laws, which, to our Misfortune, are still in Force in this Kingdom, would confirm rather than disturb our present

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-36.

Tranquility ; and it would certainly increase our Trade, because it is not to be questioned but that a great many more rich foreign Merchants would come over and settle among us, if they could enjoy all the Privileges of Englishmen without changing their Religion : Whereas, while those Laws remain unrepealed, a few foreign Tradesmen and Mechanicks may perhaps come over ; but rich and opulent foreign Merchants will neither come nor stay to settle their Families in this Kingdom, when they consider that neither they nor their Posterity can aspire to any Honour or Preferment, unless they make a Sacrifice of the Religion of their Ancestors.'

The Motion for repealing the Test-Act, passes in the Negative.

The Debate being over, the Question was put, and upon a Division, it was carried in the Negative by 251 against 123.

Sir R. Walpole's Proposal, that the Loss the Civil List might sustain by the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, might be made good by some other Fund, and all the Duties on Spirituous Liquors appropriated to the Sinking Fund.

March 17. The House being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted the House, ' That the Share the Civil List only had in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, had for several Years last past amounted to at least 70,000 l. yearly, one Year with another ; and as a great Part of this Annuity would be lost to the Crown, it was necessary to make it good from some other Fund ; therefore he proposed appropriating all the Duties on Spirituous Liquors to the Aggregate Fund, which makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, and charging that Fund with all the Annuities and Payments formerly payable out of those Duties.'

Debate thereon.

But this was oppos'd by several Members, who strongly insisted, That the Civil List, instead of being a Loser, would be a Gainer by lessening the Consumption of Spirits, because the Consumption of Beer and Ale, and of Wine, and the Produce of the Duties on Wine-Licences, &c. would be thereby greatly increased ; so that the Loss the Crown might sustain by lessening the Produce of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, would be much more than made good by the Increase of almost all the other Revenues appropriated to the Civil List ; particularly that upon Beer and Ale.

To this the Courtiers answer'd, ' That there might probably be an Increase in the Excise upon Beer and Ale ; but as what the Amount of that Increase might be, was uncertain, and as the Amount of the Loss the Crown was to sustain was certain, therefore that Loss ought then to be made good out of some certain Produce ; and if there did really happen any Increase in the Excise upon Beer and Ale, they might call for an Account of it in two or three Years after, in order that the same might be appropriated to the Aggregate Fund, for making good what was proposed to be taken from that Fund.

After

After this the two following Resolutions were agreed to without a Division, I. That the Duty and Revenues, which should arise by Licences for vending Brandy or Spirits, as also the present Duties on Low Wines, Strong-waters, Brandy, Rum, Arrack, and all other Spirits whether Foreign or British, and such Duties as should arise by retailing the same, should be united to, and made Part of the general or Aggregate Fund established by the Act of the first of King George I. and should be issued and applied to the Uses to which the said Fund is, or should be made applicable. II. That all the several Annuities, Payments, and Appropriations, which were then charged upon, and payable out of the said several Duties on Strong-waters, Brandy, Rum, Arrack, or any other Spirits, should be charged upon, and made payable out of the said Aggregate Fund.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735-6.

Two Resolutions in
pursuance thereof.

The same Day the Quaker's Bill was read the first Time, and order'd a second Reading: It was likewise order'd to be printed.

The Quaker's Bill
order'd to be print-
ed.

March 19. The Resolutions of the 8th and 17th in the Committee of Supply, relating to Spirituous Liquors being reported, were agreed to by the House; and then a Motion was made, 'That the Resolutions reported from the Committee of the whole House, who were appointed to consider of the Petition of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for Middlesex, in their general Quarter-Session assembled, and agreed to by the House upon the 24th of February, might be read; and the same being read accordingly, it was ordered, That a Bill be brought in upon the Resolutions then last read, and also upon the Resolutions that Day reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred, to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, and agreed to by the House; and that Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir Charles Turner, Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Doddington, Sir George Oxenden, and Mr Winnington, should prepare and bring in the same.

A Bill order'd to be
brought in, relating
to Spirituous Li-
quors.

March 22. A Motion was made, That the Commissioners of the Excise should lay before the House an Account of the Net Produce of the Hereditary and Temporary Excise from Midsummer 1716, to Midsummer 1726, distinguishing each Year, and the Produce of the several Duties belonging to the said Excise.

Debate on a Moti-
on for an Account
of the Produce of
the Excise, from
1716 to 1726.

The Reason of calling for the said Account of the Net Produce of the Hereditary and Temporary Excise, was in order that it might afterwards from thence appear what Increase had arisen in the Excise upon Beer and Ale, by the preventing or lessening the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors; and in order that the Increase might be appropriated to the Aggregate Fund, by the Bill which was then to be brought

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Petitions from the
Clergy against the
Quaker's Bill.

brought in : But upon putting the Question, after a long Debate, it was carried in the Negative, by 182 to 122.

March 26. A Petition of the Clergy of Middlesex was presented to the House; and read, alledging, That the Bill depending in that House, to enlarge, amend, and render more effectual the Laws in Being, for the more easy Recovery of Tythes, Church Rates, Oblations, and other Ecclesiastical Dues from the People called Quakers; would, as the Petitioners conceived; if passed into a Law, be extremely prejudicial to themselves and Brethren, excluding them from the Benefit of the Laws then in being for the Recovery of Tythes and other Dues; and thereby putting the Clergy of the Established Church upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty's Subjects; and therefore desiring to be heard by their Counsel upon the Subject Matter of the said Bill.

This Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table, till the Bill should be read a second Time; and that the Petitioners, if they thought fit, should be then heard by their Counsel against it: It was also ordered that Counsel be then heard for the Bill. The Clergy from all Parts of the Kingdom sent up Petitions to the same Purpose.

Sir Joseph Jekyll
presents to the
House the Bill a-
gainst Spirituous
Liquors;

March 29. Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the House, according to Order, *A Bill for laying a Duty upon the Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, and for licensing the Retailers thereof*; and the same being received, Sir Robert Walpole stood up, and by his Majesty's Command acquainted the House, "That, as the Alterations proposed to be made by
" that Bill in the Duties charged upon all Spirituous Li-
" quors, might, in a great Degree, affect some Parts of his
" Majesty's Civil List Revenues, arising from the same, his
" Majesty, for the Sake of remedying so great an Evil, as
" was intended by that Bill to be prevented, consented to
" accept any other Revenue of equal Value, to be settled
" and appropriated in lieu of his Interest in the said Duties."

The Bill was then read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time: After which a Motion was made, That the said Bill be printed; but the Question being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Which is twice
read and commit-
ted.

March 31. The said Bill was read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

The Bill for limit-
ing the Number of
Officers in the
House dropt.

The same Day the Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons, was read a second Time, and a Motion being made for committing the same, and the Question being put, it was carried in the Negative by 224 to 177. [See Vol. III. p. 122.]

A Petition of the
Traders to the Bri-
tish Sugar-Colonies
in America against
the Bill relating to
Spirituous Liquors.

April 6. A Petition of the Merchants and Planters trading to and interested in the British Sugar-Colonies in America, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That the

the Resolutions which the House had come to for granting to his Majesty a Duty of 20 s. *per* Gallon for all Spirituous Liquors sold by Retail, and for the Payment of the Sum of 50 l. Yearly to his Majesty by every Person retailing the same, would bring, as the Petitioners apprehended, unavoidable Ruin on the Sugar-Colonies, tho' the Evil complained of did not arise from the Consumption of the Commodities imported from the said Colonies; and representing to the House a State of their Case, with regard to the Consumption of Sugar, Molosses and Rum, as it would be affected by the Bill brought in upon the said Resolutions; in full Assurance, that the Wisdom of the Legislature would find Means effectually to suppress the Evils occasioned by the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors, without destroying the Sugar-Trade, upon which the Subsistence of so many Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects depended; and therefore praying that the Petitioners might be heard by themselves, or their Counsel, against so much of the said Bill, as they conceived might extend to their Prejudice, or affect the British Sugar-Trade.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

After the Reading of this Petition, a Motion was made, That the said Petition be referred to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House, to whom the said Bill was committed; and that the Petitioners be heard by themselves, or their Counsel before the said Committee; but it being alledged, that it was contrary to the Method of Proceeding in that House, to hear Counsel or Parties upon any Petition against a Money-Bill, [See Vol. II. p. 371.] the Members, who had made and seconded the Motion, desired that several Journals relating to the receiving Petitions against Money-Bills, might be read, viz. 1. The Journal of the House, June 1. in the 10th of King William. 2. The Journal of the House of April 15. in the 11th of King William. 3. The Journal of the House of May 5. in the 13th of King William. 4. The Journal of the House of April 3. in the 8th of King William. 5. The Journal of the House of April 7. following. 6. The Committee-Book of the Committee of the whole House, in relation to the Proceedings of April 9, 1696. 7. The Journal of the House of May 9. in the 13th of King William. 8. The Journal of the House of March 20. in the 1st of Queen Anne. These being accordingly read, the Members who were for the Motion urg'd,

Debate thereon.

‘ That with respect to those Money-Bills which were brought in for answering the current Service of the ensuing Year, there was some Reason for not admitting Petitioners to be heard against them; because such Services required an immediate Supply; they could not be carried on without Money,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Money, and they generally could not admit of any Delay ; therefore the publick Safety made it often necessary to pass such Bills with the utmost Dispatch, and for that Reason the House had laid it down as a Rule not to admit Petitioners to be heard against them ; but even in such Cases the Rule was not without Exception, as appeared from the first of the above Journals, viz. June 1. in the 10th of King William, relating to several Petitions of the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Commonality of the Occupation, Art, and Mystery of Weavers, within the City of London, and of the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Worsted Weavers in the City of Norwich, and to the several Orders of the House thereupon ; and to the Order of the House for referring the Consideration of the Petition of the East-India Company to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Bill for raising a Sum not exceeding two Millions, for settling a perpetual Fund or Payment of certain Annuities after the Rate of 8 l. *per Cent. per Annum* for every 100 l. and for farther Advantage therein mentioned, redeemable by Parliament, was committed, and for hearing the said Company by their Counsel upon the said Bill before the said Committee ; where the Petitioners were admitted to be heard against that Bill, notwithstanding the great Sum that was thereby to be raised, and notwithstanding the greatest Part of that Sum was designed, and was absolutely necessary for the Support of our Civil Government, and of our Land and Sea-Services, as appeared by the Clause of Appropriation contained in that Act ; and considering the precarious Situation the Affairs of Europe were then in, it could not be denied but that the Demands for those Services were then as pressing, and required as much Dispatch as could almost at any one Time be supposed.

‘ That with respect to the Bill then before them, it could not properly be called a Money-Bill : There were, ’twas true, some Taxes to be imposed by the Bill, but those Taxes were not designed as Supplies for answering the current Service of the Year ; they were designed only for putting an End to an Abuse which had lately crept in among our People, and therefore the Rule for not admitting Petitioners to be heard against a Money-Bill, could in no Manner of Way be applied to the Bill then before them.

‘ That with respect to any Trade in which the Subjects of this Nation had no Rival, the Legislature might pretty freely make such Regulations as they had a Mind, but with respect to any Trade in which our Subjects were rivalled by Foreign Powers, we ought to be extremely cautious in making any new Regulation ; because in such a Case the smallest Discouragement might give Foreigners such an Advantage

vantage over us, as might enable them to turn us entirely out of the Trade ; which might very probably be the Case with respect to the Sugar-Trade ; for in that Trade it was well known we had a most powerful and a most dangerous Rival ; and for us to make a new Regulation which might affect that Trade, without so much as hearing what our own Subjects, who were engaged in the Trade, had to say against such Regulation, was shewing such a Disregard to the Subjects, and to the Trade and Commerce of Great Britain, as they hoped would never in any Case be shewn by that House.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

To this it was answered by the Courtiers, ‘ That every Bill by which any Tax was levied upon the Subject was a Money-Bill, and had always been understood as such by that House ; and therefore the Bill then before them was as much a Money-Bill as any other. That with respect to the Rule of not hearing Petitioners against such Bills, it must be supposed to have had a Beginning, as all such Rules have ; and therefore before that Rule came to be fully established as a Rule for directing the future Proceedings of that House, many Precedents might be quoted against the observing of that Rule, because it was from those very Precedents that the Rule took its Rise : It had been observed, that as soon as any Bill was brought in for laying a Tax or Duty upon any Sort of Goods, the Dealers in such Goods always petitioned, and desired to be heard by themselves or their Counsel against the Bill, and always under a Pretence, that the passing of such a Bill would injure the Trade of the Nation ; yet upon hearing what they had to say, it was generally found, that all their Arguments proceeded from private Views, or that they had nothing to offer but what had been before under the Consideration of the House ; so that it almost always appeared, that the Hearing of such Petitioners by themselves or their Counsel, was taking up a great deal of the Time of the House to no Purpose : For this Reason the House came at last to establish it as a Rule not to be departed from, not to admit Petitioners to be heard by themselves or their Counsel against any such Bill ; which Rule had then been inviolably observed for many Years, and the Reason for observing it was as strong with respect to the Bill then before them, as with respect to any other.

‘ That they ought, without Doubt, to be extremely cautious in making any Regulation which might discourage our Sugar-Trade, or our Sugar-Colonies, but neither that Trade nor any of those Colonies could be of any Weight, when put in the Ballance against the Health and the Happiness of the People of Great Britain ; and if, for the Preservation of the Health and the Morals of the People of Great Britain,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

they found themselves under a Necessity of making a Regulation which might lessen the Consumption of Sugar among the People of this Island, they must fall upon some Way of giving an Encouragement to that Trade with respect to Foreign Markets, which would be a greater Advantage to the Nation, and would prevent the Ruin of our own People. But that for this Purpose they had no Occasion for hearing the Petitioners by themselves or their Counsel ; because as every one of them had a Representative in that House, they might communicate their Thoughts upon that Subject to their several Representatives, [See Vol. II. p. 309.] by which Means the House would be as fully informed of what they had to say, as if they were to be heard by themselves or their Counsel at the Bar ; and therefore, as the granting them any such Hearing would be taking up the Time of the House to no Purpose, they could not but be against it.

The Question was then put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative without a Division ; Whereupon the Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table.

A Petition of the
Bristol Merchants
against the Bill re-
lating to Spirituous
Liquors.

Immediately after this a Petition of the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Commonalty of the Society of Merchants Adventurers within the City of Bristol, under their common Seal, was presented to the House and read ; setting forth, that the Bill then depending before the House, to lay a Duty of 20 s. a Gallon on all Spirituous Liquors sold by Retail, and a Sum of 50 l. yearly to be paid by every Retailer of the same, would, if enacted, be destructive to the Petitioners, and many Thousands more of his Majesty's Subjects, as well in the Sugar-Colonies, as in the adjacent Parts of the said City ; and therefore imploring the House to consider the great Loss, which must immediately thereafter ensue to the Revenue, Navigation, Traders, and others concerned in Sugar and Rum, and what Advantage Foreigners might make thereof ; and to afford such Relief therein, as to the House should seem meet ; for that in their humble Opinion, a proper Relief might be granted to them, without preventing the Evil complained of in the Bill from being effectually suppressed.

This Petition was likewise ordered to lie upon the Table.

And from the Le-
verpoole Merchants
to the same Pur-
pose.

April 8. A Petition of the Merchants and Owners of Ships trading from the Port of Leverpoole in the County Palatine of Lancaster, to and from the British Sugar-Colonies in America, was presented to the House, and read ; setting forth, that the greatest and principal Branch of their Trade consisted in the Exportation of Manufactures, the Produce of Great Britain, to our Colonies in America, and bringing Muscovado Sugars in Return for the same, three fourth Parts of which Sugars, could not be consumed without being first refined,

refined, and two fifth Parts when refined were drawn into Molosses, whereof near two thirds were distilled into Spirits; and that if the Bill brought in upon several Resolutions of the House, in order to lay a Duty of 20 s. a Gallon upon all Kinds of Spirituous Liquors retailed within this Kingdom, Rum from his Majesty's Plantations not excepted, should pass into a Law, the greatest Consumption of refined Sugars would be entirely lost, and Rum which is near a fourth Part in Value of the Produce of our Sugar-Colonies, would also be rendered of little or no Value, and two thirds of the Molosses produced from refined Sugars, must become useless, to the inevitable Ruin of our Sugar Plantations, and Destruction of the two most valuable Branches of our foreign Trade, to the British Colonies and the Coast of Africa; and therefore expressing their Hope, that the Legislature would not hazard so beneficial a Trade, to cure an Evil, that never would have happened from Rum, or any other Liquor of that Value, but would be able to find Means effectually to suppress the same, without extending such Means to any of the Liquors that were distilled from the Produce of our own Plantations; and praying, that the House would be pleased to take their Case into Consideration, and give such Relief therein, as the House should find most meet.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

This Petition was likewise ordered to lie upon the Table.

April 9. The Order of the House being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the said Bill, it was ordered, That it should be an Instruction to the said Committee to have Power to receive a Clause for enabling such Persons as had exercised the Business of Distillation for a Time to be limited, or had served, or were then bound as Apprentices to such Business, to follow any other Trade or Business in any City, Town, or Place, in England.

Distillers enabled to follow any other Sort of Business in any Corporation in England.

After this the House resolved itself into the said Committee, but when they came to that Clause by which it was enacted, ' That the Duties and Revenues which should arise
' by Licences for vending Brandy or Spirits, as also the present Duties on Low Wines, Strong Waters, Brandy, Rum, Arrack, and all other Spirits, whether Foreign or British,
' and such Duties as should arise by retailing the same,
' should from and after the 29th of September 1736, be united to, and made Part of the general or Aggregate Fund established by the Act of the first Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I. and should be issued
' and applied to the Uses to which the said Fund was, or should be made applicable.'

Farther Debate concerning the Application of the Revenues arising by the Retailing of Spirituous Liquors.

The same was opposed by several Members, as being unnecessary, because, tho' the Produce of those Duties was ap-

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.



appropriated to the Payment of several Annuities and other particular Uses, and tho' that Produce might perhaps be less in Time to come than it had been for some Years past, yet they did not believe that by the Regulation made by that Bill, the Produce of those Duties would be so much reduced, as to be under what it was when those Appropriations were made; and if that should be the Case, any small Deficiency that might happen, might be provided for by next Session of Parliament, when the Amount of that Deficiency would be ascertained: But it being insisted on, That the future Produce of those Duties could not near answer the Ends to which it was appropriated, and that it was absolutely necessary for the Sake of publick Credit, to grant a new Fund to the Creditors of the Publick, by the same Bill by which they took away or diminished their old, the Clause was agreed to without a Division.

Debate concerning
what Sum should
be granted to the
King for supplying
such Deficiency as
should happen in
the Civil List by
altering the Duties
on Spirituous Li-
quors.

Then the next Clause was read, as follows, ' And where-
as the said Duties upon Low Wines, Strong Waters, Bran-
dy, Rum, Arrack, and all other Spirits whether Foreign
' or British, are amongst other Duties and Revenues charged
' with, and liable to pay several Sums of Money, as well
' for the Support of his Majesty's Household and Family,
and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as for Pay-
ment of Annuities and other Payments to several Corpo-
' rations, and to other Persons intitled thereunto; and it
' may so happen, that by making the Alterations aforesaid
' in the said Duties, the Funds charged with the Payments
' aforesaid may prove deficient: And whereas by a Medium
of eight Years, computed from the Time of his Majesty's
' happy Accession to the Throne to Midsummer last past,
the Sum of is taken to be the Medium of
' the annual Produce of what has been applied of the Du-
' ties aforesaid to the Service of his Majesty's Household and
Family: To the End therefore, that neither his Majesty,
nor any other Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corpo-
' rate, who is or are intitled to any Part, Share, or Interest,
' in the Money arising by the said Duties, may be Losers,
' or receive any Prejudice by the Alterations aforesaid, be it
enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after
' the said 29th Day of September, 1736, there shall be
' paid to his Majesty during his natural Life, (which God
' long preserve) out of the Monies of the said general or
' Aggregate Fund, the Sum of *per Annum*,
' being the aforesaid Medium of what has been annually ap-
' plied of the Duties aforesaid, towards the Service of his
' Majesty's Household and Family, and other his Expences
' and Occasions, from his happy Accession to the Throne,
' to Midsummer last past.'

After

' After which a Motion was made by some of the Members concerned in the drawing up of the Bill, to fill up the Blank with the Sum of 70,000*l.* that Sum, as they said, being the Medium of what had been annually applied of the aforesaid Duties, towards the Civil List, from his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, to Midsummer last past: Whereupon the Members who opposed the former Clause declared, that they were likewise against this whole Clause, and that they would afterwards take the Liberty to give their Reasons; but as it was necessary in Point of Form, to fill up the Blank before any Thing could be said either for or against the Clause, therefore they would propose that the Blank should be filled up with the Sum of 43,000*l.* which being the lesser Sum, the Question was of Course to be first put for filling up the Blank with this lesser Sum, and as this was opposed by the Gentlemen who had proposed the Sum of 70,000*l.* it brought on a long Debate, in which the chief Arguments in Favour of the lesser Sum were as follows:

Sir,

' I am of Opinion that the Civil List cannot be any Loser by diminishing the Consumption of spirituous Liquors, because, whatever may be thereby lost to the Civil List, will be much more than made good by the Increase of the Consumption of other Liquors, of the Duties upon which the Civil List has a much larger Share than it has of those Duties payable upon spirituous Liquors; therefore whatever Sum this Blank may be filled up with, I must look upon every Shilling of it, not as a Compensation, but as a new Addition to the Civil List Revenue, and since I do not think that the Crown has Occasion for any new Addition to that Revenue, I must look upon this whole Sum as a real Loss to the People: I must look upon the Whole, Sir, as a Sort of Purchase Money we are to pay for the Bill now before us; and since we must pay a Price for preserving the Health and Morals of the People, surely if we are good Merchants, if we are honest Trustees for the People, we should endeavour to bring down that Price as much as we can. But supposing, Sir, that the Loss the Civil List may sustain by diminishing the Consumption of spirituous Liquors, were not to be made good by the Increase which that Diminution will naturally produce in some of the other Branches of that Revenue; the yearly Sum to be given to the Civil List in Lieu of that Loss, ought not to be calculated from a Medium of eight Years after his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, but from a Medium of eight Years immediately preceding his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne; for when the Parliament, which established the

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Argument for
granting 43,000*l.*
only for that Pur-
pose.

pre-

ANNO 9. GEO. II.
1736.

present Civil List, were considering what Duties would be sufficient for raising that Revenue, which they thought was necessary for supporting his Majesty's Household and Family, they could not have under their Consideration the Produce of those Duties in time to come; and much less could they have under their Consideration an Increase which might arise by an Abuse, so as to put it out of the Power of Parliament to rectify that Abuse, without making good to the Civil List the increased Revenue it had acquired by that Abuse: They could have nothing under their Consideration but the Produce of those Duties for Years past, and for this Reason the Clause, now before us, ought to have been drawn up in a quite different Manner from what it is; or at least it ought to have been left to the Committee to determine, whether they would take the eight Years before, or the eight Years after his Majesty's Accession; in which Case it ought to have been in these Terms: 'And whereas by a Medium of Years computed from to the the Sum of is taken to be the Medium of the annual Produce of that Part of the Duties aforesaid, appropriated to the Service of his Majesty's Household and Family.'

'This, Sir, was, in my Opinion, the only proper and regular Method in which this Clause could have been brought in: If it had been brought in according to this Method, the Committee, where only it is proper to determine such Things, would have been left at full Liberty to chuse the Medium of any Number of Years after, or the Medium of any Number of Years before his Majesty's Accession; and if we had chose the Medium of eight Years before his Majesty's Accession, which we certainly ought to have done, the Medium would not have amounted to the Sum now under our Consideration; because the Abuse with respect to the Consumption of home-made Spirits was not near so great in the eight Years preceding his Majesty's Accession, as it has been in the eight Years since; and every one knows how greatly the Produce of the Duties upon foreign Spirits increased after that miraculous Tide which opened the Port of Dunkirk, and which brought in upon us an Inundation of French Brandies under the Name of Flemish; inso-much that in the Year 1723, which was the Year after that prodigious Tide, and but two Years after a very remarkable Change in our Administration, the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits amounted to above 70,000 l. whereas in the Year 1721, they did not amount to 25,000 l. and we likewise know, that, since his Majesty's Accession, this Inundation has rather increased than diminished.

'But again, Sir, supposing we were to take this Matter in

in the best Light we can for the Crown, and in the worst Light for the People : Supposing that we ought to calculate the Loss which the Civil List may sustain, by diminishing the Consumption of spirituous Liquors, from a Medium of eight Years to be computed from the Time of his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne to Midsummer last ; yet surely the extraordinary Increase that happened in the Duties upon foreign Brandies and Spirits in the Year 1733, ought not to be brought into that Calculation ; for in that Year, we may remember we reassumed our Desire to encourage our own Distillery, and for that Reason French Brandies being wanted, as was pretended, to mix up with and rectify our own Spirits, as well as for the Love and Esteem we bore the French, a Law was passed, for lowering the Duties upon French Brandies, and for making all foreign Brandies pay an equal Duty with them : This of course gave the Alarm to our old Friends at Dunkirk, who foresaw that they could no longer import French Brandies upon us under the Name of Flemish, and therefore, before that Act took Place, they brought in such large Quantities of Brandy, that the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits, for that Year only amounted to near 318,000 l. which was near 200,000 l. more than was usual in any one Year ; yet this extraordinary and casual Produce seems now intended to be brought in, for magnifying the Loss which the Civil List may sustain by diminishing the Consumption of spirituous Liquors, and for increasing the Sum, with which the People are to be loaded for making good that pretended Loss. I say pretended Loss, Sir, because I am convinced the whole will appear to be so, and therefore I am now for filling up the Blank with the smallest Sum I have here proposed ; but when the Question comes to be put upon the Clause in general, I shall give my Negative to the Whole, and for that Reason I shall give myself very little Concern about the Sum with which it is now to be filled up.'

To this it was answered as follows, viz.

Sir,

' I shall not take up your Time with endeavouring to shew, that the Loss which the Crown may sustain, by lessening the Consumption of spirituous Liquors, cannot be made good by the Increase that must thereby be occasioned in the Consumption of other Liquors ; because I do not take it to be the Question now before us : It is evident from the Accounts upon our Table, that his Majesty's Share of the Duties upon spirituous Liquors has for these eight Years last past amounted yearly to about 70,000 l. one Year with another, therefore if the whole of these Duties be for the future appropriated and made payable to the Aggregate Fund,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Argument for
granting 70,000 l.
on that Account.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

it is evident, and I think admitted on both Sides, that his Majesty will by such Appropriations lose a yearly Revenue of 70,000 l. which he has enjoyed ever since his happy Accession to the Throne; and that that Loss ought to be made good to his Majesty is a Question that seems to me to have been already determined by this House, when we agreed to those Resolutions upon which this Bill was founded: Therefore the only Question now before us, is, to determine how much his Majesty will really lose, in order that the same may be for the future made good to his Majesty, out of that Fund to which we have already appropriated those Duties, which formerly belonged to his Majesty's Civil List. This, in my Opinion, is no more than doing that Justice to his Majesty, which every man in a private Capacity would in such a Case most reasonably expect from another: If I surrender a Part of my Estate to my Neighbour for his Conveniency, it is but reasonable he should make good to me the Damage I may sustain by such Surrender. Whether the Loss his Majesty will most certainly sustain, by taking from him those Duties which formerly belonged to him, may be made good by the Increase of some of the other Duties appropriated to the Civil List, is a Question of a different Nature: I am certain it cannot now be determined whether there be any such Increase or not; and if any such Increase should hereafter appear, then it will be Time enough to determine how that Increase ought to be disposed of.

Now, Sir, with Respect to the Loss his Majesty may sustain, and the Method by which the *Quantum* of that Loss is to be determined, it seems a little odd to me, that, in order to put a Value upon a Loss which his Majesty must sustain, by taking from him a Revenue which he has enjoyed, Gentlemen should propose to put a Value upon that Loss, by computing the Produce of a Revenue which his Majesty never enjoyed: This Method of Computation appears to me so very extraordinary, that I think I need only put it in its true Light, in order to shew that it is a Method we ought not to take. But it is said that when the Parliament, which established the present Civil List Revenue, were considering what Duties would be sufficient for raising the Revenue, which they thought was necessary for supporting his Majesty's Household and Family, they could not have under their Consideration the Produce of those Duties in Time to come. In this, Sir, I happen to be of a very different Opinion; for as they were considering what Duties would be sufficient to raise a future Revenue, I think they could consider only a future Produce; and the Method in which that Revenue was established shews, that they had
under

under their View only the future Produce of those Duties, which they appropriated to the raising of that Revenue : They considered that 800,000 l. a Year was the least that was necessary for supporting his Majesty's Household and Family, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain ; and therefore, if the future Produce of those Duties, which were then appropriated towards raising that Sum yearly, should fall short, they obliged themselves to make it good : The yearly Sum of 800,000 l. I say, they reckoned the least that was necessary for the Purposes intended ; but then they considered, that even a large Sum might be beneficially applied to the same Purposes, and therefore, in Case the future Produce of those Duties should amount to more than 800,000 l. a Year, those Surplusses by them were likewise appropriated to the Civil List, and his Majesty has as good a Right to those Surplusses, if any has arisen, or should arise, as he has to any Part of the 800,000 l. a Year.

From this Consideration, Sir, every Gentleman must see, that, if by any new Regulation we diminish the Produce of any of those Duties appropriated to the Civil List, we are in Justice to his Majesty obliged to make good the Loss which the Civil List may thereby sustain ; for I hope the Parliament of Great Britain will never act so childish a Part as to make a Grant in one Year, and to take back that Grant, or any Part of that Grant in the next : We may be obliged, for the Sake of the publick Good, to make some Alterations in the Grants we have made, or may hereafter make ; but it is to be hoped we never shall make any such Alterations without the Consent of all those interested therein, or without making good the Loss they may sustain. The Grant of the Civil List, as it now stands established, I must look upon in the same Way as if one Gentleman, for Favour and Affection, or some other Consideration, should make a Grant or a Present to another of a Ticket in the present Lottery with this Condition, that if it came up a Blank, he would give him 5 l. in Lieu thereof, but if it came up a large Prize, the Whole should belong to the Grantee. Now if, after such a Grant made in the most solemn Manner, the Ticket should come up a large Prize, I should think the Granter both very childish and very unjust, if he insisted upon having any Share in that Prize, or upon taking any Part of it from the Grantee, without giving him an adequate Consideration. We are not now to inquire whether the Duties granted to the Civil List produce more than 800,000 l. a Year, or not ; but if they do really produce more, that Surplus is a Sort of Prize we have already granted to his Majesty, and we neither can nor ought to take any Part of that Surplus from him, or

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

to make any Alteration by which that Surplus may be diminished, without making good the Loss in some other Way ; and that Loss ought certainly to be computed from the Produce of the Grant since it was made, for before the Grant was made, there could be no such Produce.

‘ Having now, Sir, shewn that it would be a most preposterous Method of Computation, to compute the Loss his Majesty may sustain, from a Medium of the Produce of any Number of Years before his Accession, I think I need not take any Notice of those Alterations which happened in the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, or any other Duties, before that happy Period ; but give me Leave to take some Notice of that Alteration or Increase, which happened in the Year 1733, with respect to the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits ; and give me Leave to say, that from the very Nature of that Increase, it appears to me evident, that it ought to be taken into the Calculation, in order to increase the Medium of the Produce of the eight Years since his Majesty’s Accession ; because the large Quantities of Flemish and Dutch Brandies, that were then imported, were not all brought hither to be consumed within that Year, there having been in that Year no greater Consumption, I believe, of such Liquors than in former Years : No, Sir, they were imported, in order to avoid paying that high Duty which was soon after to take Place, and were to be lodged here as a Stock in Hand, in order to supply the Consumption for several Years then to come, therefore we must suppose that that Stock, which was then thrown in upon us, has lessened the Importation of such Liquors, and consequently the Produce of the Duties upon them ever since ; so that to exclude that Increase from our present Computation, would be doing a manifest Injury to his Majesty, because it would be taking from him the Advantage which appears upon one Side of the Account, without making any Allowance for the Loss, with which that Advantage is balanced upon the other Side of the Account.

‘ From these Considerations, Sir, I am convinced that 70,000 l. is the least Sum the Crown can lose, by taking from the Civil List that Share it formerly had of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors ; and as we cannot now have any Certainty that any Part of this Loss will be made good, by the Increase of the Duties on other Liquors, therefore I shall give my Negative to the present Question, in order that the Question may be next put for filling up the Blank in this Clause with the Sum of 70,000 l. to which I shall most heartily give my Affirmative.’

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for granting only 43,000 l. for the said Deficiency, as follows :

Sir,

Sir,

' Tho' the proper Question now before us be not, whether the Civil List may be a Loser or a Gainer by diminishing the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, yet we find from what has been said on both Sides, that it is impossible to argue upon the present Question, without touching a little what belongs to the other ; and when we do come to the other, I hope to make it as plain as Figures can make it, that without any Allowance from the Aggregate Fund, as is proposed by this Clause, the Civil List will be a Gainer by the Diminution, or rather Prohibition of the Use of Spirituous Liquors by Retail : But in considering this Question, we ought to distinguish most accurately what the Gentlemen of the other Side seem most industriously to confound : We ought to distinguish between this Question, Whether the Civil List will be a Loser by taking from it the Share it formerly had in the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors ? And the other Question, Whether the Civil List will upon the Whole be a Loser by diminishing the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors ?

With Regard to the first of these Questions, Sir, it is what we have nothing to do with ; for no Man ever doubted, but that the Civil List will be a Loser by taking from it that Share of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, which formerly belonged to it : But with Regard to the other Question, If the Loss the Civil List may sustain by diminishing the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, or even by taking from it the Share it had formerly in the Duties upon such Liquors, if this Loss, I say, be made good to the Civil List, by the Increase that will thereby be occasioned in its Share of the Duties upon Beer and Ale and all other Sorts of Liquors, are we then bound, either in Justice or Honour, to make that Loss a second Time good to the Civil List, out of that Fund which is appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and to the Relief of our People from the heavy Taxes they groan under ? I say, No, Sir ; both Honour and Justice are, in my Opinion, staked upon the other Side of the Question, and I hope this House will always be upon that Side, where they are at Stake.

' It is true, Sir, that by the present Establishment of the Civil List there are a great many Duties appropriated towards the raising of that Revenue, with the Proviso, that if they do not produce 800,000 l. yearly, if there happens a Deficiency, we are to make it good ; but if there happens an Increase or Surplus, the Whole shall belong to his Majesty. This, I grant, is the present Establishment of that Revenue, but this Day's Debate shew us the Inconvenience of making such Establishments ; and I am very sure, that

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Farther Arguments
for granting no
more than 43,000 l.

Anno 9. Geo. 11.
1736.

neither his Majesty nor the Parliament ever thought, or ever intended, that any of those Surplusses should be increased by any Thing that might tend to the Destruction of the People in general ; nor was it ever intended, that the Parliament should not have it in its Power to prevent, or to put a Stop to a pernicious Consumption, without making good to the Civil List the Surplus that had arisen from that very pernicious Consumption. It may as well be pretended, that if the Plague should spread itself over Spain and Portugal, we could not prohibit Commerce with them, or prevent the Importation of their Wines, without making good to the Civil List its Share in the Duties upon those Wines, at a Medium to be computed for eight Years past : Whereas in such a Case, I believe, it will be granted, that the highest Obligation we could lye under, would be to make the Civil List good 800,000 l. a Year, in Case the Produce of the other Duties appropriated for that Purpose should fall short of that Sum.

‘ But, Sir, the Case now under our Consideration stands in a much stronger Light ; for if all the Duties appropriated to the Civil List now produce a Million Sterling yearly, the Regulation we are to make, tho’ it may intirely take away one Branch of that Revenue, or very much diminish it, yet it will increase some of the others so much, that altogether they will still produce at least a Million yearly ; and the utmost that can be pretended is, that the Parliament shall not by any new Regulation diminish the general Produce, or general Surplus of the Civil List Revenue, as it stands at present, or may stand at any future Period of Time. Nay, even with Respect to this general Produce of the whole Duties appropriated to the Civil List, we ought to distinguish between those Regulations, which may proceed from accidental Misfortunes or the Nature of Things, and those Regulations which may proceed meerly from the Will and Authority of Parliament ; because his Majesty’s unaccountable Right to this general Produce must remain subject to the former, tho’ perhaps not to the latter : If the Parliament should discharge or give up any of the Duties now appropriated to the Civil List, or apply them to some other Use, it might perhaps be said that we should be obliged to make the Loss good to his Majesty, even tho’ it should be made appear, that the remaining Duties would produce more than 800,000 l. a Year : This, I say, might be said, tho’ I am far from thinking so ; but if a War, or a Plague, or any such Misfortune should oblige us to make a Regulation, by which the Produce of any one of the Duties now appropriated to the Civil List should be intirely annihilated, or very much diminished, I am sure it could not be said, that
we

we should be obliged to make the Lofs good to the Civil List, as long as the remaining Duties produced the full Sum of 800,000 l. a Year; and the Reason is plain, because this was a Misfortune incident to the Duty when granted, and therefore the Grant of that Duty must still remain liable to this Misfortune.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Now, Sir, in the present Case, if instead of the high Duties by this Bill proposed, we had made a severe Law against Drunkenness, and had inflicted high Penalties upon all those who should have got drunk, or should have allowed any Person to get drunk in any of their Houses, after Michaelmas next; and had by such Means put an effectual Stop to that pernicious Practice of drinking to Excess, would not such a salutary Law have much diminished the Produce of most of those Duties appropriated to the Civil List? In which Case I would gladly ask the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, If they would, or could with any Reason have insisted, that we were obliged to make the Lofs good to his Majesty, even tho' the remaining Produce should still have amounted to above 800,000 l. a Year? And again I would ask them, Wherein the Difference lyes between a Law for prohibiting Drunkenness, and a Law for laying such high Duties upon Liquors, as to prevent its being in the Power of most Men to purchase a Quantity sufficient for making them drunk?

' I shall agree with the honourable Gentleman, Sir, that if I surrender a Part of my Estate to my Neighbour for his Conveniency, it is most reasonable he should make good to me the Damage I may sustain by such Surrender: But how is this applicable to the present Case? We do not desire any Surrender, we desire that the Duties may stand appropriated as they are at present; and we insist upon it, that no Damage can happen to his Majesty by what we propose: It is the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question who insist upon making a Surrender, and tho' they know they can sustain no Damage by that Surrender, yet they insist upon our paying them what Price they please to set upon it. We have indeed given a Lottery Ticket, and I believe that Ticket has proved to be a Benefit Ticket: We do not desire to take away any Part of that Benefit; but we find, that the very Fund from which that Benefit is to arise, is in Danger; and we only desire, that those to whom we gave this Benefit Ticket, would join with us in Measures for preserving that Fund: This is but reasonable; and since this can no way diminish the Benefit they are entitled to, it is not reasonable they should insist upon our giving them another Benefit Ticket for joining with us in a Measure, which appears to be necessary for our mutual Preservation.

' From

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, I think it is evident, that altho’ the Civil List were to suffer by diminishing the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, we are not obliged to make good the Loss: But as the Blank in the Clause now before us must be fill’d up with some one Sum or another, I shall now consider what has been said with respect to the Method of calculating the Sum, with which that Blank is to be filled up; and as upon the present Occasion the Establishment of the Civil List has been represented to us as a Grant from the Parliament to the Crown, which ought not to be touched or in the least diminished, even for the Safety and Preservation of the People, I must take Notice of one Rule observed by all Courts of Equity in the World, and that is, to explain the doubtful Meaning of a Grant, by that which may be presumed to have been the Meaning of the Grantor at the Time the Grant was made. Suppose then, Sir, we had had at that Time a Prophet amongst us, and that Prophet had informed the Parliament, that in a few Years after, the Duties on Spirituous Liquors would increase considerably, and that our People would begin to drink so excessively of such Liquors, that for the Preservation of the People it would become necessary to put a Stop to that Excess: Suppose, that upon such Information a Question had arisen in that Parliament, for obliging any future Parliament that might find it necessary to put a Stop to that Excess, to make good to the Civil List its Share in those Duties according to the Value it should arise to by that Excess, and according to a Computation to be made at the very Time when that Excess was to be at its highest Pitch. Can we imagine that such a Question would have met with any Reception in that Parliament, or in any Parliament? And if we cannot suppose it would, can we presume, that that Parliament meant or intended to give his Majesty such an indelible Right to the Increase, that might happen by the Extravagance of the People in any of those Duties then appropriated to the Civil List, that it should not be in the Power of any future Parliament to put a Stop to the Extravagance of the People, without making good to his Majesty’s Civil List the Increase that had arisen by that Extravagance?

To illustrate this Matter still a little more clearly, suppose, Sir, that Parliament which established the Civil List had laid a Duty upon Laudanum, and had appropriated that Duty to the Civil List: Suppose that in a few Years after, the Use of Laudanum should have become more general and more excessive in this Nation than ever it was in Turkey, insomuch that Multitudes of our People should have been every Day found in the Streets murdered by the excessive Use of that Poyson; and that by this general and excessive Consumption

Consumption the Duties upon it should have occasioned a vast Increase in his Majesty's Civil List Revenue, will any Gentleman pretend, that the Parliament could not make any Regulation for preventing the Abuse of that Poyson, without making good to his Majesty the Increase in the Civil List Revenue, that had been occasioned by that Abuse? Is not this the very Case with respect to Spirituous Liquors? Therefore I am surpris'd to hear it said, that we cannot put a Stop to, or prevent the Abuse of such Liquors, without making good to his Majesty the Increase in the Civil List Revenue that has been occasioned by that very Abuse?

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

' Thus, Sir, I think I have fully shewn what could not be the Meaning or Intention of the Parliament, when they granted to his Majesty the whole Produce of those Duties they appropriated to the Civil List; but now let us inquire a little what may be presumed to have been their Intention: For my own Part, I believe the only Meaning or Intention they had, was a good-natured one, to give his Majesty's Ministers a little more Latitude in the Disposal of the Civil List Revenue, and to prevent their being put to the Trouble of laying the Accounts of that Revenue yearly before Parliament. But suppose they meant to grant his Majesty a Right to the whole Produce of those Duties, as it then stood according to the Calculations they had made, which is the utmost that can be supposed they meant; upon this Supposition, in order to know what his Majesty has a Right to by that Grant, we must examine into the Calculations they may have been supposed to have made for ascertaining, or at least guessing at, the Value of what they were about to grant. In this Case we are told, that as they were considering what Duties would be sufficient to raise a future Revenue, they could have under their Consideration only a future Produce. I am sorry, Sir, to hear such a Manner of arguing in a Matter of such Consequence: For the raising of a future Revenue, to be sure a future Produce must be applied, but when People are considering and calculating what the Amount of that future Produce may be, and whether it will be sufficient to raise such a future Revenue, surely their Calculations must be founded upon their Experience of what is past, or upon their Knowledge of what is then present: If it is a new Duty, they found their Calculations on what is then supposed to be the Quantity or the Value of the Goods, made liable to that new Duty; and if it is an old Duty, they always consider the Produce of that Duty for such a Number of Years past, and from thence calculate what it may produce in Time to come; therefore we cannot suppose that the Parliament which established the Civil List, granted, or intended to grant, any more than a Share of the Produce
of

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, at a Medium calculated for seven or eight Years before his Majesty's Accession; and for this Reason, supposing that we are obliged to make that Grant good to his Majesty, which I am far from thinking, the Sum we are now to give to the Civil List for making that Grant good, ought to be taken from a Medium calculated for seven or eight Years before his Majesty's Accession, and not from a Medium since his Majesty's Accession, which has been greatly increased by the very Abuse we are now about to rectify.

It has likewise been said, Sir, that it seems a little odd, for Gentlemen to propose putting a Value upon the Loss his Majesty may sustain by taking from him a Revenue which he has enjoyed, by computing the Produce of a Revenue he never enjoyed. Surely every Gentleman must see the Fallacy of this Argument: We do not desire to take any Revenue from his Majesty, and therefore we are not to compute the Loss he may sustain by the taking of any Revenue from him; but if any Revenue be taken from him, the Parliament we say is obliged to make it good only according to that Value which was put upon it by the Parliament that granted it, and not according to the increased Value it may since have arisen to, by an Abuse which ought, long before this Time, to have been effectually prevented.

With Respect, Sir, to the great Increase of Foreign Brandies and Spirits, that happened in the Year 1733, by the great Importation of French Brandies under the Name of Flemish, I shall readily grant that they were not imported for immediate Consumption, but in order to remain, and be kept here as a Stock in Hand; nay, I must go farther, I must suppose, that all or most of them still remain here as a Stock in Hand; I cannot suppose that any great Quantity of them has yet been consumed, because the Duties upon Foreign Brandies have been as high in the Year 1734, and 1735, as they were in any two Years before 1733. And the Reason of this may be easily assigned; for as the Merchants at Dunkirk were obliged to make their Importations in 1733, in a great Hurry, they had not Time to send to Nantz and other Places of France for old Brandies, therefore they run in upon us all the new Brandies they had in their Cellars at Dunkirk; but as these new Brandies could not be fit to be drank in the Year 1734, or 1735, our Consumption for the two Years was supplied by new Importations of old Brandies from France: From whence we must reckon, that the great Importation in the Year 1733 has no ways lessened the Duties upon Foreign Brandies or Spirits for these last two Years, but may very probably do
so

so for two or three Years to come; and therefore we must grant, that to include the Increase of those Duties in the Year 1733 in our present Computation, is reckoning all the Advantage, which happened by that casual Importation, to the Account of the Civil List, in order to bring a double Loss upon the Sinking Fund; for that sacred Fund is to be charged with near 4000 l. a Year, during his Majesty's Life, more than it would have been charged with, if no such extraordinary Importation had ever happened; and by that extraordinary Importation, and the Decrease in the Duties on Foreign Brandies, which must thereby be occasioned for several Years to come, that Fund to which those Duties are now to be appropriated must lose a very considerable Sum.'

Then the Question being put for filling up the Blank with the Sum of 43,000 l. it was upon a Division carried in the Negative, by 211 to 109; and then the Question being put for filling up the Blank with the Sum of 70,000 l. it was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

April 12. The Counsel for and against the Quaker's Bill were called in, and the Bill being then read a second Time, and the several Petitions against it being also read, the Counsel for the Petitioners of the Province of Canterbury were heard; in Answer to whom the Counsel for the Bill were heard; and then the Counsel for the Petitioners of the Province of York were heard by way of Reply: After which the Counsel being withdrawn, Mr Speaker opened the Bill to the House; then a Motion being made, that the 14th Section of an Act made in the 22d and 23d of King Charles II. intitled, *An Act for the better Settlement of the Maintenance of Parsons, Vicars, and Curates in the Parishes of the City of London, burnt by the dreadful Fire there*, might be read, the same was read accordingly. By a Clause in the Bill, even as it then stood, it was proposed to be enacted thus, 'That
' if the annual Value of such Tythes, Oblations, and other
' Ecclesiastical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates
' before-mentioned, doth not, nor shall not exceed the Sum
' of in such Case no Quaker or Quakers shall be
' sued or prosecuted, for or on Account of the same, in any
' other Manner, than as before directed, or in any other
' Court; neither shall any such Tythes, Oblations, or other
' Ecclesiastical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates,
' not exceeding the said yearly Value of be reco-
' verable against Quakers in any other Court whatsoever,
' nor in any other Manner, than as by this Act is directed,
' unless the Title of such Tythes be in Question.' This Clause, in all the Petitions presented by the Clergy against the Bill, was called, 'An Excluding them from the Benefit
' of the Laws then in being for the Recovery of Tythes
V o l. IV. B b ' and

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

In a Committee of the whole House 70,000 l. is Voted, for making good the Deficiencies, that may happen in the Civil List, by the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors.

Counsel heard for and against the Quaker's Bill,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ and other Dues, and thereby putting the Clergy of the ‘ Established Church upon a worse Foot than the rest of his ‘ Majesty’s Subjects ; ’ therefore the said Section was read, to shew, That the assigning of a proper Method for the Recovery of any Right, and excluding the Persons intitled, from any other Remedy, was not a putting of such Persons upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty’s Subjects, nor was it without Precedent ; for by the aforesaid Act of King Charles II. all Suits for the recovering of Church-Rates or Assessments, within the City of London, are to be brought before the Lord Mayor, or upon his Neglect to execute the Powers thereby granted, before the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, or two Barons of the Exchequer ; and, by the said 14th Section, it is enacted, ‘ That no ‘ Court or Judge shall hold Plea of Money due by Virtue of ‘ that Act, other than the Persons thereby authorized ; ’ and yet the Clergy of London never had complained, nor could complain, that they were excluded from the Benefit of the Laws of their Country, or that they were put upon a worse Foot than the rest of his Majesty’s Subjects.’

Which is committed.

After reading the above Section, a Motion being made for committing the Bill ; and the Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 221 to 84 ; after which it was resolved that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Debate upon the Report of the Resolution of the Committee for granting the above Sum of 70,000l.

April 14. The Amendments made by the Committee to the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors were reported to the House, and read a first Time, after which most of them were agreed to by the House, without any Debate ; but upon Reading the Clause for giving 70,000l. to the Civil List, a Proposition was made for altering that Clause, and for settling it in such a Manner, that if the whole Hereditary and Temporary Excise should, in any one Year after that Time, fall short of what it had produced upon a Medium to be computed from his Majesty’s Accession to that Time, that Deficiency should be made good by the very next Session of Parliament.

This occasioned a fresh Debate, in which the Arguments for the above Proposition, and against that Clause, were as follows, viz.

Sir,

Arguments against that Resolution.

‘ By the Clause as it stands at present, we are to make a new Grant to the Civil List of 70,000l. a Year during his Majesty’s Life : Now there can be but two Reasons for our making this new Grant : It must be either, because we suppose that the present Amount of the Civil List Revenue will be diminished in a Sum equal to 70,000l. a Year, by the Regulation we are about to make ; or it must be because
we

we suppose that the present Amount of the Civil List Revenue, is not sufficient for supporting his Majesty's Household and Family, and that therefore we ought to grant an Addition of 70,000 l. a Year to that Revenue. These are the only two Reasons that can be assigned, and if both of them appear to be without any Foundation, we cannot surely agree to this Clause as it now stands.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

' To suppose that the present Amount of the Civil List Revenue, will be diminished in a Sum equal to 70,000 l. by the Regulation we are about to make, is contrary to Fact, and contrary to Experience: For supposing the Civil List's Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, upon a just Computation, does amount to 70,000 l. yearly, yet we may be convinced by Experience, that the Consumption of Beer and Ale will always increase in Proportion as the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors decreases; and as the Civil List has a much greater Share of the Duties on Beer and Ale, than it has of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, it is, in my Opinion, certain, that the Civil List will get an Increase of more than 70,000 l. a Year by that Increase in the Duties upon Beer and Ale, which will be occasioned by the Regulation proposed by this Bill.

' To confirm what I have said, Sir, Let us look into the Accounts that are upon our Table, and from them we shall find, that the Amount of the Duties upon Beer and Ale has constantly and regularly decreased, as the Amount of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors has increased for these several Years backwards. In the Year ending at Midsummer 1725, the Excise on Beer and Ale produced 1,094,953 l. in the same Year the Duties on home-made Spirits produced but 88,622 l. From that Time to Midsummer 1729, half a Year before the late Gin-Act took place, the Duties on home-made Spirits gradually increased, and accordingly the Excise on Beer and Ale gradually decreased, so that in the Year ending at Midsummer 1729, the former produced 104,373 l. whereas the latter produced but 963,763 l. which was 131,190 l. less than it produced in the Year ending at Midsummer 1725.

' In the Year 1729, the late famous Act against Geneva, and other Compound Spirits, was passed; and tho' that Act was evaded by the Sale of a new Sort of Spirit call'd *Parliament-Brandy*, yet, ineffectual as it was, it diminished a little the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, and consequently the Produce of the Duties on such Liquors; so that in the Year ending at Midsummer 1732, they produced but 100,025 l. which was 4348 l. less than they produced in 1729. But as to the Excise upon Beer and Ale, what was the Consequence? As soon as that Act passed, that Ex-

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

cise began to increase, so that in the Year ended at Midsummer 1732, it produced 1,071,240 l. which is 107,477 l. more than it produced in 1729.

Again, Sir, upon the Repeal of the late Gin-Act, the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors began to increase, and consequently the Produce of the Duties on such Liquors, so that in the Year ended at Midsummer last they produced 154,094 l. and the Consequence with respect to the Excise on Beer and Ale we find to be the same; for in the Year ended at Midsummer last, it produced but 1,021,370 l. which is 49,870 l. less than it produced in 1732. From all which, Sir, I think it is as plain as Figures can make it, that the Consumption of Beer and Ale has hitherto always decreased or increased, as the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors has increased or decreased; and as that has been the Case in all Time past, we must suppose it will be the Case in all Time to come.

' This then being laid down as a Maxim confirmed by Experience, let us consider how greatly, I may almost say how entirely, the Consumption, not only of home-made Spirits, but of all Spirits, will be diminished by the Bill now before us, and what an Increase that will make in the Consumption of Beer and Ale; but that I may not be accused of any extravagant Calculations, I shall suppose that the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors may hereafter be but one Third less than it was before; the natural Inference from thence is, that the Consumption of Beer and Ale will be one Third more than it was, and consequently that the Excise on Beer and Ale will, from the Time this Bill takes place, produce about one Third more yearly, than it produced in the Year ended at Midsummer last, which is 340,456 l. I shall farther suppose, that upon the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors growing less by one Third, the Consumption of Beer and Ale should increase but one Sixth more than it was before; even by this Supposition there must be a yearly Increase in the Excise on Beer and Ale, of one Sixth more than it produced in the Year ended at Midsummer last, which is 170,228 l. yearly; and as very near one Half of the Excise on Beer and Ale, stands appropriated to the Civil List, consequently one Half of this Increase in the Excise on Beer and Ale, being 85,114 l. yearly, must accrue to the Civil List, which is 15,114 l. a Year more than it can be supposed to lose, by taking from it the Share it formerly had in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors.

From these Calculations, Sir, which are all taken from Accounts lying upon your Table, I think it is evident, even to a Demonstration, that the present Amount of the Civil List Revenue will not be diminished; but on the contrary, that

that it will be a Gainer at least 15,114 l. by the Regulation we are now about to make. I know it may be said, that these Calculations are founded upon Facts which are in their Nature uncertain; and that, tho' they have formerly fallen out in the Manner I have represented, we cannot be sure of their falling out in the same Manner hereafter; yet I hope it will be granted, there is a strong Probability of their falling out in the same Manner hereafter, as they have done heretofore: The same Causes generally produce the same Effects; and unless we have really a Mind to grant a new additional Revenue to the Civil List, this Probability ought to be a prevailing Argument with us, at least, to agree to the Proposition now made; for tho' it has been insinuated, that the Parliament may hereafter call for an Account, and dispose of the Increase that may arise in the Excise on Beer and Ale, we know, and the Case now in hand may convince us, how difficult it is for the Parliament to reassume any Revenue, or any Part of any Revenue, that has been once granted to, and established as a Part of the Civil-List. If it should hereafter appear, that the Civil-List has got 100,000 l. a Year, or perhaps 200,000 l. a Year, which may probably be the Case, by the Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale, occasioned by this Bill, I am very certain, if we agree to this Clause as it now stands, the Parliament will never be able to lay hold of any Part of that Increase, in order to apply it to the Aggregate Fund, for making good the 70,000 l. a Year, to be taken from that Fund by this Clause; nay, I question much if any future Parliament will be able to reassume that 70,000 l. a Year, or to discharge the Aggregate Fund from the future Payment of it, tho' it should then be made appear, that the Excise had actually increased, as plainly as I have now made it appear, that it probably will.

Anno 9. Geo. 11.
1736.

' This Difficulty, Sir, may be prevented by our agreeing to the Proposition now made to us; and by our settling the Clause in the Manner proposed, the Civil List may be a Gainer, but it is impossible it can be a Loser, even with respect to the Surplus it may now have above 800,000 l. a Year; which Surplus, we have been told, the Civil List has as good a Right to, as it has to any Part of the 800,000 l. a Year: But I widely differ from the honourable Gentleman who told us so [*Sir Robert Walpole*]; for if the Duties appropriated to the Civil List now produce a Million Yearly, and those Duties should by any Accident produce hereafter but 850,000 l. yearly, the Parliament, according to the present Establishment of the Civil List, would not be obliged to make good so much as One Shilling of that Decrease; whereas if they should hereafter produce but 750,000 l. yearly,

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735.

yearly, or any Sum less than 800,000 l. the Parliament stands obliged to make good whatever they may produce yearly less than that 800,000 l. so that there is at least this Difference between the 800,000 l. Establishment, and the 200,000 l. Surplus, that the Parliament now stands obliged to make good the 800,000 l. Establishment, but does not now stand obliged to make good One Shilling of the 200,000 l. Surplus ; therefore it can by no Means at present be said, that the Civil List has as good a Right to the Surplus, as it has to the Establishment : But, Sir, if we agree to the Proposition now made, the Civil List will then really have as good a Right to the present Surplus, whatever it may be, as it has to the Establishment of 800,000 l. yearly ; for which Reason, if this Proposition be not agreed to, I must conclude, that the 70,000 l. appropriated to the Civil List by the Clause as it stands at present, is designed as a new additional Revenue to the Civil List, and not as a Compensation for the Loss it may sustain by the Regulation we are about to make.

‘ This, Sir, leads me naturally to the next, and the only other Reason that can be assigned or supposed, for our agreeing to the Clause as it now stands, which is, because we suppose, that the present Amount of the Civil List Revenue is not sufficient for supporting his Majesty’s Household and Family, and that therefore we ought to grant an Addition of 70,000 l. a Year to that Revenue, during his Majesty’s Life at least, but I may say in all Time to come ; for I do not find an Instance, where less has been granted to a Successor, than had been formerly enjoy’d by his Ancestor.

‘ Now, Sir, as to this Reason, whatever the Gentlemen, who are immediately concerned in the Disposal of the Civil List Revenue, may suppose, I am very certain his Majesty does not suppose any such Thing ; because, if he had, he would certainly have communicated the same to his Parliament, either by a Speech from the Throne, or by a solemn Message, and would have desired such an Addition, as he thought necessary. There is no other Way by which his Majesty can communicate any such Want to his Parliament ; and until he does it in this Manner, no Gentleman, as a Member of this House, can suppose, nay, as a Trustee for the People he is bound not to suppose, that his Majesty stands in need of any Addition to his Civil List Revenue, or to any other Revenue. This therefore can be no Reason for us, as Members of this House, to agree to the Clause as it stands now before us ; and I hope this House will never, without very strong and publick Reasons, take such a large Sum of Money from that Fund which is appropriated for the Payment

ment of our Debts, and for freeing the People from that heavy Load of Taxes they now groan under.' Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

To this it was answer'd by the Courtiers as follows :

Sir,

' The Question now before us, has been already so fully debated, and set in so clear a Light, that I am surpris'd to hear any new Difficulties started. The true and the only Reason for our agreeing to the Clause as it now stands is, that by the very preceding Clause we are to take from the Civil List, and appropriate to the Aggregate Fund, a Revenue, which, upon a Medium since his Majesty's Accession, has brought in 70,000 l. a Year: This being the true State of the Case, is it not evident that the Civil List will lose, at least, 70,000 l. a Year by the Regulation we are now about to make? And as we are to take that yearly Sum from the Civil List, and appropriate it to the Aggregate Fund, is it not most just and reasonable, that we should charge the Aggregate Fund with the Payment of that Sum yearly to the Civil List? 'Tis true, as the Produce of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors will certainly be very much diminished by this new Regulation, the Aggregate Fund may not perhaps receive so much yearly by the Share the Civil List formerly had in those Duties; but this signifies nothing to the present Question, for if we were to take off any of our Taxes now appropriated to the Civil List, or to the Payment of the Interest growing due upon any of our Debts, we should be obliged to charge the Aggregate Fund, or some Part of the Sinking Fund, with the Deficiency thereby occasioned, tho' that Fund should get nothing to answer the new Charge laid upon it.

Argument in Fa-
vour of the above
Resolution of the
Committee.

' But we are told, Sir, That if the Civil List be a Loser by taking from it its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, that Loss will be fully made good by the Increase in the Excise on Beer and Ale, which will naturally be occasioned by the new Regulation we are now about to make. Sir, whatever Increase may happen hereafter in the Excise on Beer and Ale, the Civil List has a Right to its Share of that Increase without any new Grant from us, nor can we take that Right from it without doing a manifest Injustice; so that it appears to me a little extraordinary to say, that the Loss of that Right the Civil List now has to a Share of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, will be compensated, or made good, by another Right it was before intitled to, and which we neither could give nor take from it.

' But, Sir, to wave this Argument for the present, and to suppose that a Right which we do not give, may be a Compensation for a Right which we actually take away, I cannot think it would be just in us to take from the Civil List a certain

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

certain Revenue of 70,000*l.* a Year, and give nothing in Return but an uncertain Produce, which may for what we know be worth little or nothing; for even by the very Calculations that have been mentioned of the other Side, it appears that the Excise on Beer and Ale does not always increase, or decrease, in Proportion as the Duties on Spirituous Liquors decrease or increase. In the Year 1729, the Duties on the latter produced but 104,373*l.* whereas in the Year 1735, they produced 154,094*l.* from whence we ought to conclude, that the Produce of the Excise on Beer and Ale was much higher in the Year 1729, than it was in the Year 1735, yet we find that in 1729, the Excise produced but 963,763*l.* and that in the Year ended at Midsummer last, 1735, it produced 1,021,370*l.* which is 57,607*l.* more than it produced in 1729.

This shews, Sir, that the Proportion between the Increase or Decrease of the one, and the Decrease or Increase of the other, does not always hold; and in Fact it has certainly always been, and will always be so: The Increase or Decrease of the Excise upon Beer or Ale, as well as the Increase or Decrease of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, depend upon so many other Accidents, that they cannot depend entirely upon one another, nor can any Man guess at the Increase of the one, from any Knowledge he may have of the Decrease of the other. I shall mention only one Accident, which was, I believe, the chief Reason of the Decrease of the Excise on Beer and Ale in the Year 1729. It happened in that Year, the Price of all Sorts of Corn, especially Malt, was much higher than it was for several Years before or since, and for this Reason we may suppose none of our Brewers brewed any more Beer or Ale in that Year, than what was absolutely necessary for the immediate Consumption; none of them brewed any large Quantity for Staling, as they call it; whereas, in a Year when the Price is low, they all brew great Quantities, which they keep by them as a Stock in Hand, to be ready to answer any future Demand. This is more particularly the Case with respect to those Sorts of Strong Beer or Ale, which the Brewer may keep several Years in his Cellars, and is generally the better, the longer it is kept; and to this Accident, I believe, we ought chiefly to ascribe the great Decrease in the Excise on Beer and Ale in the Year 1729.

‘ Sir, I am so far from thinking, that the Increase or Decrease in the Consumption of Beer and Ale, depends upon the Decrease or Increase in the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, that I believe they generally increase or decrease together; it is not the Consumption of either of the Liquors, necessary for the Support of Nature, which raises the Excise

to its present Height: It is the Consumption occasioned by the Debauches and Extravagancies of the People, and these depend upon so many Accidents, that it is impossible to account for them in Time past, or to guess at the Consumption that may be in Time to come. But I am persuaded that nothing will tend more to the rendering our People sober, frugal, and industrious, than the removing out of their Way the many Temptations they are now exposed to, by the great Number of Gin-Shops, and other Places for the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for before a Man becomes flustered with Beer or Ale, he has Time to reflect, and to consider the many Misfortunes to which he exposes himself and his Family, by idling away his Time at an Alehouse; whereas any Spirituous Liquor in a Moment deprives him of all Reflection, so that he either gets quite drunk at the Gin-Shop, or runs to the Alehouse, and there finishes his Debauch. From hence, Sir, I think it most natural to conclude, that the Bill now under our Consideration, if passed into a Law, will diminish the Consumption of Beer and Ale; and consequently the Produce of the Excise on those Liquors, as well as the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, and the Produce of the Duty on them.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

I come now, Sir, to the Proposition this Day made to us, which I must say I look on as a very extraordinary one; because it would entirely alter the very Nature of that Grant of the Civil List, which was made to his Majesty in the first Year of his Reign; and I wonder how Gentlemen can propose making any such Alteration in that Grant without his Majesty's Consent: I think they should, at least, in Decency have ushered it in with a Motion for an Address to his Majesty, humbly to pray that he would give his Consent to their making such an Alteration; for by the Establishment of the Civil List as it stands at present, and as it was granted to his Majesty in the first Year of his Reign, he is to have during his Life the Produce of all those Duties then appropriated to that Revenue without any Account; yet now it is modestly proposed, that he should from henceforth be obliged to give an Account, every Year, to Parliament of the Produce of every one of those Duties, or otherwise to lose, at least, a Part of the Benefit of that Establishment which was intended, and was then actually granted to him by Parliament.

‘ Having thus, Sir, put this Proposition in a true Light, I am convinced that we cannot come to any such Resolution, or agree to such a Clause in any Bill, without his Majesty's Consent; and as I have shewn that there is no Certainty, that the Civil List will be a Gainer by the Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale; but on the contrary, that there is a Pro-

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

bability that it will be a Loser by the Decrease of that Excise, I think there arises from thence a sufficient Reason for our making good to his Majesty the Loss he must sustain, by taking from the Civil List its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, therefore I shall add no more, but declare that I am most heartily for agreeing to the Clause as it now stands.

Reply to the Arguments in Favour of the Resolutions of the Committee.

To this it was replied by the Members who opposed the Grant of 70,000 l.

Sir,

‘ From some of the Arguments now made use of, I think we may already begin to see the Truth of what was foretold in the Beginning of this Debate. We were then foretold, Sir, that if it should hereafter appear, that the Civil List had got 200,000 l. a Year, additional Revenue, by the Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale occasioned by this Bill, the Parliament would never be able to lay hold of any Part of that Increase, or even to re-assume the 70,000 l. Annuity, we are now to grant, upon a Supposition that the Civil List will get nothing by such Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale. The Truth of this, I say, Sir, begins already to appear; for the honourable Gentleman [*Sir Robert Walpole*] has told us, that by increasing the Consumption of Beer and Ale, and consequently the Excise on those Liquors, we give nothing to the Civil List but what it had before a Right to; whereas by diminishing, or taking from the Civil List its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, we take from it what it had formerly a Right to, and that therefore we cannot pretend to compensate a Right which we actually take away, by a Right which we do not give. If this can be admitted as an Argument for our agreeing to this Clause, it must always be a much stronger against the Parliament’s ever pretending to take any Part of the Increase, that may be occasioned in the Excise, or to re-assume the 70,000 l. Annuity we are now to establish.

Altho’ I have never yet admitted, nor can admit, that the Civil List’s Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors ought to be computed at 70,000 l. yet now, Sir, I shall take it for granted, because it signifies nothing to the present Dispute; for the principal Question now in Dispute I take to be, Whether the Civil List has such an absolute Right to that Share, that we can make no Regulations whereby the Value of that Share may be diminished, without granting a Compensation from some other Fund? And the next Question I take to be, Whether, if by the same Regulation the Value of the Civil List’s Share in some other Duties or Excises be increased, we may not in Justice and Equity insist upon it, that the Advantage occasioned in the one Case may
be

be admitted, so far as it will amount, as a Compensation for the Loss in the other.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ As to the first Question, Sir, ’tis true, the Crown has a Right to the whole Produce of certain Duties appropriated to the Civil List, but that Right is to be considered in a twofold Respect. The Crown has a Right to the whole Produce of all those Duties, so far as may amount to 800,000*l.* Establishment, without being subject to any Accident or Contingency whatsoever, because if the Produce should not amount to that Sum yearly, the Parliament stands obliged to make it good ; and if the whole Produce of those Duties shall amount to more than 800,000*l.* the Crown has likewise a Right to the Surplus : But that Right is subject to all Accidents and Contingencies, because if that Surplus should be by any Accident diminished, the Parliament is not obliged to make it good. Now, Sir, among the many Accidents to which that Surplus in its own Nature remains liable, surely this is one, That it may hereafter become necessary for the Welfare, perhaps for the Preservation of the Nation, to prevent or put a Stop to the Consumption of some Commodities, the Duties upon which contribute towards the producing of this Surplus : Would the Parliament be obliged in such a Case to make that Surplus good ; or to establish any other Fund for compensating the Loss the Civil List might sustain by such an Accident ? No, Sir, it certainly would not ; unless that Loss should become so heavy, as to reduce the Surplus, and even diminish the Establishment ; then indeed a Demand would arise upon the Parliament, and we should be obliged to make the Establishment good.

‘ Suppose, Sir, that France, Spain, Portugal, and the greatest Part of Italy, should be united in an Alliance against us, which by our late Management may happen to be the Case ; would it not then be absolutely necessary for us to prohibit the Importation or Consumption of all French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Wines ? Would not this very probably almost quite annihilate the Whole of what I have called the Surplus of the Civil List ? Yet will any Gentleman say that the Parliament could not prohibit the Importation or Consumption of those Wines, without making good to the Civil List its Share in the Duties upon them, to be computed at a Medium of the Produce for the preceeding seven or eight Years, when perhaps the Consumption of them was at a higher Pitch than was consistent with the good of the Nation, or Health of the People ? Surely, Sir, no Man will pretend to say any such Thing ; the Parliament would not be obliged to make good any Part of the Loss the Civil List should sustain by such Prohibition, unless the Produce of the Duties appropriated to that Revenue should be so far

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

reduced as not to amount to 800,000 l. yearly : And even in that Case, the Parliament would be obliged only to make the 800,000 l. good, they would not be obliged to make good any Part of that Surplus, which the Crown had formerly received and enjoyed by Means of the Duties upon those Wines.

‘ Is not the Case now before us the very same ? Our People have by Accident lately taken such a Turn, that it is become necessary for their Preservation, to prohibit the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors by Retaile. Is not this, as well as the one I have mentioned, one of those Accidents, to which the Crown’s Right to the Surplus of the Civil List Revenue always was, and still is subjected ? And can any Gentleman with Reason say, that we cannot prohibit the Retail of such Liquors, without making good to the Civil List the whole Surplus that has accrued to it, computed at a Medium of the Produce of those very Years, when the Abuse of those Liquors was at its highest Pitch ?

‘ The other Question, Sir, is, Whether, if by the same Regulation by which the Civil List’s Share in some Duties is diminished, its Share in other Duties be increased, the Advantage occasioned by that Regulation in one Case, ought not in Justice and Honour to be admitted, so far as it will amount, as a Compensation for the Damage occasioned in the other ? This, Sir, is a fair and a true State of the Question, without that Disguise of compensating a Right which we actually take away, by a Right which we do not give. Having thus stated the Question in its proper Light, I shall make use only of a familiar Parallel in private Life, for shewing that it ought to be resolved in the Affirmative. Suppose a Gentleman in my Neighbourhood has a very large Marsh in his Estate, every Year increasing so as to threaten his Estate with almost entire Ruin, and that the Water from that Marsh, after running through a Part of his Estate, falls upon a Part of mine, and there makes a new Marsh, by which a great Part of my Estate is rendered useless, and the whole brought into Danger : Suppose that upon surveying my Neighbour’s Marsh, and the several Fields round it, I find that, by a Cut through another Part of his Estate and a Part of mine, his Marsh may be thoroughly drained ; and that the Water, by being carried into a new Channel, will be prevented from overflowing any Part of my Estate, and will very much improve my Neighbour’s : Suppose again, that upon a fair and just Survey, it appears, that the Rents of his Estate will, by the Cut or Water-drain to be made, be diminished to the Value of 20 l. a Year, but that by the draining of his Marsh, and rendering it good Pasture or arable Land, the Rents of his Estate will be augmented

to the Value of 50 l. a Year, so that upon the whole he will be a Gainer to the Amount of 30 l. a Year. In this Case I must ask every Country-Gentleman, that hears me, if my Neighbour ought, in Prudence, to prevent my making that Cut or Water-drain through his Estate at my own Expence; or if he could either in Justice or Honour pretend, that I ought to give him 20 l. a Year out of my Estate, in Compensation for the 20 l. a Year, he pretends he is to lose, by making the Cut or Water-drain through his Estate? I believe no Gentleman will say he could in Prudence refuse the one, or in Justice insist upon the other: Yet, in this Case, the Compensation he receives for the Right I take away from him, arises from a Right I do not give, a Right he was intitled to before I took the other from him.

‘ Having now, I think, Sir, demonstrated, that, if the Loss the Civil List may sustain by the present Regulation, be made good by the Increase in the Excise on Beer and Ale occasioned by the present Regulation, we are neither in Justice nor Honour obliged to give any other Compensation. I may give up the other Question, and admit, that we are obliged to grant a Compensation, in case the Loss is not made good by the Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale, because, notwithstanding what the honourable Gentleman has said, I am still of Opinion, that it is not only probable, but apparent, that the Loss in one Way will be sufficiently made good by the Advantage in the other. The very Nature of the Thing is to me, a sufficient Proof; for granting, that the greatest Part of the present Amount of the Excise proceeds from the Debauches and Extravagancies of the People, it is well known, that those who once get into the Way of committing Debauches in Gin, can have no Relish even for the strongest Malt Liquors; and I am convinced there are very few Instances, if any, that ever a Club of excessive Gin-drinkers went from a Gin-shop, to finish their Debauch at an Ale-house; because even to quench their Thirst they generally take small Beer or Water, and mix it up with Gin; and many of them continue at the Gin-shop till they cannot find the Way to an Ale-house, or even to their own Beds, if they have any, but content themselves with the clean Straw, which at some of those Places they have for nothing: So that even from the Nature of the Thing we must conclude, that those who have once taken to the excessive drinking of Gin, give over almost entirely drinking of Beer or Ale; and if we can lay those People under a Necessity of returning to the drinking of strong Beer or Ale, we must necessarily very much increase the Consumption.

‘ By

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ By the Report, Sir, of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace at Hick’s-hall in the Month of January last, we find, there were then within Westminster, Holborn, the Tower, and Finsbury Division (exclusive of London and Southwark) 7044 Houses and Shops, wherein Geneva and other Spirituous Liquors were publickly sold by Retail, of which they had got an Account, and that they believed it was very far short of the true Number : From hence, Sir, if we include London, Southwark, and the other Places within the Bills of Mortality, I may modestly compute there are 20,000 Houses and Shops within the Bills of Mortality, where Geneva and other Spirituous Liquors are sold by Retail ; and tho’ the People within the Bills of Mortality are computed to be but a fifth, or a sixth Part of the People of England, yet I shall reckon but 20,000 Houses and Shops in all the other Parts of England, where Spirituous Liquors are sold by Retail, the Whole being 40,000. Now to each of these Houses I shall allow but ten Customers, who are excessive Drinkers of Gin, such I call those who may drink about half a Pint a Day, one Day with another ; and ten Customers who are moderate Drinkers of that Liquor, such I call those who do not drink above half a Quarter a Day, one Day with another. This makes in England 400,000 excessive Drinkers, and 400,000 moderate Drinkers of Spirituous Liquors ; and considering how universally the Custom of drinking such Liquors has got in among the common People, Men, Women and Children, I believe this Number will not be reckon’d too large.

‘ Let us next suppose, Sir, that if the Retail of such Liquors were entirely prohibited, and these Drinkers of Gin should return to the Use of Malt Liquors, that each of the excessive Drinkers of Gin would for the future drink a Pint of Strong Beer a Day, one Day with another ; and that each of the moderate Drinkers of Gin would for the future drink half a Pint of Strong Beer a Day, one with another, more than they drink at present ; we may from thence see how greatly the Consumption of Beer and Ale would be hereby increased ; for 400,000 Pints, and 400,000 half Pints, makes 600,000 Pints, or 75,000 Gallons a Day, which makes 27,375,000 Gallons, or 805,147 Barrels in a Year : The Excise at 4s. 6d. *per* Barrel upon this Increase in the Consumption, would produce an Increase in the Excise upon Beer and Ale of 181,158l. yearly, one half of which being 90,579l. would belong to the Civil List ; so that according to all the Ways of Computation, the Civil List will get more by the Increase in the Excise upon Beer and Ale, than it can be supposed to lose, according to the highest Computation, by taking from it the Duties on Spirituous Liquors ;
and

and that my Computation of Gin-drinkers is within Bounds, appears from hence; that the supposed 400,000 excessive Drinkers at half a Pint a Day, and the 400,000 moderate Drinkers at half a Quartern a Day, according to this Computation, consume but 31,250 Gallons a Day, which is 11,406,250 Gallons in a Year, the Duties upon which, at 3 d. a Gallon, amount to but 142,578 l. *per Annum*; whereas the Duties upon these Liquors for this last Year, amounted to 154,094 l. and we cannot suppose but that there are some Frauds, with respect to the collecting of these Duties, as well as in most others.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ I have chosen this new Method of Calculation, Sir, not because I think the other false or deceitful, but to shew, that whatever Method we choose, and from the most modest Calculations we can make, this general Truth will always appear, That by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, the Civil List will get more by the Increase of the Excise on Beer and Ale, than it can lose by the Decrease of the Duties upon such Liquors: And now with respect to the Observations made upon the other Method, I must say, that the Gentlemen of the other Side treat us, as Free-thinkers are treated by some of their Antagonists: They state a weak or a false Argument for us, answer it, and then triumph in the Victory they have obtained. I have never heard it said, Sir, in this House, nor in any any other Place, that as the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors decrease or increase, the Excise upon Beer and Ale must always increase or decrease in an exact Proportion: That if the Duties upon the former decrease or increase one fifth, one sixth, or one tenth, the other must increase or decrease exactly one fifth, one sixth, or one tenth, and neither more nor less. No, Sir, there are many other Accidents may contribute to the Increase or Decrease of the Excise on Beer and Ale, and therefore this Proportion cannot be exact: Yet I cannot allow, that the Accident mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, could have any great Influence upon the Excise in 1729; for the Price of Malt was not, so far as I remember, so high that Year, as to put our Brewers out of the common Way of Brewing; and besides, we know that the Strong Drink brewed for common Draught, from whence the greatest Part of the Excise is raised, is never designed to be kept a great many Years; so that in such Sort of Drink the Brewers never think of laying up a great Stock to provide for a Year of Scarcity: But I shall mention one Accident, which, I will take upon me to say, has greatly contributed to keep up the Excise these last two Years, and yet has contributed nothing towards raising the Produce of the Duties, at least, on Home-made Spirits; I mean, Sir, the late general Election for

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

for this Parliament, and the many very extraordinary disputed Elections that have been since ; for it is certain that these Elections and Disputes have added greatly to the Consumption of Beer and Ale, tho' I have never yet heard of a Candidate, who treated his Voters or Witnesses with Gin.

' And lastly, Sir, with respect to the Proposition this Day made to us, I am surpris'd to hear the honourable Gentleman say, that it alters the Nature of the present Establishment of the Civil List ; for upon the contrary, it pursues exactly the Nature of that Establishment : With respect to the present Civil List, so far as the Parliament stands obliged to make it good, his Majesty is accountable ; for he cannot make any Demand upon the Parliament, till he has laid an Account of the Civil List Revenues before them, in order to shew them the Deficiency : By the Proposition now before us, we are to enlarge that Establishment, we are to oblige ourselves to make a future Sum yearly good to his Majesty ; and I hope the honourable Gentleman would not have us lay ourselves under such an Obligation, and at the same Time put it in the Power of any future Minister to come and tell us, whenever he pleases, that there was a Deficiency as to that further Sum ; and that therefore he insisted upon our making it good, without laying any Account before us from whence that Deficiency might appear.

' To conclude, Sir, from the whole that has been said upon this Subject, it appears evident to me, that if the Surplus of the Civil List should be diminished by what we are now about, we are not obliged to make it good : That if we were obliged to make the Loss good, it ought not to be computed at 70,000*l. per Annum* : That if it should be computed at 70,000*l. per Annum*, it is apparent that it will be made good by the Increase of the Excise : That if this were not apparent, the Proposition now made to us will fully answer that Uncertainty : That the Proposition now made to us is exactly conformable to the Nature of the present Establishment of the Civil List ; and that if it were not, it is become necessary, by the Demand now made upon us in favour of the Civil List ; so that in no Case can I find any Reason for taking such a Sum as 70,000*l.* a Year from the Sinking Fund ; and therefore I cannot agree that this Clause, in the present Form, should stand Part of the Bill.'

The House resolve
to agree with the
Committee in their
Vote of 70,000*l.*
for the Civil List.

The Question being then put, to agree with the Committee in the Amendments made to this Clause, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Affirmative, by 183 to 110.

April 6. The House resumed the Consideration of the Report from the Committee on the Bill for preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, when the following Clause was offer'd for excepting Punch ; *viz.* ' Provided always, that
' nothing

‘ nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed
 ‘ to extend, to charge with any of the Duties directed to
 ‘ be paid, levied, or collected, by this Act, any Spirits or
 ‘ Strong Waters, to be made into the Liquor commonly
 ‘ called Punch, to be retailed and consumed in the House,
 ‘ or Houses, of any Person, or Persons, keeping a publick
 ‘ Inn, Coffee-house, Victualling-house, or Ale-house; who
 ‘ shall have been first licensed to sell Wine, Beer, Ale, or
 ‘ other Liquors, or to subject the Makers, or Retailers of
 ‘ the said Liquor called Punch, to take out Licences from
 ‘ the Commissioners of Excise, as herein before directed for
 ‘ Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, or Strong Waters. Pro-
 ‘ vided the said Liquor called Punch, so to be retailed and
 ‘ consumed as aforesaid, be made or mixed with two third
 ‘ Parts Water at the least, in the Presence of the Buyer,
 ‘ and that the Spirit with which the said Liquor is to be
 ‘ made, be not sold, or retailed, in a less Quantity than one
 ‘ Pint, or at a less Price than after the Rate of 5 s. *per*
 ‘ Gallon; and all and every Person, or Persons, acting con-
 ‘ trary hereto, shall forfeit the Sum of 5 l. for every Of-
 ‘ fence, one Moiety thereof to the Informer, or Prosecutor,
 ‘ that shall inform or prosecute for the same, the other
 ‘ Moiety to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors: And the
 ‘ Proof that the same was so mixed and sold at such Price
 ‘ as aforesaid, shall lye on the Vender or Seller thereof,
 ‘ and not on the Informer or Prosecutor.’

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

A Clause offer'd
for excepting
Punch out of the
Bill relating to
Spirituous Liquors.

The Arguments in Favour of the said Clause were as fol-
lows:

Arguments in fa-
vour of that Clause.

Sir,

‘ As the Complaint, which occasioned the bringing in of
 this Bill was chiefly aim'd against the excessive Use of Home-
 made Spirits among the common People, which proceeded
 entirely from the low Price, and from the Liberty many
 Persons took to retail them without a Licence, I have always
 been of Opinion, that the Evil complained of might have
 been cured, without laying on such heavy Duties as will
 amount to a Prohibition of the Retail of all distilled Spiritu-
 ous Liquors: However, as the Consumption of Rum, when
 made into Punch, has never occasioned the least Complaint;
 and as that Consumption is of very great Consequence to
 this Nation, I must beg Leave to offer a few Words in fa-
 vour of the Clause propos'd.

‘ I believe, Sir, no Gentleman in this House is ignorant
 of the present declining State of our Sugar Colonies: Their
 Circumstances have been of late so fully laid before Parlia-
 ment, and every Man who has a Regard for his Fellow Sub-
 ject, or for the Good of his Country, must be sensibly touch-
 ed with their just Complaints. Their Rivals in the Sugar-

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Trade enjoy a new, rich, and fertile Soil, which produces plentifully without great Labour or Expence. Their Rivals live almost quite free from Taxes, and without being at the Expence of making any Presents to their Governors, or even of maintaining and repairing their own Forts and Garrisons ; while They are heavily loaded with Taxes upon Exports as well as Imports, and obliged to pay large Salaries to their Governors, and to maintain and repair their own Fortifications : Their Rivals have a Liberty of exporting their Sugars directly to any Market in Europe, while They remain under a Necessity of landing every Ounce in Britain, and are thereby obliged to pay double Freight, double Commission, and a great many other unnecessary Charges. These Disadvantages have already, I am afraid, made us lose the Benefit of supplying any Foreign Market with Sugars ; and in such Circumstances can it be expected, that the Parliament of Great Britain will, without any Necessity, make a Regulation for taking from our Sugar-Colonies the only Market they have left ?

I must confess, Sir, I little expected to have seen, in this Session of Parliament, any new Discouragement given to our Sugar-Colonies ; on the contrary, I expected to have seen the most vigorous, and the best concerted Measures taken for relieving them from all the Disadvantages they at present labour under ; and for putting them, at least, upon an equal Footing with their Rivals in the Sugar-Trade : Such Measures might have perhaps enabled us to regain the Benefit we have lost, of supplying Foreign Markets with that Commodity ; but if we diminish the Sale of their Sugars or their Rum in Great Britain, without enabling them to send it to Foreign Markets, by removing the Disadvantages they are now subjected to, their Rivals may be so thoroughly established in the Trade, that it will be impossible for us to regain it ; nay, the very Islands where our Sugars are now produced may be abandoned ; and then instead of supplying Foreigners, it will be impossible for us to supply ourselves, either with Sugars or Rum, which must of course be attended with an infinite Loss to the Nation.

Let us consider, Sir, what vast Quantities of Manufactures of all Kinds are yearly sent from Great Britain to our several Sugar-Islands, and from thence we must see how greatly the Value of our Exports must be diminished. This of itself would be an infinite Loss to the Nation ; but then, if we could have no Sugars or Rum from those Islands for supplying our Home-Consumption, our Loss would be redoubled ; for that Consumption would then be supplied from the French Islands : So that the Value of our Imports from Foreign Countries would be considerably increased, at the
same

same Time that the Value of our Exports would be greatly diminished ; and how this would affect our Balance of Trade, as well as our Manufactures here at Home, I leave every Gentleman to judge.

ANNO 9. GEO. II.
1735.

' The Duties upon Sugars consumed in Great Britain are, said to amount to near 130,000*l.* a Year, and as these Sugars pay but 3*s.* 6*d.* *per* hundred Weight, we must from thence conclude, that the Sugars consumed yearly in this Island must amount to above 700,000 hundred Weight ; so that if we were obliged to purchase from France all the Sugars necessary for our Home-Consumption at the Rate of 6*d.* *per* Pound, which would probably be the Case, that Consumption only would carry yearly out of this Kingdom near two Millions Sterling : To this let us add the Money that must necessarily be carried out of the Nation yearly for Rum ; and the vast Sums that must yearly be carried out of Ireland, and our Northern Colonies, for the Sugars and Rum they stand in need of ; and from these two Considerations only, we must, I think, conclude, that by the Loss of the Sugar-Trade only, the Balance of Trade would be entirely turned against us. Then let us consider what vast Numbers of our People are now employed, at Home and Abroad, in the Production and Manufacture of our Sugars ; what vast Numbers of our Manufacturers of all Kinds are concern'd in providing Necessaries and Utensils for them ; and what a Number of our Seamen are yearly employed in transporting our Sugars and Rum to Great Britain ; and from thence we may see how greatly the Number of our People, especially our Seamen, must be diminished, and consequently how considerably the Power, and Naval Force, of this Nation must be reduced by the Loss of the Sugar-Trade : But what is still of worse Consequence, and I beg of Gentlemen to consider it, all the Riches, all the Power, and all the Naval Force we may in this Case lose, must necessarily be added to that Kingdom from which we must always have the most to fear.

Having now, Sir, represented to you the fatal Consequences, with which the Loss of the Sugar-Trade must be attended, I shall next consider how that Trade may be affected by the Bill before us. I believe it will be granted, by every Man who understands any Thing of our Sugar-Plantations, that considering the Disadvantages they lie under at present, it would be impossible for them to carry on the Trade, or to produce any Sugars, if they had not a ready Sale for their Rum at the Price it now bears ; therefore every Thing, that tends towards lessening that Price, must be a Step towards the Ruin of our Sugar-Trade. Now if the Consumption of any Commodity be lessened, the Quantity

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735

brought to Market must be lessened, or the Price will sink of Course; and as the Consumption of Rum will certainly be very much diminished by this Bill as it now stands, we must conclude that our Sugar-Planters cannot have a ready Sale for their Rum at the Price it now bears, if they continue to produce as much as they do at present: And we also know, that our Sugar-Islands are not fit for producing any Thing that can turn to Account but Sugars and Rum; so that if we put it out of their Power to get a Sale for them, at such a Price as they may subsist by, a great Number of them must necessarily leave our Islands and settle among the French in Hispaniola or St Lucia, where there is Ground sufficient for them all, and where they will without Doubt meet with Encouragement. The few Sugar-Planters left upon our own Islands may then, perhaps, get a profitable Price for the Sugar and Rum they produce, because we shall certainly endeavour, by Prohibitions and high Duties, to prevent the Importation of foreign Sugars, Rum or Brandy; but we cannot in such Case propose to sell any at a foreign Market: And even with respect to our Home-Consumption, we know how impossible it is to prevent the Importation, or Consumption, of any foreign Commodity, when there is a great Advantage to be got by running it upon us.

‘ We know, Sir, that in none but our own Markets our Sugar-Planters can sell any great Quantity of their Rum they produce, which is at present equal in Value to one 4th Part of all their other Products: If then by the Bill now before us, we diminish by one half the present Consumption of Rum, as our Sugar-Planters can dispose of it no where else, it is absolutely rendering useless to them one 8th Part of their whole Produce, which is above twelve *per Cent.* and, I am afraid, is more than any one of our Sugar-Planters can make clear Profit to himself. From hence, Sir, we may see how dangerous it is, to lay such a Restraint upon the Consumption of Rum as is proposed by this Bill: Yet this Restraint, dangerous as it is, I should have readily agreed to, if the Consumption of Rum, either by itself or in Punch, had ever given Occasion to any of the Evils now complained of, or even if we could hope thereby to render our People at home more sober, frugal, or industrious; because, in either Case, I should have at the same Time proposed the freeing of our Sugar-Planters from all Quit-rents and Taxes, from all Salaries or Presents to Governors, and even from all Expence of maintaining and repairing their own Fortifications; and at the same Time I would have been for giving them Liberty to export their Sugars and Rum directly to any Market in the whole World: But neither of these is the Case at present; for the inferior People never have

have made, nor can make an excessive Use of Rum : It is never used, either by itself, or when made into Punch, but by the better Sort ; and by taking from them Punch, we shall only throw them into the Way of drinking Wine, which will be a greater Expence to them, and to the Nation.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

But, Sir, it is not the Consumption of Rum only, that will be diminished by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, the Consumption of Sugar likewise will be greatly diminished ; for tho' People may still make use of Punch at their own Houses, we know that our People do not much like Entertainments at one another's Houses : From that Spirit of Liberty so natural to them, and which I hope no Minister shall ever be able to root out, they like to be at a Publick-House upon an equal Footing and a fair Club ; and therefore we cannot suppose that the Consumption at their own Houses will amount to near the Quantity formerly consumed. We are driving the People from the Use of a Liquor almost wholly produced by the Industry of our own Subjects, to the Use of a Liquor produced by Foreigners, with whom we have not, I believe, all the Reason in the World to be perfectly well satisfied.

' I should have been glad, Sir, to have seen this Bill so framed as to have left our People the free Use of Rum ; but as the House seems to be of Opinion that this would open a Way for evading the Act ; and as the Clause is drawn up in such a Manner, as to prevent its being possible to draw from it any Method of evading the Law ; or putting it in the Power of the common People to make an excessive Use of Punch ; and as no bad Consequence can accrue from permitting the Use of it among the better Sort, I hope the House will agree to it.'

To this it was answer'd by the Advocates for the Bill, as follows :

Arguments against
that Clause.

Sir,

' Although the Complaints, which occasioned the bringing in of the Bill now before us, were chiefly aimed against the excessive Use of Home-made Spirits among the common People, yet I believe it will be granted, that the Use even of Punch, has of late Years become too excessive. It is well known how considerably the Number of our Punch-Houses have increased within these few Years, and how much they have been frequented by Persons of all Degrees, especially since the Method of retailing Punch in so small Quantities has begun to be practised : This we may be assured of from the Numbers of Advertisements relating to such Houses, which have daily appeared in our News-Papers for two or three Years past ; and as every such House is a Temptation thrown in the Way of our People for idling away

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

away their Time, I am of Opinion that it is now become absolutely necessary to remove them out of the Way, or at least to lessen the Number of them as much as we can. I do not, Sir, in the least question but this Evil was foreseen several Years ago ; but, among the many Advantages we enjoy by the Nature of our Constitution, we are exposed to this Inconvenience, that it is seldom practicable to prevent an Evil, till it becomes so apparent as to be felt almost by every Man in the Kingdom ; and in the present Case, though the Evils now complained of were foreseen a dozen Years since, yet it is certain that no Proposition for preventing them would then have met with any Reception ; on the contrary, if any such had then been offered, I believe whoever should have proposed it, would have been looked on as a Madman : Yet I am convinced it will now be granted, that the passing such a Bill would have been of great Service to the Nation ; and the Objection of turning a Number of People out of their Way of subsisting their Families, would not then have been so strong as it is at present. This is the Case of every general Nuisance, which always contributes to the Advantage of some particular Persons, who will oppose its Removal as long as they can, but when it comes to be sensibly felt, they must then submit ; and the Advantage or Convenience of particular Persons is not to be regarded.

‘ I am sensible, Sir, of the present bad Circumstances of our Sugar-Colonies, and as desirous to have the Hardships they complain of removed, as any Gentleman can be ; and therefore I shall readily concur with any Measures for their Relief, that do not tend to the Ruin of their Mother Country : But for the Sake of encouraging the Sale of their Rum or Sugars, I cannot submit to the Continuance of an Enormity, which will evidently tend to destroy the Health and Morals of the People of Great Britain. For this Reason I am against making any Exceptions to the Bill now before us : The Disease we are now fully sensible of, the Remedy we have in our Hands, do not let us mix that Remedy up with any Palliative which may lessen, perhaps entirely prevent its Effect. We may find many Methods for giving our Sugar-Colonies a full Compensation for the Disadvantage they may be subjected to by this Bill ; but that cannot be granted by the Bill now before us, it is a Subject of a quite different Nature, and will therefore require a separate Bill. This we may not perhaps be able to accomplish in the present Session, but their Case may be fully examined into before the next, and a proper Relief be granted, and in the mean Time their Loss cannot be very considerable.

‘ I shall not, Sir, dispute the Consequence of our Sugar-Islands to this Kingdom, or its being a Loss to them to lessen the Consumption of their Rum in Great Britain ; but I am convinced they might sell their Rum cheaper, and yet have a considerable Profit. If they should lower the Price of their Rum but a very little, they might find a Vent for it in many other Places, a Vent, which would be more than sufficient for answering the small Diminution, that may by this Law be occasioned in the Consumption of it in Great Britain ; and that Foreign Vent, would be more to the Advantage of their native Country than selling the same Quantity at double the Price to be consumed in this Island. It is therefore against the general Interest of this Country, to encourage the Home-Consumption so much, as to enable our Planters to sell all they can make at a high Price in Great Britain ; and on the other Hand it is our Duty to take all possible Measures for enabling them to sell it at a cheap Rate to Foreigners ; for if the Price of Rum could be so much reduced, as that it might be purchased cheaper than Brandy or Geneva, vast Quantities of it would be consumed in North America, in Africa, and in the Countries bordering upon the Baltick ; and even at Home the Consumption of French and Flemish Brandies would be very much diminished.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ I do not know, Sir, but by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, some small Addition may be made to our Consumption of Wines ; but then it will be with respect to Port Wines only ; and as our Trade with Portugal is, in the main, a very profitable Trade, it is our Interest to encourage it as much as we can : However, I rather think most of those who used to drink Punch, will drink Fine Ale and Strong Beer, or those Home-made Wines which we call Sweet’s ; and it is as much the Interest of the Nation to encourage the Consumption of these Liquors, as that of any other. By increasing the Consumption of Fine Ale and Strong Beer, we shall encourage the Tillage of our Lands in Great Britain ; and by increasing the Consumption of Home-made Wines, we shall encourage the Trade of our Sugar-Islands, because in the making such there are great Quantities of Sugar used ; so that if they should become of as general Use as Punch is at present, our Demand for Sugars must necessarily be increased.

‘ To conclude, Sir, if you exempt Punch from the Duties to be imposed by this Bill, you will render it altogether ineffectual ; for under the Name of the Liquor exempted, every Sort of Spirituous Liquor will be retailed : Our Brandy-Shops and our Gin-Shops will then be all turned into Punch-Shops, our People will be as much debauched, and
our

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

our Streets as full of Objects of Pity and Contempt as ever. For this Reason, Sir, I am for making an Experiment, at least, for one Year, of the Bill as it stands at present: As it is a very extraordinary Regulation, we shall probably in next Session have Occasion to make some Alterations: By that Time we shall see what Effect the diminishing the Retail of Punch will have upon our People; we shall likewise see what Effect it may be like to have upon our Sugar-Colonies. In the mean Time the Prohibition cannot be attended with any extraordinary bad Effect, and therefore I shall be against adding the Clause which the honourable Gentleman has proposed.

Farther Arguments
in Favour of the
Clause.

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for the Clause:

Sir,

‘ When the honourable Gentleman [*Sir Joseph Jekyll*] was pleased to find Fault with the great Number of our Punch-Houses, I wish he had added Taverns and Alehouses; for I am convinced the great Number of the latter is as sensible a Grievance as the former; and have contrived more Temptations for People to loiter away their Time: But the unbounded Liberty so many Years given to setting up Publick Houses of all Kinds, proceeds from an Error in Politicks, by which it was the Interest of those to multiply such Houses, who only had the Power to prevent their Increase. This, Sir, is the true Cause of that prodigious Number of Houses of Entertainment set up in every Part of this Kingdom; and the Power of those, to whom we had given an Interest in such Houses, has been so considerable, that it was in vain for any Gentleman to propose a Remedy. Notwithstanding the terrible Outcry, that was universally raised against the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors amongst the Common People, I doubt much if we could have applied any effectual Remedy, unless some Persons had found it their Interest to agree to it.

‘ I shall readily agree, Sir, that the present Number of our Punch-Houses is too great; but there is a great Difference between too great a Number, and none at all: By the Proposition now made, the Retailing of Punch will be confined to Houses where other strong Liquors are by Licence to be sold, which will of Course very much diminish the Number of our Punch-Houses; and where Men are allowed to drink any other Sort of strong Liquor, I can see no Reason why they may not be allowed to drink Punch, for I am persuaded it is as wholesome a Liquor as can be found at such Houses. I wish, Sir, that effectual Methods had been taken, many Years since, for preventing our People from supporting their Families by the Retail of Spirituous Liquors: I am convinced.

vinced, that thereby the Labour and Industry of all our People has been very much diminished, and therefore I wish some effectual Restraints had been laid upon those, who have the Power of granting such Licences. Though the publick Good certainly requires an immediate Restraint upon the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors, yet I cannot think that a Prohibition of selling any such Liquors by Retail, especially when they are rectified by Water, or made into Punch, can be absolutely necessary: Nay, if such a Prohibition were necessary, my Concern for the Numbers of People who now live by that Retail is such, that I should rather be for introducing the Prohibition by Degrees; by which Method a general Distress would be prevented; because some would die in the mean Time, and the rest would have Time to provide a Livelihood in some other Way.

‘ This Bill would, I believe, have met with very little Success, if it had not been supported by another Proposition which is now made Part of it. I shall admit, Sir, that those who find a private Interest in any publick Nuisance, generally endeavour to oppose its Removal, even although they are fully sensible that their Country must be ruined by its Continuance. Of such Men, I am afraid we have too many in this Kingdom, but I hope not one in this House.

‘ With respect to our Sugar-Colonies, Sir, I am surprised to hear such Reasoning upon that Subject. They may probably be ruined by prohibiting the Retail of their Rum in Great Britain; but Gentlemen say, we may give them a full Compensation the next Session; which to me seems the same as if I should say to a Man, I must now knock your Brains out, but next Year I’ll do something to bring you to Life again: For God’s Sake, Sir, let us consider the unfortunate Case of many of our Sugar-Islands, whose whole Subsistence depends upon the Sale of that Moiety of their Rum, which we are by this Bill to deprive them of: The Produce of their whole present Crop of Sugars, and the other Moiety of their Rum, may be necessary for defraying the Charge of their next Year’s Crop; and if we disappoint them in the Sale of what they designed for subsisting their Families, they must break in upon the Stock necessary for producing another Crop; by which Means every Sugar-Planter, who is not beforehand with the World, must necessarily be undone: This I am persuaded will be the Case of most of our small Planters, and in them we know the Strength of our Sugar-Islands consists; tho’ the Regulations we are next Year to make may be a Compensation to those who can stand the Shock. There is no Pretence for saying that the Use of Rum when made into Punch, for one Year longer, will destroy the Health or Morals of the People of Great Britain, therefore

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

why should we do an Injury to our Sugar-Planters, 'till we are ready to grant them a proper Redrefs ? Why should we prevent the Sale of their Rum in Great Britain, 'till we have made such Regulations as may enable them to sell it to Advantage at some other Market ?

' We are told, Sir, that our Sugar-Planters might sell their Rum much cheaper, and yet have a considerable yearly Profit from their several Plantations ; but I wish that sort of Reasoning had been founded upon Facts known to the House ; for I believe, if we were to examine our Sugar-Planters, they would give us strong Reasons for convincing us, that in their present Circumstances it is impossible to sell their Sugars or Rum cheaper. We all know how dear living it is in our Sugar-Islands, what Taxes they pay, and what monstrous Prices they give for their Slaves, and for every Thing else necessary for the Production of Sugars : We likewise know at what a cheap Rate both Sugars and Rum are sold upon the Spot where they are produced, and if we compare the Expence and the Profits together, the Impossibility of selling cheaper will fully appear. It certainly would be an Advantage to the Nation, to enable our Sugar-Planters to sell their Rum at foreign Markets rather than in Great Britain ; but it is not the Price the poor Planters sell it at, which prevents its being sold in foreign Markets ; it is the wise Regulations we have made here at home ; for we seem to have taken Care to prevent its being in their Power to dispose of their Rum at any foreign Market : In the first Place, their Rum must be all landed in Great Britain, before it can be carried to any foreign Market in Europe ; so that it must be charged with double Freight and double Commission, besides Porterage, Wharfage, and several other small Items upon the Importation and Exportation, all which, upon such a cheap and such a bulky Commodity, must amount to more than the Value of the prime Cost : And in the next Place we know that, in order to make Rum palatable, it must be kept in a good Cellar for several Years ; now there are but few of our Planters can spare to keep their Rum by them, nor would it be proper to keep it in those hot Climates ; and yet by obliging our Merchants at home to pay the high Duties upon it soon after its landing, we render it impossible for most of them to keep it 'till it is fit for any Market ; or if some of them do, the Interest of the Duties upon it at home rises so high, that it becomes impossible to sell it to Advantage at any foreign Market. Both these Disadvantages might be very easily removed ; and when this is done we may perhaps make free with our Home-Consumption of that Liquor ; but 'till then I am convinced, the putting a Stop to our Home-Consumption,

tion, will be running the Risk of ruining intirely our Sugar-Colonies.

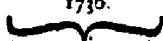
Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ It is said, Sir, that upon our prohibiting the Retail of Punch, our People will fall naturally into the drinking of Fine Ale, Strong Beer, and Home-made Wines. I wish it may be so ; and I am convinced the putting a Stop to the Use of Spirituous Liquors, will increase the Consumption of Beer and Ale, tho’ this has been denied, or at least much doubted of, by the same Gentlemen in a former Debate on this Bill ; but as for most of our Punch-Drinkers, they are generally the better Sort of our People, and most of them will fall into the drinking of foreign Wines, which Consumption will not be confined to the Wines of Portugal only ; for the Spanish and Italian Wines will certainly come in for a Share, as well as French Clarets. As for our Home-made Wines, the Use of them will never become so general as the Use of Punch ; and unless this happens to be the Case, our Sugar-Colonies will suffer in the Consumption of their Sugars as well as their Rum.

‘ I will allow that by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, some little Addition will be made to the Consumption of our Home-made Wines ; but I am convinced the chief Addition will be to the foreign Wines, which must necessarily be a great Disadvantage to the Nation, tho’ it will be a double Advantage to the Civil List ; for that Revenue will be considerably increased by the great Number of new Wine-Licences, that will of Course be taken out, every Shilling of the Duties upon which belongs to the Civil List ; and it will besides get a great deal more by the Consumption of Wine, than it could have ever got by the Consumption of Rum made into Punch ; for as one Bottle of good Rum made into Punch, will go as far as four Bottles of Wine ; and as the Civil List gets at least 16 d. by the Consumption of four Bottles of Wine, and but 9 d. or 10 d. at most by one Bottle of Rum made into Punch, the Civil List will be a double Gainer by this Change of Liquors. ’Tis true, a considerable Addition has always been made by Adulteration to foreign Wines after they are imported, so that we cannot suppose the Civil List will get 4 d. by every Bottle hereafter to be consumed : But then if the drinking of Punch be continued, we cannot reckon that the Civil List could get 9 d. or 10 d. by every Bottle of Rum made use of, because great Quantities of Punch have always been made of Rum run in without paying Duty ; and the Quantity of Punch, made from such Liquors, will always be at least equal to the Quantity added by our Wine-Coopers to foreign Wines after Importation.

Anno 9. Geo. II.

1736.



' The Clause now offered is, in my Opinion, Sir, drawn up so cautiously, that it is impossible to make any Handle of it for evading the Law. The Punch, to be retailed by this Clause, must be mixed with two third Parts Water at least, in the Presence of the Buyer, and must not be retailed in a less Quantity than one Pint, or at a less Price than after the Rate of 5 s. *per* Gallon: It will therefore be impossible to sell any spirituous Liquor under the Name of Punch, unless it be mixed with two third Parts Water; and the not allowing it to be sold at a less Price than 5 s. *per* Gallon, or in a less Quantity than one Pint, will prevent Tippling as much as possible. To pretend that the Frauds cannot be discovered, because the Drinkers will always be Parties to the Evasion, is an Objection that will hold equally strong against every Clause in the Bill; for the Drinkers must be Parties to every Fraud that can be committed, and yet it is to be presumed, that they will generally be the Informers: Nay, even with Respect to the retailing of Gin, it may safely be sold and drank in a private Corner, without any Danger of Discovery, unless the Drinkers themselves become Informers.

' The Bill now before us may indeed, Sir, very properly be called an Experiment: It is, I believe, one of the boldest Experiments in Politicks that was ever made in a free Country; and seems as if intended to try the Submission and Obedience of our People: Even, tho' the Clause now proposed be added, like Saul, it will ruin its Thousands; but if this Clause be not added, like David, it will ruin its ten Thousands; and if by this Bill our Sugar-Trade should be destroyed, it will ruin the whole Nation at last. I truly, Sir, make no Question, but that the Bill will be found to stand in need of some Amendments in the very next Session; I do not know but a great Part of it may then be repealed; but as for that Part of it which relates to the Civil-List, I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to get it repealed: I am convinced, that before next Session it will be found necessary to alter the whole Scheme of this Bill, and to contrive some new Method for preventing the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors among our common People; but in the mean time Thousands of our People abroad and at home will be utterly undone: And as such Persons cannot be recovered, nor receive any Benefit, by those Alterations we may then think proper to make, I am for preventing the spreading of this Desolation as much as possible, and therefore am for adding the Clause now proposed.'

The Clause offered
for excepting Punch
out of the Bill re-
lating to Spirituous
Liquors is rejected.

The Question was then put, Whether the above Clause be added to the Bill; which pass'd in the Negative, by 203 to 98. And then the Bill was ordered to be engross'd.

April

April 20. The Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors was read a third Time, and pass'd without a Division ; and Sir Charles Turner was ordered to carry it up to the Lords.

Anno 9. Geo. 12.
1736.

The Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

Farther Debate on the Quaker's Bill.

April 21. The House resolv'd itself into a Committee upon the Quakers Bill, when great Alterations were made to every Clause ; and it was propos'd to leave to every Person intitled to Tythes, an Option to sue for the Recovery of them, either before the Justices of the Peace, as directed by that Bill, or before any of his Majesty's Courts in Westminster-Hall : But as this seem'd to be inconsistent with the Preamble of the Bill, and with the Intention of the whole, it was strenuously oppos'd ; and upon the Question's being put, it was upon a Division carried in the Negative by 202 to 96.

April 22. The House proceeded on the Hearing of the Petition complaining of an undue Election for the County of York, (on which Affair they had sat every Tuesday and Thursday since the presenting of the said Petition, p. 147.) and the Counsel for the Petitioner Sir Rowland Winn, sum'd up their Evidence ; by which they alledged they had disqualified several Persons as not being assessed to the Publick Taxes, Church Rates, and Parish Duties ; Others, as having no Freehold in the Place where they swore that their Freehold did lie ; and of them several as having no Estate at all, being Curates, Schoolmasters, Parish-Clerks, Hospital-Men, Leaseholders and Copyholders ; Others, as not having Freeholds of the Value of 40 s. *per Annum* ; Others, as being Minors ; Others, as having purchased their Freeholds within one Year before the Election ; Others, as having been influenced to vote by Threats ; Others, as having voted twice ; One, as being an Alien ; and Others, whose Votes appear'd upon the Poll, though there were no such Persons either in the Place where they swore their Freeholds did lie, or in the Places where they swore that their Abode was : Hereupon the farther Hearing of the Affair was adjourn'd to the 29th ; when it was farther adjourn'd to the 4th of May.

Farther Proceedings on the Yorkshire Election.

April 29. A Motion being made for an Address of Congratulation to the King, on Account of the Nuptials of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Saxe-Gotha, to whom his Royal Highness was married on the 27th, Mr Lyttleton stood up, and spoke as follows :

Motion for an Address to the King, on the Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Mr Lyttleton's Speech on that Occasion.

Mr Speaker,

' Though I have nothing to add to what has been said so well by other Gentlemen, on this happy and agreeable Occasion ; yet, as I think, that nobody should be silent on a Point to which nobody can be indifferent, I beg to be indulg'd in a few Words, to declare with how much Pleasure I concur in the Motion that has been made you : And indeed he must be

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

be void of all Affection to the Safety, Peace, and Liberty of his Country, who does not rejoice in the Increase of the Royal Family, on the Support and Continuance of which among us all those Blessings immediately depend. But, Sir, there is yet another Reason for our Joy on this Occasion, a Reason, which every Gentleman that hears me will allow to be a strong one ; I mean, a particular Regard to the Happiness of the Prince, which can no more be separated from our Duty to his Majesty, than the Interests, or Inclinations of so good a Father from those of so dutiful a Son.

‘ There may be something in the Dignity of Persons rais’d very high above the Rank of other Men, which might set them at, perhaps, too great a Distance from the Love of their Inferiors ; and make us often participate no farther in their Pleasures, or their Pains, than Duty or Interest requires : But he, who in a Station thus exalted above the Wants and Miseries of Mankind, can feel them with the Tenderness of an Equal, while he relieves them with the Beneficence of a Superior ; whose Heart is as open to the Sentiments of Humanity and Benevolence, as his Mind to the Impressions of Truth and Justice ; such a Prince, in all the Incidents of Life, will find every body sympathise with himself ; his Grief will be a national Affliction, his Joy the Joy of a whole People.

‘ Sir, It is right and decent, and agreeable to our Inclinations, to ascribe every Thing that is done for the publick Good to the paternal Cares and Goodness of the King : But in this Instance it is peculiarly our Duty ; for this is a Merit which must belong to him alone : In this, none of his Servants can have a Share : The most assuming Minister could lay no claim to it ; it is his own Act ; to him we are obliged for it, and to him our Acknowledgments are due. He has heard the Wishes of his People, who foresaw the Dangers they were exposed to, if his Royal Highness, by marrying too late in Life, should, according to the ordinary Course of Nature, leave an Heir to the Crown in a Minority ; a Minority, which is always a State of Weakness, Distraction, and Oppression ; a Minority, the most pernicious of all Governments, because it is the Government of Ministers. It was therefore the general Desire of every good Englishman, that a Marriage so necessary to the Publick should no longer be delay’d ; and his Majesty has graciously been pleased to comply with that Desire : He has remov’d those uneasy Apprehensions ; and by strengthening, and increasing the Royal Family, has added a new Security to our Happiness, and, we may hope, entail’d it on our Posterity.

‘ As our Thanks are due to him for the Marriage, they are no less so for his Choice of a Daughter-in-Law ; a Princess

Cefs in whom Piety and Virtue are hereditary Qualities : The eminent Merit of whose great Anceftor in the Defence of the Proteftant Religion, which was then in Germany, as it now is in Great Britain, united to the Caufe of publick Liberty, has been fo amply fet forth by other Gentlemen, particularly the honourable Perfon [*Mr Pulteney*] who made this Motion, whose great Abilities are moft equal to this, or any Subject, that nothing is left for me to add, but an ardent Wifh that the fame Virtues may revive again with equal Luftre, and happier Fortune, in her Posterity.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

For all thefe Reasons, for many more, more than the Zeal of my Heart can now fuggelt to me, more than the Eloquence of others can exprefs, we ought moft joyfully to congratulate his Majefty on an Event, which muft give him the greateft Pleafure, becaufe it does fo to his People, for the Satisfaction of neither can be perfect but when it is reciprocal. Let us therefore join our Thanks to our Felicitation, and let our Unanimity in doing it, refute the Calumnies of thofe, who dare to infinuate out of Doors, that Gentlemen who fometimes differ here from the Meafures of the Court, differ at all from thofe whom they oppofe, I mean the very Beft of them, in fincere Attachment to the Government, and affectionate Regard for the Royal Family.'

Mr Lyttleton was feconded by Mr William Pitt, as follows : Mr Will. Pitt.

Mr Speaker,

' I am unable to offer any Thing that has not been faid by the honourable Perfons, who made you the Motion, in a Manner much more fuitable to the Dignity and Importance of this great Occafion : But, Sir, as I am really affected with the Profpert of the Bleffings, to be derived to my Country from this fo defireable and fo long defired Meafure, the Marriage of his Royal Highnefs the Prince of Wales ; I cannot forbear troubling you with a few Words to exprefs my Joy, and to mingle my humble Offering, inconfiderable as it is, with this great Oblation of Thanks and Congratulation to his Majefty.

' How great foever the Joy of the Publick may be, and very great it certainly is, in receiving this Benefit from his Majefty, it muft be inferior to that high Satisfaction which he himfelf enjoys in beftowing it : And if I may be allowed to fuppofe, that to a Royal Mind any thing can transcend the Pleafure of gratifying the impatient Wifhes of a Loyal People, it can only be the paternal Delight of tenderly indulging the moft dutiful Application, and moft humble Request of a fubmiffive obedient Son. I mention, Sir, his Royal Highnefs's having ask'd a Marriage, becaufe something is in Juftice due to him, for having asked what we are fo ftrongly bound, by all the Ties of Duty and of Gratitude,

to

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

to return his Majesty our most humble Acknowledgments for having granted.

‘ The Marriage of a Prince of Wales, Sir, has at all Times, been a Matter of the highest Importance to the Publick Welfare, to present and to future Generations ; but at no Time has it been a more important, a more dear Consideration, than at this Day ; if a Character at once amiable and respectable, can embellish and even dignify the elevated Rank of a Prince of Wales. Were it not a Sort of Presumption to follow so great a Person through his Hours of Retirement, to view him in the milder Light of domestick Life, we should find him busy’d in the noble Exercise of Humanity, Benevolence, and of every social Virtue : But, Sir, how pleasing, how captivating soever such a Scene may be, yet, as it is a private one, I fear I should offend the Delicacy of that Virtue I so ardently desire to do Justice to ; should I offer it to the Consideration of this House : But, Sir, filial Duty to his Royal Parents, a generous Love for Liberty, and a just Reverence for the British Constitution ; these are publick Virtues, and cannot escape the Applause and Benedictions of the Publick : They are Virtues, Sir, which render his Royal Highness not only a noble Ornament, but a firm Support, if any could possibly be necessary, of that Throne so greatly filled by his Royal Father.

‘ I have been led to say thus much of his Royal Highness’s Character, because it is the Consideration of that Character which, above all Things, enforces the Justice and Goodness of his Majesty in the Measure now before you ; a Measure which the Nation thought could never come too soon, because it brings with it the Promise of an additional Strength to the Protestant Succession in his Majesty’s Illustrious and Royal House : The Spirit of Liberty dictated that Succession, the same Spirit now rejoices in the Prospect of its being perpetuated to latest Posterity : It rejoices in the wise and happy Choice, which his Majesty has been pleased to make of a Princess so amiably distinguished in herself, so illustrious in the Merit of her Family ; the Glory of whose great Ancestor it is, to have sacrificed himself to the noblest Cause for which a Prince can draw his Sword, the Cause of Liberty and the Protestant Religion. Such, Sir, is the Marriage, for which our most humble Acknowledgments are due to his Majesty ; and may it afford the Comfort of seeing the Royal Family (numerous, as I thank God it is) still growing and rising up in a third Generation ; a Family, Sir, which I most sincerely wish may be as immortal as those Liberties, and that Constitution which it came to maintain ; and therefore I am heartily for the Motion.’

After

After which the Motion was unanimously agreed to, and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address accordingly.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

April 30. A Motion being made for engrossing the Quakers Bill, the same was strenuously opposed ; but the Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 160 to 60.

The Quakers Bill
ordered to be en-
grossed.

May 3. A Petition of the Clergy of Surrey was presented to the House, setting forth, That since they had been heard by their Counsel, in relation to the Quakers Bill, they had been informed of several new Clauses that had been inserted in the said Bill, which they conceived to be prejudicial to the Rights of themselves and the other Parochial Clergy ; and therefore praying to be heard by their Counsel, in relation to the said new Clauses, before they received the final Assent of that House.

Farther Debate on
the Quakers Bill.

This Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table, and then the Bill was read the third Time, when several new Amendments were made to it ; and a Motion being made, That the Bill do pass, the same was opposed by Mr Talbot [of Wilts] Mr Maiter [of Cirencester] Sir William Carew, and others, who urg'd, ' That besides the many material Reasons which had been given against passing the Bill, there was one relating to Form, which was unanswerable ; for the Bill, which was first brought in, had been so thoroughly and so entirely alter'd in the Committee, that it could not now be looked on as the same Bill ; even the very Title of it had been entirely altered in the Committee, and that Bill which was before called, *A Bill to enlarge, amend, and render more effectual the Laws then in being, &c.* was upon the third Reading to be called, *A Bill for the more easy Recovery of Tythes, Church Rates, and other Ecclesiastical Dues from the People called Quakers* ; which they could not but take to be a very improper Title, for in their Opinion it ought to be called, *A Bill for preventing the Recovery of Tythes, or any Ecclesiastical Dues, from the People called Quakers.* That by the Bill as it was at first brought in, the Jurisdiction of the Justices of Peace was to have been confined to Tythes of a certain Value, which was certainly designed to be Tythes of a small Value ; the Justices were to order and direct the Payment, so as the Sum ordered did not exceed * * * ; but the Committee, by the Bill they had drawn up, which was then read to them, had given the Justices an unlimited Jurisdiction where the Title was not in Question. That this was a Power which they thought no Committee upon a Bill could take ; they might perhaps have filled up the Blank with any Sum they pleased ; they might have filled it up with such a large Sum as would have in Effect been the same with granting the

Mr Talbot.
Mr Maiter.
Sir Will. Carew.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Justices an unlimited Jurisdiction : But they could not grant a general and unlimited Jurisdiction by a Bill which, when it came before them, was a Bill for granting a particular and confined Jurisdiction ; and if the granting of such a Jurisdiction was then thought necessary, the only Method they could take, according to the established Forms of that House, was to order the Bill then before them to be withdrawn, and a new Bill to be brought in ; in which Case, those who thought they might be aggrieved by any Thing in the new Bill, would have an Opportunity of being heard against it, which no Man could ever have, if the Method observed in passing the, Bill then before them should become an usual Practice ; for no Man could know whether he was to be injured by a Bill or not, 'till after it had passed thro' the Committee, and then it would be too late for him to apply.'

Mr Glanville.
Mr Archer.
Mr Hampden.

To this it was answered by Mr Glanville, Mr Archer, and Mr Hampden, ' That the Bill then before them was in Effect the very same with the Bill first brought in ; many of the Clauses had, indeed, been altered and amended, but the general Scope and Intention of the Bill was the very same ; and they did not think the Committee had taken any Liberties with the Bill but what were usual, and such as they were fully intitled to take ; for the Reason of their granting an unlimited Power to Justices of Peace with respect to the Value of the Tythe, was because, upon mature Consideration, they found, that all Actions and Suits for Tythes, where the Title was not controverted, were for small Sums, for Sums much smaller than any Sum that was ever intended to be filled up in that Blank ; and since it was acknowledged, that the Committee might have filled up the Blank with such a large Sum, as would have in effect been the same with granting the Justices an unlimited Jurisdiction, they could see no Reason why the Committee might not do directly and in express Terms, that which they might certainly have done in a hidden or indirect Manner.'

Sir John St Aubin.

Hereupon Sir John St Aubin stood up, and spoke as follows :

Mr Speaker,

' I think that a Bill of this Consequence, which affects so large a Property, should undergo the wisest Scrutiny of those regular Forms, which have hitherto circumscribed our Proceedings, and guarded our Constitution from any sudden, and disguis'd Attacks : But this Bill, faulty as it was at first, after two Readings in the House and Counsel had been solemnly heard against it, went avowedly into the Committee to be almost intirely alter'd : A new Bill, for so I may justly call this, arises out of the Ashes of the old One, with the same fallacious Title indeed, and less formidable than before :

However,

However, it is still suspected that there are latent Mischiefs in it, and against those, the Parties who are aggrieved, are deprived of an Opportunity of a fresh Defence. I hope therefore, that the learned Gentleman, who could not have been so defective in his first Enterprize, if new Inconveniences were not perpetually to be encountered in the Alteration of settled Constitutions, will at least be so candid as to withdraw his Scheme for the present, take Time to consider afresh, and not hurry a Bill, thus defective in Form and but half understood, in the Conclusion of a Session, when many Gentlemen, quite worn out with a close and tedious Attendance, have been forced to retreat. This cannot long retard the great Work of Reformation which is at Hand : The Delay will be but a few Months only : The same favourable Tide will continue, and whatever new Schemes, therefore, the learned Gentleman may have ready to produce, I hope he will indulge us in so short a Respite. But lest this Bill should pass, I hope you will permit me to enter my publick Protest against it, for I am one of those who think it fundamentally wrong.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ There is no one more ready than I am, to give all reasonable Indulgencies to the several unhappy Sectaries among us ; I think, that in Points of Religious Worship, Compulsion ought never to be used, but Truth is to have the fair Opportunity of Working by its own Force upon the natural Ingenuity of the Mind, and the Supreme Lawgiver has the only Right to interpose in such Matters. But human Authority has certainly a secondary Power to restrain those wild Excesses, which under the false Colour of Religion would invade the Order and Discipline of Civil Society. In this we are all united, and there is one Medium, one common Resort of our Laws, for the Protection of our respective Rights and Privileges. I am very sorry therefore, that any of the Dissenters should now see Occasion to complain of their distinct Allowances, and that stated Measure which must be preserved in our civil Union. Let them look upon the Structure of our Constitution in general ; are the several Members well proportioned ? Have they a mutual Dependence and regular Connection with each other ? And is there one Law of Convenience which runs through the Whole ? If this be so, and the Preheminence is only maintained by a due Subordination of the inferior Parts ; if the Building was erected by the most able Hands, and when Architecture was at its Height ; I am not for inverting the Order of it, in Compliance with the Gothick Fancy of any Pretenders to that Art.

‘ Thus our Constitution at present stands, and the Laws of Toleration are in this Sense become a Part of it ; they

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

protect, as they certainly ought, the Established Religion of our Country, and, at the same Time, allow a separate Right in Religious Worship : Such, only, have not the Advantage of them, who deny the exterior Forms of our Government, whose Consciences are a civil Nuisance, and therefore forfeit the Condition of this Right. What then is it that the Quakers want ? Have not all their most intemperate Desires been from Time to Time complied with ? Are they not exempted even from appealing to the great Author of Truth in their legal Testimony ? But not contented with all this, by a most strange Abuse of the permissive Liberty they enjoy, they send circular Exhortations to their Brethren to oppose the civil Jurisdiction of our Laws ; and having thus cherished and strengthened an Obstinacy, they approach the Legislature itself with harsh Revilings, unsupported by Evidence, against the Clergy of our Established Church ; denying a constitutional Right ; begging that the legal Remedies may be abated by which it is to be acquired ; and unjustly complaining of Severities, which, by their repeated Contumacy, they wilfully draw on themselves ; for the Law in its ordinary and natural Course will proceed to an Enforcement of its own Decree. Is this that Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, that mild and charitable Disposition, with which they have been so largely complimented ? Is this Conscience, in any true Definition of it ? No ! it is perverse Humour, a false and delusive Light, an *Ignis Fatuus*, which arises from a Degeneracy and Corruption of the Mind. If this is Conscience, then all those Riots and Tumults, which at any Time oppose the Execution of the Law, and the Authority of the Government, may with equal Justice lay Claim to such a Conscience. Tythes are a distinct Property from the Inheritance of the Land, and by the Laws of our Constitution are applied to certain Purposes. They are due of Civil Right, and no matter to whom they belong, tho' I should think that the Maintenance of our Clergy deserves some favourable Share in our Considerations.

' No human Wisdom can at once foresee the sufficient Extent of legal Remedies, but they must from Time to Time be proportion'd to the Degrees of Obstinacy with which they are to contend. At the Time of the Revolution, when our Constitution was resettled, and our several Rights and Privileges confirmed, the former Remedies were found insufficient, and, therefore, by the 7th and 8th of King William, a new one was created, but the others were suffered to subsist. The Clergy have now their Option which Method to pursue, and I believe they always follow this, unless they suspect an unjust Partiality. For they want only their Right, and are undoubtedly willing to come at it the cheapest

cheapest and most effectual Way ; so that by this Bill, which obliges them to repair to the Justices in the first Instance, you enjoin them nothing but what is already done ; but at the same Time give a new Interest to the Quaker in being contumacious : For I apprehend by the Bill, as it now stands, if the Quakers should not appear, but suffer Judgment to pass by Default, or should appear and not litigate or gainsay, that there is a Power given to the Justices to settle the *Quantum* of the Tythes, and the Clergy are hereby deprived of any farther Redress. It is the Liberty of avoiding the Justices, which is some sort of Controul upon their Judicature ; and it is the Force of the several subsisting Remedies, which obliges many of the Quakers in some Shape or other at present to submit. For it is not the Punctilio of one Gun only (as the learned Counsel said) which the Garrison wants ; and when Men are obliged to surrender there is no Dishonour in doing it : But they have got unjust Possession, and would have you withdraw your Forces, that they may strengthen the Fortification, and make it capable of a stouter Resistance. Sir, I think the Comparison has been inverted ; that Party is in Possession who have a just Title, and they only desire to keep what they have, without extending their Territories ; and it would be extremely unjust to pull down their Fences, upon an idle Report that the Enemy would take no Advantage of it.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

‘ As to the Ecclesiastical Courts, the Quakers have been defy’d to produce any Instances of their being much troubled here ; and indeed they are exceedingly few : Every Thing in the Course of Time will degenerate from its original Institution, and undoubtedly there are many Abuses crept into these Courts, which may deserve our Attention ; but then let us proceed upon fairer Inquiries, and with a Disposition to reform and not to destroy. These Courts, from the earliest Days of our Constitution, have had Cognizance of Tythes ; and if the chief Argument against them is drawn from their Defect of Power in giving Redress, I am rather for supplying the Defect, than that their Authority herein should be wholly rescinded.

‘ I would not be thought, by any thing I have said, to be for extending the Power of the Clergy ; I am for keeping that as well as all other Power, within its due Bounds. But, surely, the Clergy are not to be the only Men in the World, who, when they are assaulted, have not a Liberty to complain, and to fly to this Asylum for their necessary Defence ; I think this is all they now do, and it is very unfair to be seeking industriously for particular Instances of Blame ; and from thence to take Occasion of casting an Odium upon the whole Function. Those frightful Ideas, therefore, of
Church

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Church Power, upon which so many Changes have been rung of late, I take to be very unnecessary at this Time ; it is now at a very low Ebb, and it is very well if it can keep its just Ground.

‘ The Mischief which is growing up is of another Sort, and our Liberties are no longer in Danger from any Thing which is founded in Religious Pretences ; the Enemy has erected Batteries all round our Constitution ; but as the Church is the weakest Part, it is thought very adviseable to begin the Attack there ; and if it succeeds, they will soon mount the Breach, and take Possession of the whole ; for we may learn from the fatal Experience of former Times, that Monarchy can only subsist upon the Union and Defence of our Civil and Religious Rights. We all form one Constitution, it is highly necessary therefore that all, who are sincere Lovers of that, should well know, and mutually protect each other ; and that the Clergy should wisely consider, that, as at all Times we are ready to oppose any Assaults upon their Quarter, so they are under the strongest Obligations, in the Day of our Need, not to withdraw their Assistance from us in Points of Civil Liberty ; for if ever that should be their fatal Mistake, and our Hands are thereby weakened, they will undoubtedly bring their own Establishment into the most imminent Danger.

‘ I shall say no more, but that I shall at all Times oppose any Innovations, because I think them extremely hazardous ; let us rather guard against the intemperate Follies, the Luxury, the Venality and Irreligion of the Age, which have been long gathering like a dark Thunder-Cloud in the Sky. God only knows how soon it may burst, but whenever it happens, and I fear the Day is at no great Distance, it will certainly fall most heavily upon us ; I am therefore for keeping up our common Shelters, that we may be protected, as well as possible, against this great and impending Danger.

The Quakers Bill
pass'd.

Then the Question being put for passing the Bill, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 164 to 48, and Mr Glanville was order'd to carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

Debate on a Bill
for preventing
smuggling.

May 3. Sir Charles Turner presented to the House a Bill, *For indemnifying Persons, who have been guilty of unlawfully importing Goods and Merchandize into this Kingdom, upon the Terms therein mentioned, and for enforcing the Laws against such Importation for the future ;* and the same was then read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

May 4. The said Bill was read a second Time, and a Motion being made for committing the same, it was oppos'd by several Members, who urg'd, ‘ That it was very extraordinary

nary to see such a Petition followed by such a Bill : The Petition [*See p. 160.*] was from many Merchants and Shopkeepers, complaining of too high a Duty upon a certain Sort of Merchandize, and of the Hardships they were subjected to by the Laws lately made for collecting that Duty : Upon the Foundation of that Petition, a Bill had been brought in, which no way diminished the Duty, and instead of relieving the Merchants from any of the Hardships they were before exposed to, laid them under many new Hardships, and such as they thought inconsistent with the Liberties of the People : That this was a Method of Proceeding, by which the Subject would be terrified from ever making an Application to Parliament, for being relieved against those Grievances they thought they had Reason to complain of ; for no Man would ever apply to Parliament for Relief, if he could have the least Suspicion that his Case might be rendered more intolerable by such Application.

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

To this it was answer'd by Sir Robert Walpole, Sir George Oxenden, and Sir William Yonge, ' That the frequent Practice of Smuggling was the Grievance which the Petitioners chiefly complained of ; therefore any effectual Method for preventing that Grievance, was a proper Consequence of such a Petition : That the Duties complained of, were engaged for the Payment of old Debts, or for the Support of the Government, and could not therefore be lowered, without replacing them by establishing some new Fund, which could not then be done : And that none of the Penalties to be inflicted by that Bill, could be any Hardship upon fair Traders, but only upon Smugglers, and the more Difficulties they were exposed to, the better it would be for the fair Trader.'

Sir R. Walpole.
Sir G. Oxenden.
Sir W. Yonge.

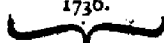
Then some Members objected to a Clause in the Bill, by which it was enacted, ' That any Ship, not exceeding the Burthen of 100 Tons, shall be forfeited, if she take in from another Vessel at Sea, within four Leagues of the British Coasts, any Foreign Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, without Payment of the Customs, unless in case of apparent Necessity : And to another Clause by which it was enacted, That all Goods found concealed in any Ship or Vessel, at any Time after the Master thereof shall have made his Report at the Custom-house, and which shall not be comprized or mentioned in the said Report, shall be forfeited.' With regard to the first Clause, it was said, ' That it would be a most terrible Hardship upon the Owners of any Ship, to make them forfeit their Ship, only because of the Captain's, or perhaps some of the Sailors, taking a Pound of Tea, or an Anchor of Brandy, Rum, or Arrack, from on board another Ship they accidentally

Farther Objections
to the Bill.

met

Anno 9. Geo. II.

1736.



met with at Sea : That in Penal Laws great Care ought always to be taken, not to subject any Man to a Penalty or Forfeiture, except such as were really guilty ; but by that Clause the Owners of a Ship were to be subjected to a great Forfeiture, tho' they neither were, nor could be any way guilty of, or so much as privy to, the Crime for which that Forfeiture was inflicted : That the Hardship upon them was the greater, because it would be impossible for them to guard against it ; for every one knew, that, for the most Part, the Command of Merchant Ships was given to Persons who had no Fortunes of their own, and therefore could not make good to the Owners the Damage they might sustain by the Forfeiture of their Ship : That the Owners of Ships never looked for any Thing more in a Master, but the Character of an honest careful Man, and an expert Sailor ; but in this Case, neither of these Qualities could be a Safeguard to the Owners, because their Ship might be forfeited and lost by the Knavery, perhaps by the Treachery, of any common Sailor on board, without any Fault in the Master : That the Estates vested in Shipping were already liable to so many Penalties and Forfeitures by our Custom-house Laws, and were subject to so many Dangers from other Accidents ; and the Employing of any Estate in that Way was in itself of so little Advantage to the Owner, that many Gentlemen had already withdrawn their Fortunes from that Branch of Trade : That if that Clause should pass into a Law, no Man, who had a Regard to his Family, would employ or continue any Part of his Estate in that Branch ; which would certainly be a great Disadvantage to our Shipping, and a great Discouragement to our Seamen.

As to the other Clause it was alledg'd, That a Merchant might thereby forfeit a valuable Parcel of Goods, by the meer Negligence or Forgetfulness of the Master of a Ship, whom he had never known or entrusted ; and that without its being possible for him, by the utmost Care and Diligence, to prevent such a Forfeiture ; because the Goods might be forfeited before it was possible for him to hear of the Arrival of the Ship, or to know that he had such a Parcel of Goods on board such a Ship ; for the Master always made his Report immediately upon his Arrival, and before he had Time or Opportunity to rummage his Ship, or to send to any of the Merchants to come and take care of their Goods ; and as Masters are generally in a great Hurry at their setting out, when small Parcels of fine Goods are usually sent on board, a Master might very probably forget to mention some of them in his Report, which by this Clause would occasion a Forfeiture, such Goods being always lodged in Places that would be called concealed ; whereas the

Law

Law then stood, if the Master upon rummaging and searching his Ship, which every Master did before Clearing, or if the Merchant upon hearing of the Ship's Arrival, or receiving Advice of his having such a Parcel of Goods on board, should come to look after his Goods, tho' they had been forgot in the Report, a Post-entry might be made, by which all Forfeitures and Penalties would be prevented. That they thought this Bill would be a new Hardship upon Merchants, and a new Discouragement to Trade, which was before, by our late Statutes relating to the Customs, subjected to so great an Expence, and so many Difficulties, that it was impossible for our Merchants to carry it on at so easy a Rate as our Neighbours, which was the true Cause of our being under-sold by Foreigners in all Markets of Europe.'

To this it was answered by the Advocates for the Bill, ' That all these Hardships and Dangers might easily be prevented by the Care of Masters of Ships: That Owners or Merchants who intrusted their Ships or Goods to idle careless Men, were certainly in some Fault, and therefore deserved to suffer if there were no Necessity for making them do so: But that in the Cases then before them, it was absolutely necessary to lay some Part of the Penalty upon them, for the very Reason that had been given against it; because the Masters employed by them were often so poor, that it was impossible to recover any Penalties from them. That with respect to the Forfeiture of Ships, as the Clause was amended, and confined to Ships not exceeding 100 Tons, it could not much regard any Branch of our foreign Trade, it would chiefly regard our Coasting Vessels, and our Holland and French trading Sloops, many of which, they were afraid, were chiefly employed in Smuggling. That they should be sorry if any Person suffered thro' a meer Oversight; but if they gave by Law too great, or, indeed, any Indulgence to Overights, fraudulent Designs would always be cloaked under pretended Overights, and therefore it was necessary to make the Law severe, tho' in the Execution of that Law, some Indulgence might be shewn in any Case which appeared clearly to those who had the Execution of the Law, to be but an Oversight. That we had many Customs and Duties upon Goods imported, and the Laws for collecting them might probably subject our Merchants to some Inconveniencies, and to some Expence; but there was no Country in the World where their Trade was free from Customs and Duties: That they believed the Merchants of this Kingdom were subjected to no greater Inconvenience or Expence on that Account, than the Merchants of our neighbouring Countries; so that if Foreigners under-sold us in any Market, some other Reason was to be assigned for their

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

The Bill against
Struggling com-
menced.

The Yorkshire
Petition dropt.

Debate on a Bill
for explaining the
Bribery-Act.

so doing, and when that Reason was assigned, if it was possible to remove it, they would join in any Measure that could be proposed for that Purpose.'

This Debate being over, the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House.

The same Day the House resum'd the Consideration of the contested Election for the County of York, and after the Counsel for the sitting Member were heard, who alledged that they would soon shew, that most of the Objections made to their Voters were either false or frivolous, and that they would effectually disqualify a much greater Number of the Voters for Sir Rowland Winn, the Petitioner, than he, or the other Petitioners had pretended to disqualify of theirs, the Matter was adjourn'd to the 11th, on which Day no Notice being taken of the Affair it was intirely dropt.

May 11. A Motion was made by Mr Henry Arthur Herbert, for Leave to bring in a Bill, to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the second Year of his present Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament*, as relates to the commencing and carrying on of Prosecutions grounded upon the said Act; which was accordingly granted, and the said Mr Herbert, Mr Richard Lloyd, Mr Knight and Mr More, were ordered to prepare and bring in the same: Accordingly a Bill for that Purpose was presented to the House the same Day, and read a first Time.

The Reason assigned for bringing in this Bill was, That by a Clause in the above Act it is enacted, 'That no Person shall be made liable to any Incapacity or Penalty by the said Act imposed, unless Prosecution be commenced within two Years after the Crime committed, nor in Case of Prosecution within that Time, unless the same be carried on without wilful Delay: ' But this Limitation was not sufficiently full and explicit, because the suing out of an Original was a Commencement of a Prosecution, which might be done without letting the Party prosecuted know that any such Prosecution was commenced; and the Limitation being saved by the suing out an Original in this private Manner, Prosecutions upon that Act might be depending privately against Men for many Years after the supposed Offence, which would be of the most dangerous Consequence, and therefore it was necessary to bring in a short Bill for explaining and amending that Clause, so as to make it necessary to give the Party prosecuted Notice of the Prosecution within the two Years.

After

After the second Reading of this Bill the next Day, Sir John Hind Cotton, took Notice, ' That upon a serious Attention to that Bill, he was not at all surprized to see it brought in so late in the Session, and passed in such a Hurry ; for as it was drawn up with a Retrospect, it was really an Act of Indemnity for almost all the Bribery and Corruption Men might have been guilty of at the last general Elections for Members of Parliament, and might very probably be an Injury to several private Men, who had already done all that was made necessary by that Act for intitling themselves to carry on Prosecutions against Offenders ; for as the two Years since the former Election were then just expiring, if a Gentleman had just sued out forty Originals against forty different Offenders, and had thereby intitled himself to proceed against them at his own Conveniency, he would be intirely disappointed, and lose the whole Expence he had been at ; because the two Years would very probably be expired before he could hear of this Act, and then it would by this new Act be past the Time for serving even those very Originals, which he had regularly sued out in the Terms of the former Act ; therefore he hoped the Committee would amend the Bill, so as to prevent its having a Retrospect, or doing an Injury to any Gentleman who had been guilty of no wilful Delay or Omission, as the Law then stood ; for it was very probable that a great Number of Originals had been sued out, but not served or prosecuted, because the Prosecutors would in common Prudence wait 'till a few Cases of the same Nature had been determined, in order that they might from thence learn how to proceed.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

Sir J. H. Cotton.

To this it was answered by Mr Lloyd and Mr More : ' That whatever Lawyers might mean by a Prosecution commenced, the Meaning of the Legislature when that Law passed, certainly was, That no Prosecution should be understood to be commenced, unless the Person prosecuted had Notice of it, within the Time limited, by an Arrest, Summons, or some other legal Method ; and as this was the Meaning of the Legislature, they believed most Gentlemen had taken it in that Sense, for they had never heard of any Prosecutions commenced in the other Manner, nor could any Gentleman in that House give an Instance where a Prosecutor had sued out a Number of Originals without summoning or arresting the Persons against whom they were sued out ; from whence it was to be presumed, that if there were any such Instances, they were so rare as not to deserve the Notice of that House.'

Mr Lloyd.
Mr More.

Then the Bill was agreed to without any Amendment, and being read a third Time on the 14th of May, passed without Opposition.

The said Bill
passed.

Anne 9. Geo. 11.
1736.

The Bill against
Smuggling read a
third Time and
sent up to the
Lords.
Debate on an A-
mendment made
by the Lords.

May 14. The Bill against Smuggling was read the third Time, and a Motion being made that the Bill do pass, the same was opposed by some Members ; but the Question being put, it was resolved in the Affirmative by 88 against 39, and * Mr Willes was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

May 20. The said Bill was returned to the House of Commons, when they took into Consideration an Amendment made by the Lords ; and the said Amendment being twice read, Mr Speaker acquainted the House, ' That when any Thing occurred which might any Way look like an Incroachment upon the Privileges of that House, he thought it was his Duty to lay the Case impartially before them, and then to leave the House to do in it as they should think fit : That in all Bills by which any Tax or Duty was to be imposed upon the Subject, it was the undoubted Privilege of that House, and they had always insisted upon it, that the other House should not make any the least Amendment to any such Bill ; but were in all such Cases either to pass the Bill without any Amendment, or to reject it if they thought fit : That as the Taxes and Duties granted by that House, could not be raised or collected without prescribing proper and effectual Methods for that Purpose, therefore in all Bills for imposing any Tax or Duty upon the Subject, certain Methods had been prescribed for effectually raising that Tax or Duty ; and if the Methods prescribed should afterwards by Experience be found ineffectual, new Methods had always been contrived, and proper Bills passed for establishing those new Methods ; which last Sort of Bills had generally been looked on as Appendixes to the first Bill by which the Tax or Duty was granted ; therefore such Bills were looked upon as Bills of the same Nature with the first, and consequently that House had generally insisted upon it, that the other House could not make any Amendment to this last Sort, of Bills, no more than they could have done to the Bill by which the Tax or Duty was granted : That as the Bill then before them was for enforcing the Laws made for securing the Revenues of Customs and Excise, it was properly to be considered as an Appendix to the Laws by which those Revenues were originally established ; and as the other House had made an Amendment to it, he did not know but their making an Amendment to such a Bill, might be looked on as some sort of Incroachment upon the Privileges of that House ; for which Reason he thought it his Duty to state the Case to them, before they proceeded to take the Amendment into their Consideration. That he had searched the

* *Attorney General.*

Journals

Journals of the House for Cases of the same Nature, and would read such of them as he thought most applicable to the Case then before them.'

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1735.

Upon this several Journals of the House were read, relating to Amendments made by the Lords to Money-Bills, or Bills of the same Nature : The reading these Journals occasioned a Debate in the House in relation to their Privilege : But at last the Question was put for agreeing to the Amendment, which was carried in the Affirmative ; and Mr Willes was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them, That the House had agreed to the Amendment.

Which is agreed
to and the Bill
passed.

The same Day the King came to the House of Peers ; and the Commons attending, his Majesty put an End to the Session with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" **T**HE Dispatch you have given to the Publick Business, and the advanced Season of the Year, make it proper to put an End to this Session of Parliament.

The King's Speech
at putting an End
to the Second session.

" I acquainted you, at your first Meeting, that Preliminary Articles had been concluded between the Emperor and the most Christian King ; since which Time, a farther Convention, concerning the Execution of them, hath been made, and communicated to Me, by both those Courts, and Negotiations are carrying on, by the several Powers engaged in the late War, in order to settle the General Pacification.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I return you my Thanks for the Provisions you have made for the Service of the current Year ; you can never better recommend yourselves to my Esteem, and to the good Opinion of those you represent, than by raising the Supplies necessary for the Support of my Government, and for the Service of the Publick, in a Manner the most effectual, and the least burthensome to my People.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is a great Concern to Me, to see such Seeds of Dissension sown among my good People, as, if not timely prevented, may prove very prejudicial to the Peace and Quiet of my Kingdoms ; it is my Desire, and shall be my Care, to preserve the present Constitution in Church and State, as by Law established, perfect and entire, and not to countenance any Attempts to the Prejudice of either. Good Harmony, and mutual Affection, among all the Protestants of this Nation, have been the great Security of the present happy Establishment, from the Revolution to this Time ; by this united Strength they will be able to resist
" the

Anno 9. Geo. II.
1736.

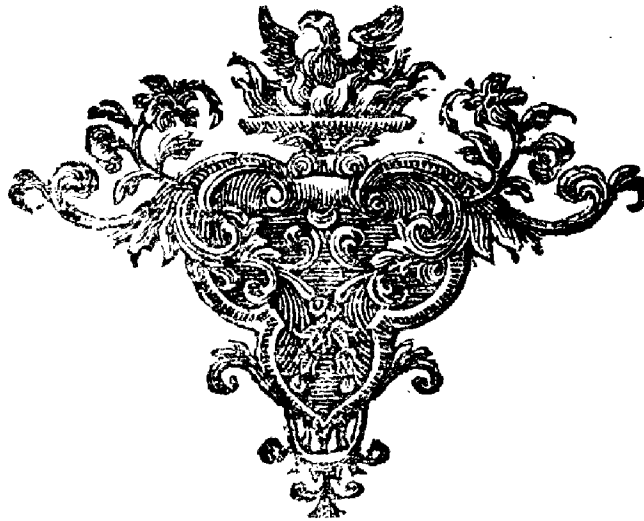
“ the secret and open Attempts of its common Enemies ;
“ but divided, they may become a Prey to them. My Pro-
“ tection shall be impartially dispensed to all my Subjects, in
“ the full Enjoyment of their Religious and Civil Rights ; let
“ it be your Care, by your Conduct, in your several Stati-
“ ons, to make my Endeavours for your common Happi-
“ nefs effectual.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It being necessary for Me to visit my Dominions in
“ Germany again this Year, I have resolved to appoint the
“ Queen Regent here, during my Absence. The Experi-
“ ence you have already had of Her just and prudent Ad-
“ ministration, will, I doubt not, engage you all, to make
“ the Weight of the Publick Affairs as easy to Her, as Her
“ wise Conduct will render the Government agreeable to
“ you ; and this I recommend to you in a particular Man-
“ ner.

The Parliament
prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command,
prorogued the Parliament to the 29th of July : They were
afterwards farther prorogued to the 1st of February.



SPEECHES



MINUTES, &c. of the THIRD SESSION, by way of Introduction to, and Illustration of, the DEBATES, which follow, to the End of the said Session.

A Series of the Proceedings of the Committee on the Supply and Ways and Means.

THE House having resolved, on Feb. 2. that they would next Morning take into Consideration the Speech of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty for holding that Parliament, to both Houses of Parliament, they accordingly proceeded next Day to take the said Speech into Consideration; and the same being again read by Mr. Speaker, a Motion was made, That a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; whereupon 'twas resolved, that the House would the next Morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the said Motion.

Thus the Committee of Supply was established in the usual Form, and as that Committee is in every Session one of the chief Committees, we shall give the History of it during last Session, before we give an Account of any of the Debates that happened in it; in order that our Readers may have at once, and as it were at one View, all the Resolutions agreed to in the same.

On the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into the said Committee, the said Speech of the Lords Commissioners was ordered to be referred to the same; and the House having then resolved itself into the said Committee, they resolved, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; which was on the Monday following reported and agreed to by the House *Nemine Contradicente*.

On the 9th, the House, according to Order, resolved itself again into the said Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, viz.

That ten thousand Men should be employed for the Sea-Service for the Year 1737, beginning from Jan. 1. 1736:
That

That a Sum, not exceeding 4*l.* per Man per Month, should be allowed for maintaining the said 10,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for Sea-Service: And that a Sum, not exceeding 219,201*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the Ordinary of the Navy (including Half-pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1737.

On the 18th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, viz. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, for the Year 1737, should be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the six independent Companies consist of for the Service of the Highlands) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-commission Officers included: That a Sum not exceeding 647,549*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 17,704 Men: That a Sum not exceeding 215,710*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the Plantations, Minorca and Gibraltar, and for Provisions for the Garrisons at Anapolis Royal, Canfo, Placentia, and Gibraltar, for the Year 1737. See page 239.

(Page 341.) On the 28th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, viz. That a Sum, not exceeding 79,723*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, for the Year 1737: That a Sum not exceeding 604*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 62,401*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the Deficiency of the Grants, for the Service of the Year 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,043*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, to replace, to the Sinking Fund, the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the additional Stamp Duties at Christmas, 1735, pursuant to a Clause in an Act of Parliament passed in the 4th Year of his Majesty's Reign, for raising 1,200,000*l.* by Annuities and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731: That a Sum, not exceeding 42,187*l.* 10*s.* should be granted to his Majesty, on Account of the Subsidy payable to the King of Denmark, pursuant to the Treaty bearing Date, Sept. 19, 1734, for three Quarters of a Year, to Sept. 19, 1737.

On March 4, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, viz. That a Sum, not exceeding 21,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* should

should be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, for Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, for the Year 1733: That a Sum, not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying several extraordinary Services and Expences, incurred in the Years 1735 and 1736, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

On the 9th, the House resolv'd itself again into the said Committee, and made some Progress; and on the 11th, being again in the said Committee, they came to the following Resolution, which was reported, and agreed to by the House, viz. That the Sum of one Million should be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the South-Sea Company, as is now commonly called Old South-Sea Annuities. See page 341.

On the 19th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, viz. That a Sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards settling and securing the Colony of Georgia in America: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, to be applied towards the Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company of England, on the Coast of Africa: That the Sum of 4000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards repairing and finishing the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Westminster: That a Sum, not exceeding 44,685*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* shall be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, for reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 3945*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, for paying of Pensions to the Widows of such reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, as died upon the Establishment of Half-Pay in Great-Britain, and who were married to them before Dec. 25, 1716, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 50,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards the Rebuilding and Repairing the Ships of the Royal Navy, for the Year 1737.

This was the last Time of the said Committee's Sitting, and by the above-mentioned Resolutions it appears, that the total Sum granted by this last Session of Parliament amounts to 2,025,172*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* besides the Million granted for redeeming so much of the South-Sea Capital.

As soon as the House had agreed to the three Resolutions of the Committee of the Supply, first above-mentioned, relating to the Seamen and Navy, which was on Thursday, Feb. 10, they resolved, that they would next Morning resolve themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider

of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty ; and accordingly, next Day the House resolved itself into the said Committee, in which they resolved, That it was their Opinion, that towards the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, which, by an Act of Parliament of the 9th Year of his Majesty's Reign, had Continuance to June 24, 1737, should be further continued, and charged upon Malt which should be made, and all Mum which should be made or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which should be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of Great Britain, from June 23, 1737, to June 24, 1738 Which Resolution was, according to Order, reported to the House the next Day, and agreed to.

The said Committee was by Order continued from Time to Time, without sitting, till Monday March 14, when the House resolved itself again into this Committee, and came to the following Resolution, which was reported and agreed to by the House, viz. That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of 2*s.* in the Pound, and no more, should be raised in the Year 1737, upon Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Pensions, Offices, and personal Estates, in that Part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed ; and that a proportional Cess, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union, should be laid upon that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.

On the 18th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the House, but with some Amendments to the third, as below-mentioned, viz. That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel on Sweets (See page 480) granted by an Act of the 5th Year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, for the Term of 96 Years, and since made perpetual, should from and after June 24, 1737, cease and determine. That there should be granted to his Majesty for every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale, from and after June 24, 1737, the Sum of 12*s.* the said Duties to be paid by the Maker and Makers of the said Sweets, and so in Proportion of greater or lesser Quantities. That the Allowance of 5*s.* per Barrel on British made Gun-powder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his present Majesty's Reign which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued for seven Years. That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, a Duty of 2*s.* per Bushel should be laid upon all Apples, which at any Times or Times, from and after June 24, 1737, should be imported and brought into the Kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all Customs, Subsidies and Duties before imposed thereon. The Third Resolution as amended and agreed to by the House was as follows, viz. That the Allowance

ance of 4*s.* 6*d.* per Barrel on British-made Gunpowder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued for seven Years.

On the said March 18, the Order of this Committee was continued from Time to Time, till Friday, May 6, when the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported to the House on the Monday following, and were as follow, viz. That 'twas the Opinion of that Committee, that, towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there should be issued and applied the Sum of one Million out of such Monies as had arisen, or should or might arise of the Surplusses, Excesses, or Over-plus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund. That, for the Encouragement of the Paper Manufacture of this Kingdom, there should not be allowed any Draw-back or Repayment of Customs charged upon foreign Paper, which should be imported into Great Britain, upon the Exportation thereof. That, towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, a further Duty of 9*d.* per Bushel should be laid upon all Oysters imported into Great Britain. Of these three Resolutions the first and second were agreed to by the House; but the third was re-committed.

On the 17th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the House, viz. That the several Rates and Duties then payable upon foreign Oysters imported into this Kingdom, should from and after June 24, 1737, cease and determine. That a Duty of 7*d.* per Bushel Strike-Measure of the Winchester Corn-bushel, should be laid upon all foreign Oysters imported into this Kingdom, in lieu of all other Rates before imposed thereon.

This was the last Time of the said Committee's Sitting, and from their Resolutions it appears, that the Ways and Means proposed for raising the Supply for the present Year, were (besides the Million granted out of the Sinking Fund) the Malt Tax, which is generally supposed to produce near 700,000*l.* a Year, and the Land-Tax, which, at 2*s.* in the Pound, produces near a Million; and for making good the Deficiency, his Majesty was enabled to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money, upon the Credit of the Duties laid on Sweets, not exceeding 500,000*l.* at an Interest of 3 per Cent per Annum.

A Proposal towards lowering the Interest of all the redeemable National Debts to 3 per Cent. per Ann. and thereby to enable the Parliament to give immediate Ease to his Majesty's Subjects, by taking off some of the Taxes which are most burdensome to the Poor, and especially to the

Manufacturers. As likewise to give Ease to the People, by lessening the Annual Taxes for the current Service of Year, viz.

A Proposal
for lowering
the Interest of
the public
Debts.

TH A T an Offer be made to the Proprietors of the South-Sea Annuities, as well old as new, at such Times as the Transfer Books shall be shut, in the following manner, viz.

That all Persons be at Liberty to make their Option for the whole, or any part of their Capital, of one or more of the Particulars under-mentioned; for which Purpose, Books to be laid open at the South-Sea House, viz.

All who desire to be paid their Money, to enter their Names and Sums in one Book.

Those who shall chuse to have Annuities for certain Terms of Years, and the Capital to be annihilated, may subscribe in particular Books for that Purpose, at the following Rates: For 47 Years, at 4 per Cent. per Ann. 31 Years, at 5. 23 Years, at 6. 19 Years, at 7. 16 Years, at 8. 13 Years, at 9. 12 Years, at 10.

That the Proprietors of so much of the Capital as shall not be claim'd in Money, nor subscribed into some of the Annuities for Terms of Years, shall, for the future, be entitled to the Annuity of 3 per Cent. per Ann. only.

And, for the Encouragement of the Annuitants to accept of 3 per Cent. per Ann. it is proposed, That they be not subject to Redemption or Diminution of their Annuities for the Term of fourteen Years.

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years be transferable at the South-Sea House, without any Charge; as well as the Annuities, which shall be continued at 3 per Cent. per Ann.

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years commence from the Determination of the Annuities of 4 per Cent. without any loss of Time.

'Tis apprehended, that this Offer will be more beneficial to the Proprietors, than the remaining in their present Situation, and receiving a Million at a time, to be divided alternately between the old and new Annuities, which must affect them in a very high manner, as it tends generally to reduce their Capital, by continually laying out the Money paid off in new Annuities at advanced Prices.

If the Parliament should be willing to indulge any Persons, not being Foreigners, who may be advanced in Years, with Annuities for Term of Life; the following Rates are submitted to the Consideration of Gentlemen who have turned their Thoughts to this Subject, viz. Persons 44 Years old or upward, 7 per Cent. for Life. 53 ——— 8. 59 ——— 9. 63 ——— 10.

If

If these Rates for Lives, or any other Rates, should be thought convenient to be offered.

It is then proposed, that the old and new Annuitants be permitted to subscribe any Part of their Capital, they being within the Limitation of Years above expressed.

And that none of the Proposals foregoing, be made for ready Money ; because it is reasonable, that the present Creditors should have the Preference in any advantageous Offer made by the Parliament, as this is apprehended to be, since Money may be raised at 3 per Cent. per Ann. with a Liberty of redeeming the same at Pleasure. See the Debate founded on this Proposal, page 382.

March 21. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to (1) The Mutiny Bill. (2) To an Act for laying a Duty of Two-Pence Scots upon every Pint of Ale or Beer vended within the Town of Dunbar, to be apply'd to the Use of the said Town, for necessary Buildings and Repairs, and to three private Bills.

April 22. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the following Bills : 1. For granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land-Tax. 2. To make perpetual the Act 7 Geo. II. to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing. 3. For the better repairing and paving the Highways, Streets and Water-Courses, and for enlightening the Streets, Lanes and Passages, and better regulating the Nightly Watch within the City of Salisbury. 4. For enlarging the Term for repairing several Roads leading to the City of Worcester, and for reducing the Toll on Sheep and Lambs by the said Act. 5. For making more effectual two Acts for repairing the Highways from Old Stratford in Northamptonshire, to Dunchurch, Warwickshire. 6. To raise Money to discharge the Debts incurred on account of Building a Goal and Court Rooms, for the Use of the County of Bucks. 7. For continuing a Duty of Two-pennies Scots on every Pint of Ale sold within the Town of Dumfries, for Building a Church and making a Harbour there ; and for laying a Duty on the Tonnage of Shipping, &c. for the better repairing of the said Harbour. 8. For making navigable Worsley-Brook, from Worsley-Mill in Lancashire, to the River Irwell in the said County. And to 10 Private Bills.

It is remarkable that in the Land-Tax Bill above-mentioned, a Clause was fraudulently slipp'd in to exempt the Prince of Wales from paying the Sixpence in the Pound, call'd Civil-List Money, which amounted to upwards of 10000/.

And, the same Day the Bill was pass'd, a Motion was made for an Enquiry, by what Order or Authority his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was, by a Clause in the Land-Tax Bill, enquire by what Authority.

Over-ruled by
a Motion for
the Order of
the Day.

Land-Tax Bill, exempted from paying any Fees for himself and Household; and it being a Point of Order, a Debate arose, whether the House ought not to have moved for an Instruction for a Clause to authorise such Alteration: But another Motion being made, that the Order of the Day be read, and the Question being put on the last-named Motion (the Bill for reducing the Interest to 3 per Cent.) the House divided, and carry'd it in the Affirmative, and read it a 1st Time, and ordered it a 2d Reading that Day Se'nnight.

May 24. A Message was sent by his Majesty, to desire the Commons to settle a Jointure of 50,000*l.* per Ann. on her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales: A Bill was unanimously order'd in accordingly.

Royal Assent
given to several
Acts.

Acts passed this Session were as follow, viz March 7, The Malt Bill. 21, The Mutiny Bill. That for laying a Duty of Twopence Scotch on every Scotch Pint of Ale, brewed for Sale within the Town of Aberbrothock. And a Road Bill.

And May 20, The Land-Tax Bill. That for granting Two Millions for 1738, and paying the Bank a Million for redeeming an Annuity of 40,000*l.* For explaining an Act for Application of the Forfeited Estates of the late Earl of Derwentwater and Charles Radcliffe. An Act to empower the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen to set a Price on Sea-Coals for one Year. To enforce the Execution of the Gin-Act. To secure the Payment of Rents, and prevent Frauds by Tenants. To indemnify Persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices, read Prayers, and make the Declarations and Subscriptions required within the Times limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for those Purposes. For allowing further Time for Enrolment of Deeds and Wills made by Papists, and for Relief of Protestant Purchasers, Devisees and Lessees. For Relief of such Prisoners for Debt as have by unavoidable Accidents lost the Benefit of the Act passed the last Session for the Relief of insolvent Debtors; and for the Indemnity of such Sheriffs and Goalers as have incurred any Penalties on account of such Prisoners not being discharged; and for extending the Benefit of the said Act to Creditors, whose Debtors were committed to Prison since Jan. 1. 1730, and were detained there on Jan. 1. 1736, and have chose to continue there. An Act to continue an Act for the better Regulation of Lastage and Ballastage on the River Thames. For building a Bridge cross the Thames from the Woolstaple, Westminster, to the opposite Shore. For better regulating the Manufacture of Narrow Woollen-Cloaths in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. For repairing the Harbour of Dover, and restoring that of Rye. For recovering and se-

curing the Harbour of Minehead, Somersetshire. For making a Dock or Basen at Liverpool. To two Acts for draining certain Fens in Lincolnshire, and the Isle of Ely. For rebuilding the Parish Church of All-Saints in the City of Worcester. For finishing the Church of St. Mary Rotherhith, and purchasing an additional Burial-Ground. For rebuilding the Parish Church of Christ-Church, Surry. To continue the Duty of Two Pennies Scots on each Pint of Beer or Ale sold in the Town of Inverness in Scotland. To vest the Estate of Hugh Nash, Esq; (late escaped out of the Fleet) in Trustees for the Benefit of his Creditors. For the more effectual securing the Payment of certain Sums of Money, directed by an Act of Queen Elizabeth, to be paid by the Treasurers of the Counties of England and Wales, for the Relief of the Prisoners in the King's-Bench and Marshalsea. For punishing such as shall injure any in their Persons or Properties, with intent to hinder the Exportation of Corn. An Act to explain an Act for rebuilding St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch. To continue two Acts for encouraging the Growth of Coffee, and securing the Trade of the Sugar-Colonies in America. For enlightening the Streets, &c. in the Parish of Christ-Church, Middlesex. To amend an Act for preventing Inconveniencies that may happen by Privilege of Parliament. To secure the Estates of Papists turning Protestants against Disabilities, and for the more effectual vesting in the two Universities the Presentations of Benefices belonging to Papists. To 6 Road Acts, and to 27 private Bills.

And for the History of the Supply, &c. it is thus summ'd up in the following Speech, made by the Speaker to the Throne, the last Day of the Session.

Most gracious Sovereign.

‘ YOUR Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Speaker’s
 ‘ Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, Speech at the
 ‘ attend your Majesty with several Bills, and with one among close of the
 ‘ the rest for your Royal Assent concerning the Supplies Session.
 ‘ granted for the public Service of the Year, allowing Three
 ‘ Millions Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, for
 ‘ the Maintenance of your Fleets, Armies, and discharging
 ‘ a Million of the National Debt, and other Purposes.
 ‘ Your Commons at first made Provision but for 10,000
 ‘ Seamen, they being sufficient for the common Service;
 ‘ but having since been called on, by the Sufferings and Griev-
 ‘ ances of your Majesty’s Subjects, to strengthen your Hands,
 ‘ to defend your Rights, and do them Justice against the law-
 ‘ less Power of the Spanish Nation in the Seas of America;
 ‘ where your Majesty’s Subjects have, by Nature, and unre-
 ‘ strained

' strained by Compact, an equal Right with them, and are
 ' not to be subject to any Obstruction or Molestation what-
 ' soever in their Passage over those free and open Seas ; they
 ' have readily granted 10,000 more. To suffer the Spa-
 ' niards to rummage our Ships, is to give them a Right to the
 ' Sovereignty of those Seas, as it was always deemed by Great
 ' Britain ; and was never allowed by any of your Majesty's
 ' Predecessors.

' These Depredations deserved the Consideration of your
 ' Commons ; and these Outrages (if continued) will deserve
 ' your Resentment. To their Plunder they have added In-
 ' sults ; and to their Insults, Cruelties : Insults the more sen-
 ' sibly felt, as they come from a People whose Power we al-
 ' ways deemed inferior ; and whose Strength we ever sub-
 ' dued when tried. With these Sentiments your Commons
 ' applied to the Father of their Country for Redress ; and
 ' received such an Answer as the Father of their Country
 ' should give ; for which your faithful Commons make their
 ' grateful and dutiful Acknowledgments. Their Application
 ' on this Occasion was on behalf of their Trade, which is the
 ' Life and Spirit of this Nation ; resting persuaded, that by
 ' your Interposition, you will be able to obtain Justice for past
 ' Injuries, as well as further Security of your trading Subjects,
 ' for the Sake of the Dignity of your Majesty's Imperial
 ' Crown, and the Honour of the British Nation ; which they
 ' are sensible never were, nor ever can be, more secure than
 ' under your Majesty's Royal Protection ;

' Since your Majesty's Paternal Care has preserved this
 ' Nation under many Difficulties from the Calamities of
 ' War, and every good Man hopes you will be able to ac-
 ' complish the great Work before you, without it ; yet if the
 ' Lot be so, that no Satisfaction for our Losses and Sufferings
 ' can be had, nor Security for the future, nor the Credit of
 ' the British Nation supported but by Force of Arms ; there's
 ' not one Man in the Nation, whose Heart and Hand would
 ' not be willing to support your Majesty therein, as your
 ' faithful Commons are willing and ready to do.

' To these necessary Ends, they desire your Majesty's Royal
 ' Acceptance of the Supplies which they have granted for
 ' that Purpose ; which, with several other Bills upon the
 ' Table, are ready for the Royal Assent, and are for the Be-
 ' nefit of the Public ; particularly that which restrains the
 ' Privilege of Parliament ; a Work begun before, but now
 ' compleat ; and which will put an End to a Practice that
 ' tended to the Reproach and Dishonour of Parliament.'



S P E E C H E S
A N D
D E B A T E S
I N T H E

House of Commons,

D U R I N G
The Third Session of the Eighth
Parliament of *Great Britain.*

February 1, 1737-8.

TH E Parliament which was prorogued to this Day from *Friday Jan. 21.* (which was the Day of their first Meeting) and being met accordingly, a Message was brought by Sir *Charles Dalton*, Gentleman Usher of the Black-Road from the * Lords Authorised by his Majesty's Commission, desiring the immediate Attendance of this Honourable House, in the House of Peers, to hear the Commission read; and Mr. *Speaker*, with the House, going into the House of Peers, the Lord Chancellor sitting with several other Lords on a Form, between the Throne and the Wool-sacks, said to the Effect following,

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **W**E are commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that as it is not convenient for his Majesty
VOL. IV. F f “ jesty

* Viz. *Prince of Wales; Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Argyle, Duke of Richmond, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Ilay.*

Anno 10. Geo. “ Majesty to be here this Day in his Royal Person, he has
 11. 1736-7. “ been pleased by Letter-patent under the great Seal, to
 “ Authorise his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, and
 “ several Lords therein mentioned, to do every thing in
 “ the Name of his Majesty, which ought to be done on
 “ the Part of his Majesty in this Parliament, as may more
 “ fully appear by the Letter-patent.”

The Letter-patent being read, my Lord Chancellor then, as one of the Commissioners, read the following Speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I N Pursuance of the Authority given us by His Majesty’s Commission, under the great Seal, amongst other Things, to declare the Causes of his holding this Parliament, we are, by His Majesty’s Command, in the first Place, to observe to you, That His Majesty acquainted you last Year, that he had, in Conjunction with the States General, given His Approbation of certain Preliminary Articles, concerted and agreed upon between the Emperor and *France*, for restoring the Peace of *Europe*; and that a further Convention, concerning the Execution of them, had been communicated to Him by both those Courts; and that Negotiations were carrying on by the several Powers engaged in the late War, in order to settle the general Pacification.

“ We are now commanded by His Majesty to inform you, that the respective Acts of Cession being exchanged, and Orders given for the Evacuation and Possession of the several Countries and Places, by the Powers concerned, according to the Allotment and Disposition of the Preliminary Articles, the great Work of re-establishing the general Tranquillity is far advanced; however, it is His Majesty’s Opinion, that common Prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and observe the final Conclusion of this new Settlement of such considerable Parts of *Europe*. It is to be hoped, that a general lasting Tranquillity will follow this Restitution of Peace, and that the Renewal of Friendship and Alliances, for the Preservation of it, among the several Princes and Powers of *Europe*, will remove all Dangers and Apprehensions of any new Troubles and Disorders; but His Majesty apprehends, that an indolent Security, and too great a Disregard to future Events, may occasion Mischiefs more easy to be prevented, than to be remedied; and that it would be very unadvisable to leave ourselves
 “ in

‘ in so defenceless a Condition, as to encourage any Enter-
 ‘ prizes, which the Enemies to the Public Peace may have
 ‘ vainly suggested and flattered themselves with the Hopes
 ‘ of.’

Anno 10. Geo.
 II. 1736-7.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Majesty has ordered the proper Officers to lay
 ‘ before you the Estimates for the Service of the cur-
 ‘ rent Year ; as soon as the Circumstances of the Times
 ‘ would permit, His Majesty was pleased to make such a
 ‘ Reduction of some Part of the Public Expences for the
 ‘ Ease of his People, as was consistent with the Peace and
 ‘ Safety of his Kingdoms, the Security of our Commerce,
 ‘ and the Honour and Interest of the Nation.’

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us
 ‘ to acquaint you, that He hath seen with the greatest
 ‘ Satisfaction the unwearied Application of this Parliament,
 ‘ in framing good Laws for advancing the Prosperity, and
 ‘ securing the Welfare of His loving Subjects ; and that it
 ‘ hath been one of His Majesty’s principal Cares to en-
 ‘ force them by a due Execution, with the strictest Regard
 ‘ to the Rights and Properties of his People, no Invasion
 ‘ whereof can with any Colour be suggested by the most
 ‘ malicious Enemies of the present Establishment. Whilst
 ‘ this hath been our Condition, His Majesty cannot but
 ‘ observe, that it must be matter of the utmost Surprise
 ‘ and Concern to every true Lover of his Country, to see
 ‘ the many Contrivances and Attempts carried on in various
 ‘ Shapes, and in different Parts of the Nation, tumultuously
 ‘ to resist and obstruct the Execution of the Laws, and to
 ‘ violate the Peace of the Kingdom. These Disturbers of
 ‘ the public Repose, conscious that the Interest of His Ma-
 ‘ jesty and His People are the same, and of the good Har-
 ‘ mony, which happily subsists between Him and His Par-
 ‘ liament, have levelled their Sedition against both ; and in
 ‘ their late Outrages have either directly opposed, or at
 ‘ least endeavoured to render ineffectual some Acts of the
 ‘ whole Legislature. His Majesty in His great Wisdom
 ‘ thinks it affords a melancholy Prospect to consider to
 ‘ what Height these audacious Practices may rise, if not
 ‘ timely suppressed, and that it deserves no small Attention,
 ‘ that they may go on to affect private Persons in the quiet
 ‘ Enjoyment of their Property, as well as the general
 ‘ Peace, and good Order of the whole. His Majesty ap-
 ‘ prehends it to be unnecessary to enlarge upon a Subject

Anno 10. Geo. II 1736 7. *W* of this Nature, and therefore hath commanded us barely to mention it to you, who, by the constant Tenor of your Conduct, have shewn, that you consider the Support of his Government, as inseparable from the Preservation of the Public Tranquillity and your own Safety.

The Members being returned to the House, Mr. *Speaker* reported the Speech from the Lord *Chancellor*, and upon a Motion for an Address of Thanks, the same was agreed to, and is as follows.

*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.
Most Gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most humble Thanks for the Speech delivered by your Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament.

We see with great Satisfaction, the happy Prospect of the final Conclusion of the general Pacification of *Europe*, and when we remember your Majesty's unwearied Endeavours to prevent this Nation from being involved in the Calamities of a destructive War, and your constant Application in contributing to the utmost of your Power towards the great Work of restoring Peace, from the tender Care and Concern which your Majesty has always shewn for the future Peace and Prosperity of your People, as well as for the common Welfare of Mankind, we make no doubt, but that your Majesty will continue to co-operate with your good Allies, that the Conclusion of the Peace may be attended with a general and lasting Tranquillity.

Duty and Gratitude to your Majesty, and a due Regard to our own Interests and Security will engage us not to neglect any necessary Precautions, which may best conduce to enable your Majesty to disappoint and defeat all groundless Hopes and Expectations, which the deluded Enemies of the public Peace may have vainly suggested and flattered themselves with.

And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we will chearfully and effectually raise the Supplies necessary for the Service of the Current Year, and support your Majesty in all such Measures as shall be found requisite to preserve the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Interest of your Majesty and your Dominions.

Moß

Most Gracious Sovereign,

‘ Your faithful Commons cannot without a just Indignation observe the Spirit of Faction and Sedition, which has lately manifested itself in traducing and misrepresenting the Legislature, in contemning all Authority, and in open Defiance of the Laws of the Land. Anno 10,
Geo. II,
1736-7.

‘ It is with the highest Sense of Duty and Gratitude, we acknowledge your Majesty’s Goodness, not only in your ready Concurrence to all such wholesome Laws as have been from Time to Time prepared by your Parliament, but in your constant Care to enforce them by a due Execution, with the strictest Regard to the Rights and Properties of your People, and without the least Colour or Shadow of any Design or Attempt to stretch or violate the known Laws of this Realm.

‘ We cannot sufficiently express our Abhorrence of the many wicked and detestable Practices, which the Disturbers of the public Repose have secretly fomented and openly carry’d on in tumultuously resisting and obstructing the Execution of the Laws, and violating the Peace of the Kingdom.

‘ And we your faithful Commons do assure your Majesty, that being fully persuaded that the Preservation of the public Tranquility, and our own Safety, are inseparable from the Security of your Government, we will support your Royal Authority in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous Attempts that threaten the very Being of our happy Constitution, and the utter Subversion of those Liberties, which have been made the specious Pretence for committing those outrageous Disorders.’

To this the King return’d the following Answer :

HIS Majesty returns this House his Thanks for their most Dutiful and Loyal Address, and shall always esteem their Zeal and Affection for his Person and Government, as the best and most acceptable Return for his constant Endeavour to render this Nation happy and flourishing both at Home and Abroad. His Majesty relies upon the Wisdom of his Parliament, to frame such Laws as shall be necessary to strengthen and support the Authority of his Government, in preserving the public Tranquility, and securing the Rights and Properties of his People ; and his faithful Commons may depend upon him for a just and due Execution of them. The King’s
Answer to
the Commons
Address.

Feb. 2. A Petition of the Frecholders of the County of Norfolk, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said County, being presented to the House, and read, it was ordered to be heard at the Bar of the House on the Third of March ; and that Lists, with Respect to the said Election, be delivered on the 23d of February. A Petition,
complaining
of an undue
Election for
the County
of Norfolk
presented.

March 2. A Motion was made, that the Petitioners might be at Liberty to withdraw their Petition ; which was granted ; and Mr Speaker was ordered to issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for the said County, But is dropt.

Anno 10. County, in the Room of William Wodehouse, Esq; who had died
 Geo. II. after his Election, and against which the said Petition was pre-
 1736-7. sented.

'Tho' this Election was thus given up, yet there was one Thing relating to it worth Observation.

Resolution
 of the House
 upon Lists of
 Electors
 that are to
 be objected
 to.

The Resolution of the House relating to the delivering of Lists of controverted Voters, in Pursuance of which the Lists, with respect to this controverted Election, had been ordered to be delivered, is as follows, viz ' That in all Cases of controverted Elections for Counties in England and Wales, to be heard at the Bar of that House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, the Petitioners should by themselves, or by their Agents, within a convenient Time, to be appointed either by the House or the Committee of Privileges and Elections, as the Matter to be heard shall be before the House, or the said Committee, deliver to the sitting Members, or their Agents, Lists of the Persons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted for the sitting Members; giving, in the said Lists, the several Heads of Objection, and distinguishing the same against the Names of the Voters excepted to; and that the sitting Members should, by themselves, or by their Agents, within the same Time, deliver the like Lists on their Part, to the Petitioners or their Agents.

Lists deli-
 ver'd in
 Consequence
 of the same.

In Pursuance of this Resolution, the Petitioners for the County of Norfolk, and the sitting Member Sir Edmond Bacon, who supported the Election of himself and the other Member deceas'd, deliver'd Lists to each other respectively, but in the Lists deliver'd by the Petitioners to the sitting Member, all the material Heads of Objection that could be made against any Voter for a County, were set against the Name of almost every Voter they excepted to; which the sitting Member thought contrary to the Resolution, and therefore represented, That the Resolution had been agreed to, in order to save Trouble and Expence; and prevent either Party's examining Witnesses to an Objection he could not fully prove, and then flying from that to another, and thence to a Third, &c. That if either Party thought he had several Objections to any one Voter, each of which would be of itself sufficient, he ought, by the Resolution, to fix upon that Objection which he thought he could most clearly prove, and distinguish that Head of Objection only against the Name of that Voter; by which Means the other Party might prepare proper Proofs or Materials for supporting the Right of his Voter against that Objection: But in the Manner the Lists had been deliver'd to him, it would be vastly troublesome and expensive to prepare proper Proofs for supporting the Right of a Voter against every Objection that could be made; and if he prepared to answer one Objection only, he might at last find himself obliged to answer another, for which he could not then possibly have an Opportunity to prepare: That if the Method in which the Pe-
 tioners

Complaint
 relating
 thereto.

tioners Lists were drawn up should be admitted, it would render that Part of the Resolution quite useless, which relates to the distinguishing the Heads of Objection against the Names of the Voters excepted to; for if all the Heads of Objection that could possibly be made against any Voter, should be set against the Name of every Voter, it would be the very same with making no particular Objection at all, which would leave both Parties as much at Liberty to vex one another, and to take up the Time of the House unnecessarily, as if no such Resolution had ever been made: And lastly, that in the particular Case then before them, it would be a very great Hardship upon him; because in the Lists he had delivered to the Petitioners, he had strictly conformed to the Resolution of the House, which would give the Petitioners a very great Advantage over him; therefore he desired they might be ordered to amend their Lists, and to put them in that Method which was prescribed by the Resolution.

*Anno 10. Geo.**II. 1736.7.*

To which 'twas answered, That by the Resolution it was not intended to limit either the Petitioners or the sitting Member to the making but one Objection only against each Voter excepted to; nor could it be supposed that the House meant any such Thing when they agree'd to that Resolution; because it would be doing Injustice to both, to limit them to the making but one Objection to a Voter against whom they had several material Objections; therefore it was to be presumed, the Resolution intended only to oblige each Party to explain and expressly mention the several Objections they were to make against each Voter excepted to, which was the Method the Petitioners had taken with respect to the Lists they had delivered; and by that Method the sitting Member might know what to do, and could be put to no greater Expence or Trouble than the Nature of the Case required; for if he found that any one of the Objections proposed was well founded, and would probably be sufficiently proved, it would be quite unnecessary for him to put himself to any Expence or Trouble in supporting the Right of a Voter, who, he knew, had no Right; nor could the Time of the House be unnecessarily taken up, because each Party would begin with examining Witnesses as to that Objection which he thought the strongest, and which he thought he could the most fully prove, and if he found he had fully proved that Objection, he would proceed no further, nor trouble himself or the House with proving any other Objection; whereas if his Witnesses for proving that Objection should not, in their Examination before the House, come up to that which they had declared

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



to him in the Country, which was often the Case, it would be Injustice to preclude him from proving any other Objection, when he found he neither had nor could fully prove the Objection he had first insisted on; therefore they did not think themselves obliged by the Resolution to amend their Lists, or to deliver them in any other Manner than what they had done: However, that they might not be thought to intend, and as they did not desire to take any sort of Advantage of the sitting Member, they were willing to amend their Lists, and to put them in the very same Method with those delivered to them by him; so that it would be quite unnecessary for the House to interpose in the Affair, or to come to any new Resolution, or Order, upon that Head.

This Compliance in the Petitioners prevented a Reply, and likewise prevented the House's coming to any new Resolution, or to any Determination, for explaining their former Resolution; so that the Point in dispute remains undetermined, and, if no new Law be made for regulating the Elections for Counties, it may be the Subject of some future Debate.

The Flint Pe-
tition.

Upon the same Day, *viz. Feb. 2.* and immediately after the proper Orders were made for hearing the Petition from *Norfolk*, as before mentioned, a Petition of Sir *John Glynn*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Flint*, in the County of *Flint*, was presented to the House and read; and 'twas order'd, That the Matter of the said Petition should be heard upon *Tuesday, March 8*, then next; which Order was afterwards put off, to *Thursday, March 24*, when the House proceeded to the Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition; and the Petition, and the last Determination of the House, concerning the Right of electing a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the said Borough, made *May 21, 1728*; and also the standing Order of the House, made *Jan. 16, 1728*, for restraining the Counsel at the Bar of that House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence touching the Legality of Votes for Members to serve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque Port, or Place, contrary to the last Determination of the House of Commons; were read.

Counsel heard

Then the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard; and the original Poll, taken at the said Election, being produced; and the Title thereof, and the total Number of Votes for each Candidate, being read; they examined several Witnesses, touching the Behaviour of the returning Officers at the Time of taking and closing the said Poll,
 and

and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and of the Majority, and touching a Scrutiny to be had, and the Manner of making the Return, and the Declaration of one of the returning Officers, and the Instructions to him given by the sitting Member previous to the Election, and other Occurrences at and after the Election: After which the said Return, dated *May 16, 1734*, on which Day the Poll was closed, being read; the Counsel for the Petitioner were further heard, as to the Merits of the Return; when they insisted, that the Counsel for the sitting Member should proceed to justify the Return, before the Merits of the Election should be proceeded upon: As to which Point the Counsel for the sitting Member were heard by way of Answer, and the Counsel for the Petitioner by way of Reply; and then the Counsel on both Sides being, according to Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

That the Counsel for the sitting Member be directed to proceed, in order to justify the Return for the Borough of Flint, before the Merits of the Election are proceeded upon. *A Motion.*

Upon this Motion there was a long Debate, and the Question being at last put, it was carried in the Negative, by 205 to 166. *Division.*

After which, the further Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition was ordered to be adjourned to *Tuesday* then next; when the Counsel for the Petitioner proceed in their Evidence; and having proposed to qualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the returning Officers, they examined *Benjamin Hughes*, one of the Church-Wardens of the Parish of *Flint*, at and before the Time of the said Election, in order to qualify one of the said Persons; and a Paper being by the said Witness produced, purporting to be the Church and Poor Rate for the Borough of *Flint* in the Year 1733, the Counsel for the sitting Member (having cross-examined him, and examined a Witness in relation to the said Paper) objected to the admitting of that Paper in Evidence: As to which Objection, the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Answer, and the Counsel for the sitting Member by way of Reply; and then the Counsel on both Sides being, by Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Paper produced by Benjamin Hughes be admitted in Evidence, as the Rate for the Church and Poor of the Borough of Flint for the Year 1733.

G g 2

Upon

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

*The Hearing
adjourned.*

Upon this Motion there was likewise a Debate, but upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative; and then the further Hearing of this Matter was ordered to be adjourned till *Thursday* Morning then next.

*Witnesses exa-
mined.*

On that Day the Counsel for the Petitioner examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the returning Officers; and on the *Tuesday* following, being *April 5*, they examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner several Persons, who offered to vote for him at the said Election, but were refused by the returning Officers; and having proposed to add to the said Poll *Matthias Rogers*, by proving that his Landlord paid Scot and Lot for the Tenement, in which the said *Matthias Rogers* inhabited, they thereupon acquainted the House, that they intended to offer the like Proof, as to the other Persons; upon which they were directed to withdraw, and upon their being withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

A Motion.

That the Inhabitants of the several Boroughs of Flint, Rhydlan, Caerwys, Caerguerley, and Overton (including Knolton and Overton-Foreign) renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof only pay Scot and Lot, have a Right to vote in the Election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Flint in the County of Flint.

Rejected.

Upon this Motion there was also a long Debate, and the previous Question being proposed, *viz.* Whether the Question should be then put? It was upon a Division carried in the Negative by 149 to 115; so that there was no Question put upon the Motion: After this the Counsel were again called in, when they proceeded in their Evidence, by examining Witnesses, and producing Evidence, in order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner the said *Matthias Rogers*, and several other Persons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers.

*The Hearing
adjourned.*

Next Morning, the House, according to Order, proceeded to the further hearing of the said Matter, when the Counsel for the Petitioner examined several Witnesses and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, who voted for the sitting Member; after which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned to *Tuesday* the 19th, on Account of *Easter Holy Days*.

Resumed.

Accordingly, on the 19th, the House resumed the Hearing of the said Matter, and the Counsel for the sitting Member being heard, they examined several Witnesses touching

touching the Occasion of examining upon Oath into the Qualification of the Electors, and of protecting the Poll ; and touching the Threats and abusive Language offered to the returning Officers, and an Assault upon one of them ; and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and the Demand of a Scrutiny ; and the Manner of declaring the Majority, and other Transactions at and after the Election : And the Record of *Nisi Prius* upon an Information prosecuted against *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the said Assault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, being produced ; the Verdict of the Jury, by whom the said *Richard Williams* was convicted of the said Assault, was read : After which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned till next Morning.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1735-7.

Adjourned.

Next Day, and the Day following, the Counsel for the sitting Member examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the returning Officer, and whom the Petitioner's Counsel had endeavoured to qualify ; and in order to disqualify several Persons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers, and whom the Counsel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to add to his Poll ; and likewise they examined several Witnesses, in order to justify the Votes of several Persons who voted for the sitting Member, and whom the Counsel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to disqualify.

More Witnesses examined.

On *Tuesday* the 26th, when this Affair was again resumed, the Counsel for the sitting Member proceeded further to justify, as last mentioned ; and then they examined Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify several Persons who offered to vote for the sitting Member at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers ; after which they examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, who voted for the Petitioner at the said Election.

The Hearing resumed.

On *Thursday* the 28th, the Counsel for the sitting Member summed up their Evidence : Then the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Reply ; and examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to justify the Votes of several Persons, who voted for the Petitioner at the said Election, and whom the Counsel for the sitting Member had endeavoured to disqualify ; and also to disqualify several Persons, who offered to vote for the sitting Member at the said Election, and who were refused by the returning Officers, and whom the Counsel for the sitting Member

Counsel for the sitting Member summed up the Evidence.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Member had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and also to discredit and contradict several Witnesses, examined on the Part of the sitting Member: After which, Part of the Information prosecuted against *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the Assault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, was read; and the Counsel for the Petitioner having finish'd their Reply, the Counsel on both Sides were ordered to withdraw.

Thus the Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition being finished, and the Counsel withdrawn, the following Motion was then made, *viz.*

Sir George
Wynne de-
clar'd the sit-
ting Member.

That Sir George Wynne, Bart. is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament, for the Borough of Flint in the County of Flint.

Upon a Divi-
sion.

Whereupon, Sir *George Wynne*, the sitting Member, having been first heard in his Place, and afterwards withdrawn, as usual in such Cases, there ensued a long Debate; and the Question being at last put, it was carried in the Affirmative upon a Division, by 158 to 107.

Having thus, as we proposed, given our Readers a full Account of the Proceedings upon controverted Elections, this Session, we shall now proceed to give an Account of more important Debates.

Speech of the
Lords Com-
missioners ta-
ken into Con-
sideration.

February 3d, The House proceeded to take into Consideration the Speech of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty for holding that Parliament, to both Houses of Parliament, and the same being again read by Mr. Speaker, a Motion was made, That a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; whereupon 'twas resolved, That the House should next Morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the said Motion.

Motion for a
Supply.

Committee
for the same.

On the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into the said Committee, the said Speech of the Lords Commissioners was ordered to be referred to the same; and the House having then resolved itself into the said Committee, they resolved,

That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; which was on the Monday following reported and agreed to by the House *Nemine contradicente.*

On the 9th, the House, according to Order, resolved itself again into the said Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.*

That *ten thousand Men* should be employ'd for the *Sea Service* for the Year 1737, beginning from Jan. 1, 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding 4*l.* per Man per Month, should be

be allowed for maintaining the said 10,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for *Sea Service*: And that a Sum, not exceeding 219,201 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 *d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the Ordinary of the Navy (including half Pay to the Sea Officers) for the Year 1737. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

On the 18th, *William Young*, in a short Speech shewed the Necessity there was for keeping up the same Number of regular Forces that were kept up the proceeding Year, and moved, That it be resolved by the said Committee, that the Number of effective Men to be provided, for Guards and Garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for the Year 1737, should be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the six independent Companies consist of for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included: That a Sum, not exceeding 647,549 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 17,704 Men: That a Sum, not exceeding 215,710 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ should be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the *Plantations*, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and for Provisions for the Garrisons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canso*, *Placentia*, and *Gibraltar*, for the Year 1737.


This Motion being objected to by Sir *John Barnard*, Mr. *Pultney* and others brought on a Debate, which was manag'd by Sir *William Young*, the Honourable *Henry Pelham*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and others for the Motion, whose Arguments, to avoid Repetition of what we have already seen on that head, we shall give the Reader in one connected Speech. *Speech against the Motion.*

SIR,

Whatever impracticable Notions some Gentlemen may entertain, I believe there is no Maxim more true, than that Force is necessary for the Support of Government. And this Force, in its own Nature, can be no other than a Military Force. For in every Society it is absolutely necessary to have a certain Number of Men properly armed and disciplined, for protecting the Society against foreign Invasions, as well as for preventing the Weak from being oppressed by the Mighty, and for putting the Laws of the Society in Execution against Offenders of every Rank and Degree. Tho' this Force, Sir, as kept up by our Ancestors, is now deny'd by some to have been a Military Force, yet a very little Consideration will teach us that it was properly so. It consisted chiefly of the Militia of every Country, who for that Reason were all properly armed and disciplined, and obliged to answer the Call of those who had the Command over them; but of

lat ter

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



latter Ages, and since Mankind have begun to apply themselves to Arts and Industry, they have neglected to breed themselves up to Arms and Military Discipline, and therefore it has been found necessary in most, and especially in our neighbouring Countries, to provide and maintain a certain Number of Men, whose chief Business it is to breed themselves up to the Art of War, and who for that Reason are called regular Troops. To them the Defence of the Society both against Invasions from without, and Insurrections from within, is chiefly intrusted, and by that means the rest of the People of the Society are enabled to pursue Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and other industrious Employments, with greater Application and Assiduity than they could possibly do, if they were every now and then obliged to withdraw from their Labour, in order to learn their Exercises as Soldiers, or to march against a foreign or domestic Enemy.

This, Sir, is the chief Reason that Arts and Sciences have of late flourished so much in *Europe*, and it is by this Method only that Trade and Industry can be supported and encouraged in this Kingdom; therefore I shall not suppose that any Gentleman will be against our keeping up any Number of regular Troops. The only Question that can come this Day properly before us, is, *What Number of regular Troops may be sufficient for protecting this Island against any foreign Invasion, and for supporting our Government in the Execution of the Laws of their Country?* With respect to this Question, Sir, we ought to consider, that in a free Country as this is, and, I hope, will for ever remain, tho' every Man enjoys many Advantages by the Constitution, yet that private Good is, and always must be, attended with this public Inconvenience. It must farther be owned, that it begets and supports Parties, Factions, and Divisions among the People in general; and when the Government is not provided with a sufficient Military Force for a necessary and just Support, those Parties and Factions are apt to come to Extremes: The Discontented, let the Motives of their Dissatisfaction be never so unreasonable, are apt to raise Insurrections, and to break out into open Rebellion, when by the Imbecility of the Government they conceive Hopes of obtaining, by Force, those Ends which they neither were intitled to, nor could obtain, by the Laws of their Country; the necessary Consequence of which is, that the People are always exposed to the Misfortunes of a Civil War; and in such a Case we have in our own History melancholy Proofs, that the prevailing Party but seldom shews any great Regard to that very Constitution, the Sup-
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port of which was at first, perhaps by both Sides, made the sole Pretence for engaging in War.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

To this general Consideration, Sir, we ought to add another which is peculiar to this Kingdom: It is not only peculiar to this Kingdom, but is in itself of a most peculiar and a most extraordinary Nature. In this free, this happy Country, we have a Party amongst us, and a considerable Party too, who are every Day labouring to destroy that Freedom to which only they owe their very Existence as a Party, who are every Day contriving Plots for putting an End to that Happiness in which they themselves share. When I say this, I believe, I need not tell Gentlemen, I mean the *Jacobites* and *Papists* in the Kingdom, I believe or, at least I wish that this Party has not of late gained Ground among the better Sort, but I am afraid, Sir, it is owing only to the dread of a Military Force, that the inferior Rank of People are kept so quiet as they have of late Years been. But, Sir, I am far from thinking the Principles of *Jacobitism* to be quite extinct even among the better Sort. If we should leave the Government unprovided of a sufficient Military Force, it would immediately revive their Hopes; and if they should again break out in open Rebellion, they would certainly be joined by all the Abandoned, the Profligate, and the Desperate, who will generally chuse that Side, as being that from which they may expect the greatest Reward in case of Success; in which Case we should again be obliged to fight for our Liberties, and the most fortunate Event would be attended with great public Loss, and with many private Calamities.


But setting aside the general Interests of the Government, I don't see, Sir, as our common People are now disused to Military Discipline, that even private Property can now be secure against Rogues and Pilferers, if as in other Countries they should form themselves into Gangs. At least, Sir, there might be a great deal of Mischief done, before they could be suppress'd and brought to Justice. Then with regard to Mobs and Tumults, we find by Experience, that regular Troops are of great Use, not only for preventing any such from happening, but for quelling and dispersing them after they have happened, and that without any great Mischief's being done of either Side: Whereas if we had no regular Troops to be employ'd in such Services, tho' the Civil Power might perhaps at last be able to put an End to the Tumult, and to seize and punish the Rioters; yet 'tis certain, the Mob or Tumult would always be gathered to a great Height before the Civil Power could effectually interpose.

VOL. IV.

H h

With

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



With respect, therefore, to the protecting our People against Invasions, I shall now, Sir, take the Liberty to consider what Effect our keeping, or our not keeping, up a sufficient Number of Land-Forces, might, and probably would have upon our foreign Interests, and what still more nearly concerns us. All our Neighbours, Sir, are highly sensible of the great Inequality between Militia and regular Troops. Experience has often shewn what a vast Number of the former may be attacked and put to Flight by the latter, they therefore now put their only Confidence in their regular Troops; and every Nation in *Europe* is now respected and esteemed by the rest, in proportion to the Number of regular Troops they have in their Pay. Therefore, to preserve that Respect and Esteem which we ought always to have among our Neighbours, we ought to keep up a considerable Body of regular well-disciplined Troops; because if any of our Neighbours should begin to despise us, they would of course begin to insult, and perhaps to invade us. This, Sir, would keep our Sea Coasts in a continual Alarm, and might expose many of our maritime Counties and Cities to be plunder'd and ravaged by a Handful of foreign Troops, landed in any Corner of the Island. I do not suppose, Sir, that a Handful of any Sort of Troops would be able to conquer the Island; but if we had nothing but Militia to send against them, they might do us infinite Mischief, before we could gather and form such a Body of Militia as would be able to oppose them.

From these Considerations, Sir, I must be of Opinion, that it is no way consistent with true Wisdom and Policy, or with the Peace and Security of the People, to diminish the Number of regular Forces we have at present on Foot. It is the least Number has been kept on Foot for many Years, and Experience has shewn us that from such a Number there are no Inconveniences to be apprehended; but on the contrary we have felt many good Effects from keeping up that Number, and even from augmenting it now and then as Occasion required, provided as has always been the Practice since the Accession of his Majesty's Royal House, they are likewise upon Occasion reduced. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all the Advantages we have from thence acquired; but in general it must be granted, we have for near these 20 Years enjoyed a most profound Tranquillity both at Home and Abroad, which is chiefly to be attributed to our keeping up such an Army as made our Enemies both at Home and Abroad stand in Awe, and to the other prudent Measures which his Majesty and his glorious

rious Father have during that Time pursued. Even but lately, when the greatest Part of *Europe* were involved in War, we were left at Liberty to pursue our Trade through all Parts of the World in Peace and perfect Security; and by the small Addition we made to our Army, and the Augmentation of our Fleet, we not only preserved our own, but we contribute greatly to the restoring of the public Tranquillity; nay more, we acquired Accessions of Trade that are of infinite Advantage to this Nation. In short, Sir, we set Bounds to the ambitious Views of the Victorious, and convinced them, that if they endeavoured to pursue their Conquests any further than was consistent with preserving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, we were not only resolved, but would be ready to interpose with such a Force as would be sufficient to stop their Progress. This, Sir, was what made them so ready to hearken to equitable Terms, to Terms which did not essentially vary from the wise Plan his Majesty, in conjunction with his Allies the *States General*, had been pleased to propose for restoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Since therefore we have experienced so many Advantages from keeping up the present Number of regular Forces, since we have felt the Expence to be but inconsiderable, and the Inconveniency none; since no Danger can be apprehended during his present Majesty's Reign, I cannot think any Gentleman of this House would be for diminishing the Number, even tho' there were no particular Reason at present subsisting for keeping up the same Number we had last Year.

But, Sir, there are in my Opinion three very strong Reasons peculiar to the present Times for continuing the same Number at least for this next ensuing Year, two of which are of a foreign, and the third of a domestic Nature. There is, 'tis true, no War at present subsisting between any of the Christian Princes or States of *Europe*; with respect to any such War the public Tranquillity may properly be said to be restored; but it cannot be said that the Tranquillity of *Europe* is altogether restored, nay, that it may not upon a very trifling and impossible to be foreseen Event be disturbed. The *Muscovites* are already engaged in a War against the *Turks*, and 'tis more than probable the *Emperor's* Arms will soon be turned the same Way. As yet the other Powers of *Europe* seem to have nothing but peaceable Inclinations to all public Appearance; but we do not know how long that serene Appearance may hold: There are some of them who have seldom long remained at Quiet, when they found the *Emperor* involved in a War with the *Turks*; and if

Anno 10. Geo.
 11 1736 7.



they do not take the 'Opportunity for attacking the *Emperor*, it is to be apprehended they may think it a proper Opportunity for making Incroachments upon some other of their Neighbours: Tho' perhaps no such Thing may be intended directly against this Nation, yet we ought not to put ourselves out of a Capacity to fulfil the Engagements which our own Interests and our Treaties point out, if any such Encroachment should be attempted, whether upon ourselves or our Neighbours.

Besides, Sir, as the System of Affairs in *Europe* seems to be very much altered by the late Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, and as the Terms of that Treaty are as yet in some measure a Secret to the Public, who will take it upon him to say, but that there may be some secret Conventions between those two Powers, which may be found prejudicial to the Neighbours of both? In such a case, that Treaty, instead of being a Foundation for establishing the general Tranquillity, would prove a Firebrand for rekindling, perhaps, the most general and the most furious War that ever was in *Europe*: A War, in which this Nation could not avoid being one of the principal Parties concerned; and therefore, I must think we cannot with Safety disband any of the Forces we have at present on Foot, till this new System of Affairs is thoroughly understood, and its Consequences seen through, which they cannot be till all the secret Articles of that Treaty are fully discovered.

The third Reason for keeping up the same Number of Forces, at least for this ensuing Year, is, as I have said, of a domestic Nature, and founded upon that Spirit of Discontent and Dissatisfaction, which has been so industriously spread over the whole Nation, and has of late produced Mobs, Riots, and Tumults, almost in every Corner of the Kingdom. I am persuaded every Gentleman that hears me will join with me in saying, his Majesty's Government, ever since he came to the Crown, has been so mild and just, that no Man can really have the least Reason to complain. It cannot with Justice be said his Majesty has ever attempted the least Incroachment upon the Liberties and Privileges of the Subject in general, far less can any private Man complain that he has met with Injustice or Oppression; yet there is such a Spirit of Dissatisfaction and Sedition gone forth, that the lowermost Rank of our People are every where ready to fly in the Face of the Civil Magistrate; and even the Acts of the whole Legislature. Those Acts, Sir, that have by almost every Gentleman in this House been allowed to be for the general Good, have been most heinously insulted, and misrepresented. I shall not pretend to shew how this
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sedition Spirit has been raised, or to what it is chiefly owing; but while it continues, I must say, it would be very unwise in us to dismiss any Part of our regular Army; for if we can but keep the People quiet till they have Time to think and consider, the Ferment will subside when they find their Dissatisfaction groundless. This may probably be the Effect of keeping up our Army for the ensuing Year; 'because in that Time the Minds of the People may be quieted, and while we have such an Army, those who are dissatisfied will not dare to take any Advantage of the Discontents they have raised, nor will they dare to push those they have seduced upon any violent Measures: Whereas, if we should at this Juncture disband any great Part of our Army, the disbanded Soldiers would probably join with the Discontented, which might produce Consequences I tremble to think of; but this House will, I hope, prevent my Fears, by agreeing to the Motion for this Resolution.

The Speakers against the Motion were *William Pultney, Esq; Sir John Barnard, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Sandys*, with others; and their Arguments were to the following Effect.

SIR,

As I am not, nor do intend to speak against our keeping up any Standing-Army at all, I have no present Occasion to take Notice of the Arguments that have been made use of for shewing the indispensable Necessity of such a Measure: However, lest it should be thought, that I am likewise of Opinion, that a Government cannot now be supported, nor the Laws put in Execution, without a Body of what we call regular Troops, and which were unknown in the Times when the Spirit of our Constitution was best understood, permit me to give some Reasons for my being of a contrary Sentiment. I know, Sir, that all our Neighbours have now fallen into a Method of keeping up a large Body of regular Troops; but it is not for the sole Reason, that such Troops must always have a great Superiority over Militia, or that a Government cannot be supported without the Assistance of such Troops; it is because among most of them, I may say among all of them, some sort of absolute and arbitrary Government has been lately introduced; and for supporting such a Government, it is absolutely necessary to keep up a Standing-Army. But there was a time, Sir, when the Practice of keeping up a Body of regular Troops for the Purposes of a Government and Ministry, was as little known in these Countries as till within these sixty Years they were in ours. In such a Country a Body of regular Troops must always be much preferable to a Body of their Militia, most of whom we may suppose never touched a Sword or a Gun, before it was put into their Hands upon that Occasion;

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

*Speakers a-
gainst the
Motion, Mr.
Pultney, Sir
J. Barnard,
Mr. Shippen,
Mr. Sandys.*

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



but in a Country where no regular Army is kept up, and proper Care taken to exercise and discipline the Militia, and to infuse a martial Spirit into all their Subjects in general, I can see no Reason why a Body of Men, who have for seven Years been bred to hard Labour, to the Use of Arms, and to military Discipline, without any Pay, should not be as good as a Body of Men bred up for the same Time to Military Discipline, with Pay, and by Reason of that Pay, bred up in Laziness and Idleness: On the contrary, I should think the former would be better able to endure the Fatigues of War; and I am certain no Man's Courage was ever improved by a State of Laziness and Idleness, which for some Years past has been the Case of our Army.


A Soldier, Sir, may learn all his Exercises to Perfection in 3 or in 6 Months; and after he is once Master of his Exercises, he is as good a Soldier as he ever can be without seeing Action. He may then make as good a Figure at a Review as the oldest Veteran; but for making a good Figure in a Day of Battle, it depends upon the Courage and the Experience of the Soldier, neither of which, but especially the latter, can be acquired any other Way than by having been frequently in Action. Therefore, Sir, I see no Reason why a Militia may not be as serviceable as our present Army, since they might have all the Advantage which regular Troops can enjoy except Experience in Action, which our Army knows almost as little of as our Militia. Now with respect to the Military Exercises, and to the making of a Figure at a Review, I believe a Man, who is five Days of the Week at Plow, or any other industrious Employment, and two Days at his Military Exercises, may in half a Year, or a Year, become as much Master of the latter, as he that is two Days of the Week at his Military Exercises, and the other five sitting or carousing at an Ale-House or Gin-shop. Upon the whole, Sir, I will venture to say, that if the Militia of this Country, or any Country where the Spirit of the People has not been broke by Arbitrary Power, were properly regimented, and put under the Command of Gentlemen of Honour and Courage, instead of being commanded by Shoemakers and Taylors, they might in a Year or two be as properly called regular Troops, as any mercenary Regiment can be, which is composed of Officers and Soldiers, who never had Occasion to look an Enemy in the Face, unless it was a Gang of Smugglers, or a Mob of Pick-pockets; and while there is a Man in the Kingdom, who has been in Action, a Regiment of Militia would have as good a Chance to have some of them among them, as any Regiment of mercenary Troops can have, after a Peace of 20 or 30
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Years Duration. I shall readily grant, Sir, that a Regiment of Veteran Soldiers, a Regiment composed chiefly of Officers and Soldiers who have been frequently in Action, may be much superior to a Regiment of the best disciplined Militia; but I cannot admit that a Regiment of mercenary Troops, who never saw an Enemy, has any Advantage over a Regiment of Militia, well disciplined and properly commanded: It never can be thought that there is any Difference in the Goodness of the Men; and if there is not, I can't for my Life find out where the Preference should be given to the regular Troops. For which Reason I shall always be of Opinion, that a Country may be governed, the Laws executed, and the People protected both against Invasions and Insurrections, by a regular Militia, as well as by a mercenary Army; and in a free Country I am sure the former is a much more proper Defence than the latter.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

What we now call Regular Troops, or Standing-Forces, have produced, and always will produce, the most fatal Consequences in every Country where they are kept up. In such Countries the People in general not only neglect, and have no Encouragement to breed themselves up to the Use of Arms and martial Discipline, but they are taught from their Infancy to tremble at the Name of a Soldier; by which means the bravest, the most warlike People may, in the Space of one Century, be rendered the most dastardly and effeminate. They put their whole Trust in what they call their Army; and if that Army happens by the Chance of War to be cut off, there is no finding another that dares look a victorious Enemy in the Face, which is the Reason that every such Country has at last become an easy Prey to some foreign Invader: Whereas, in a Country where they have no Army to trust to, the Government must necessarily take care of the Militia, the whole People are bred Soldiers from their Infancy, and an invading Enemy finds them like the *Hydra's* Heads; if they have the good Fortune to cut off one Army, they immediately find another more formidable grow up in its stead; for such a People may be killed, but they cannot be conquered. I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that Arts and Sciences cannot be promoted, nor Trade and Industry encouraged, but by the keeping up of Standing-Armies, for I have often heard, and often thought that Standing-Armies are destructive to all the Arts of Peace. It may as well be said, that neither the one nor the other can flourish but in Countries where Arbitrary Government is established; for Arbitrary Power has in all Countries been the certain Consequence of keeping up a large Standing-Army. In such Countries they may have
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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




the good Luck to have a Prince, or an Administration, that encourages Arts and Sciences, and protects Trade and Industry ; but that Period is generally of no long Continuance, and Barbarism, Ignorance, and Idleness always succeed. In this Kingdom we know that Arts and Sciences were introduced, and Trade and Industry established, long before we had such a Thing as a Standing-Army ; and I believe, Sir, Gentlemen will find, that since the Nation has been at the Trouble and Expence of keeping up a Standing-Army, those Arts and Sciences have not at all gained Ground in this Country.

In the *Grecian* and *Roman* Common-Wealths their Tradesmen and Labourers gained Laurels in the Field of Battle by their Courage, and returned to gain a Subsistence for themselves and Families by their Industry ; but when they began to keep Standing-Armies, their Soldiers, 'tis true, for some time gained Laurels in the Field, but they returned to plunder, and at last to subdue their Country ; which put an End to their Freedom, and of course to every Thing that was Praise-worthy among them. God forbid our Fate should be the same ! 'Tis a Mistake to imagine our Tradesmen would be drawn away from their Labour by breeding them up to Military Discipline ; on the contrary they might be brought to use it as their Diversion, and then they would return with more Alacrity to their usual Labour. In former Times our Holy-Days, and even Sundays, were employ'd in the Exercise of the *Long-Bow* and other warlike Diversions ; and I must think that such Days would be much better employ'd in that Way, than in sitting at an Ale-House, or loitering in a Skittle or Nine-Pin Ground ; but such a Change of Manners is not to be introduced without the Assistance of the Government, and some proper Laws for that Purpose ; and I am convinced our Government will never assist, as long as we furnish them with a Standing-Army ; for a Standing-Army is in all Countries a most useful Thing to those in Power, and a well-disciplined Militia a most dangerous Thing to those who are grasping at more than they ought to have.

I shall readily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that every Government must have a Military Force for its Support, and must make use of that Military Force when Necessity requires. But the Military Force that is required for preserving a People from Invasion from Abroad, or Insurrection at Home, and that required for strengthening the Hands of an Administration, are very different. A legal and limited Government ought to be provided with a free and legal Military Force depending upon the sole Will
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and Pleasure of the Governor; a Military Force which he may make use of for breaking, as well as for executing the Laws of his Country. Such is our Regular Army according to its present Establishment. They are not free Subjects, they are Soldiers, not governed properly by the Laws of their Country, but by a Law made for them only; and all depending upon the sole Will and Pleasure of the King. This may in Time make them look upon themselves as a Body of Men different from the rest of the People; and as they, and they only, have the Sword in their Hands, they may at last begin to look upon themselves as the Lords, and not the Servants of the People. They will obey and execute your Laws whilst you make such Laws as please them; but if you should begin to make such Laws as may be disagreeable to them, they will neither execute nor obey your Laws; they will make Laws for themselves, and one of the first, you may depend on't, will be, a Law for dissolving your Assembly: They have done so before, and they may do so again, if ever they should happen to be under an ambitious King or General. I know it may be said our Militia depend as much upon the sole Will and Pleasure of our Governor, as our Regular Army; but it is not to be supposed they would so readily join in overturning the Laws of their Country, as a Mercenary Army would, when properly garbled, and if our Militia should be brought under any new Regulations, which must be done, before they can be made useful, proper Care might be taken, for putting it out of the Power of any Man to make a bad Use of them.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*



I know it has been said, that Liberty is attended with a Licentiousness of Manners, which begets Factions and Animosities against the Government; but admitting that to be true, no Argument drawn from the Abuse of a good Thing, ought to serve for its being abolished. Tho' I cannot at all see how a free Country is more liable to dangerous Convulsions than an enslaved one. In a Country where the Government is limited, and the People free, there may perhaps be more room for Party and Faction, than in a Country where the Government is absolute, and the People dare not complain; but, Sir, even in a free Country, and under the most limited Government, while those in Power do their Duty, while they consult the Inclinations of the People, and refrain from all manner of Oppression either public or private, no Party, no Faction can become dangerous to the Government, tho' it has no Regular Troops to trust to. Such a Government will always have a great Majority of the People in their Interest, and tho' there may be some who, from private Views, may be dissatisfied with the public Measures pur-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




sued, yet they will for their own Sakes remain quiet and peaceable ; for no Man of common Sense will rise in Arms against an established Government, unless he is sure not only of a general Discontent among the People, but that the general Discontent is got to such a Height as to make the Majority of the People ready to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preservation. Of this the glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is a most convincing Proof. I believe hardly any History can parallel so long a Reign so little disturbed with Faction ; yet if we consider the Circumstances that attended her Accession to the Crown, we shall be surprized that her Reign was not torn with the most violent Party Divisions and State Convulsions. One of the Steps of that glorious Queen was to overturn the Religion she found established in her Country, a Religion supported by a great Party at Home, and professed and protected by the greatest Part of *Europe* : At the same Time she knew she had a Pretender to her Crown, and a most dangerous Pretender too, a Pretender who was of the Religion then established in the Country, a Pretender who was in Possession of a Kingdom of her own, a Kingdom within the same Island, and a Kingdom which could vindicate the Rights of their Queen with as brave and as fierce Armies as ever marched from any Country ; and what still added to the Danger, the Pretender was not only Queen of *Scotland*, but Wife to the *Dauphin*, and afterwards to the King of *France*. From such Circumstances, what Factions, what Commotions, what violent Convulsions were not to be apprehended ; yet that wise Queen, without any Standing-Army, established herself upon the Throne, established the Religion she professed, triumphed over all her Enemies, and after a Reign of 43 Years transmitted the Crown in Peace to her next lawful Successor, without ever having been disturbed by any Party or Faction's rising in Arms against her, except one in the *North*, and some few Commotions in *Ireland*, neither of which ever became considerable.

In a free Country, indeed, when those in Power make a weak or a wicked Use of their Power, or make any Attempts upon the Liberties of the People, a Party will certainly form itself against the Government, and such a Party as cannot be withstood but by means of a numerous and mercenary Army ; but in that Case, Sir, the Government becomes the Faction, and as soon, Sir, as Government degenerates into Faction, there is a Necessity for its being supported by a Standing-Army, for it can support itself no other way, and it is by that way alone that it can destroy the Liberties of a People ; some outward Forms may be preserved, but the

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Government, in Substance, becomes from that Moment Arbitrary. Faction is an ugly Name, in a free Country, always bestowed upon those who oppose the Government; but whether they, or the Government, best deserve the Name, depends upon the Measures pursued by each. To prevent Faction and civil Discord has in all Countries been the plausible Pretence of those who secretly aimed at the Establishment of Arbitrary Power: In most of our neighbouring Countries that Pretence has had the wished-for Success, but I hope it never shall in this; for it is much happier for a People to be in a continual Danger of Civil Discord, or even of Civil Wars, than to be in a continual State of Slavery. A Civil War is an Imposthume, it may be troublesome, it may be painful while it lasts, but it carries off any contagious Matter that may be lodged in the Body, and generally brings Health and Vigour for many Years after; whereas despotic Power is an Ulcer, a Gangrene, which admits of no Cure, nor can receive any Comfort.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



I believe, Sir, no Gentleman ever suspected me as favouring Disaffection to our present happy Constitution in Church and State. I have as bad an Opinion of *Jacobites* and *Papists* as any Gentleman of this House can reasonably have, but I never thought that either our *Jacobites* or *Papists* were for establishing Arbitrary Power: I am sure very few of them are. We maintained our Liberties when the whole Nation were *Papists*; we may lose them now we are *Protestants*; and if we should, it would make many Men *Jacobites* who are very far from being so at present. People under Oppression always hope for Relief from any Change: If the Liberties of this Country should be once overturned, the worst we could expect would be only changing one Slavery for another. Even the truest Lovers of Liberty might be prompted by Revenge to become *Jacobites*, in order to disappoint and punish those who had cheated them out of their Liberties. I do not believe there can ever be a Party in this Kingdom for establishing Arbitrary Power, unless it be our Ministers and their Creatures. An Itch for Arbitrary Power seems, indeed, to be epidemical with respect to that Sett of Men: Our Ancestors have known Ministers, Sir, who have been infected with it, and who have transmitted the Infection down to their Successors, tho' of a different Party and Interest. We may again have such Ministers; and for that Reason, chiefly, I am against keeping up a numerous Standing-Army, because, according to its present Regulation, it is too much under the Power of Ministers: And I own that I am for trusting no Minister with my Liberty. Some Minister or other may some Time

Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736-7.

or other make use of it for attaining to that which so many of them have seemed to long for.

There are, 'tis true, Sir, too many Rogues and Thieves in the Kingdom ; there are, I believe, some great ones who are not yet discovered, but I doubt much if a numerous Standing-Army will contribute either to their being discovered or punished. With respect to any of those little Pilferers that have of late been seized and hanged, I am sure it cannot be said the Army has been, in the least, assisting. They have all been apprehended by the Country People, or by the common Thief-catchers ; which is a Trade, I hope no Gentleman of the Army will ever be desired to undertake, unless the Thief be some Person of a very eminent Degree. I do not know that the Army has ever been employ'd in any Sort of Thief-catching, except with respect to those Thieves called *Smugglers* ; and the Reason of the Army's being necessary for that Purpose is, that our Taxes are so many and so high, and have been so long continued, that the People begin to look upon *Smugglers* as their Friends, and therefore will not be concerned, nor run any risk, in apprehending or opposing them. And indeed, Sir, I think it should be very unreasonable if the Army was not useful in some shape or other, especially to those who keep it up, When our Soldiers serve against *Smugglers*, they serve their own immediate Masters, and the Country People have learned to look upon that Service as proper to the Army. But if we had no Taxes but such as the People thought reasonable, and if those Taxes were applied to Uses which the People thought necessary for their Preservation, they would be as ready to join the *Hue and Cry* against a *Smuggler*, as they are now against a House-breaker or Highwayman. I am persuaded there is nothing contributes so much to the Increase of Criminals of all Sorts among us, as the great Number of Regular Troops we keep up ; the common Soldiers mix among the Vulgar, and by their Example, they propagate a Spirit of Lewdness, Idleness, and Extravagance in every Country and City of the Kingdom ; I wish even some of the Officers may not in this Way be a little to blame. The Credit and Subsistence of a Merchant, a Tradesman, or a Labourer, depends upon his Character : If he gets the Character of a lewd, profligate Fellow, no Man will trust or employ him ; for this Reason he is obliged at least to be a Hypocrite, and so can do no Mischief by his Example ; but the Credit of a Soldier depends upon his doing his Duty, and his Subsistence depends upon his Pay ; if he does his Duty he may be as lewd and profligate as he pleases, and as openly as he pleases, consequently


quently may do great Mischief by his Example. In all Countries the young and high-metalled are proud of keeping Company with Soldiers; they learn their Manners, and soon begin to imitate them in their Vices; by so doing they lose their Characters, and when no Man will trust or employ them, if they cannot get into the Army, they must rob or steal for Subsistence.

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.

Among a certain Sett of People, Sir, I have observed, that Mobs are represented as most hideous Things. I confess they ought not to be encouraged; but they have been sometimes useful, tho' I own they are never expedient. In a free Country I am afraid a Standing-Army rather occasions than prevents them; where a Magistrate has a Guard of Regular Troops to trust to, he is apt to neglect humouring the People, he despises, and sometimes oppresses them; in which Case, the People, as long as there is any Spirit among them, will certainly grow tumultuous. If a Tumult happens with any just Cause of Complaint, a little gentle Usage, and calm Reasoning, generally prevents any Mischief, and prevails with the People to return to their Duty; but a Magistrate with an Army at his Back will seldom take this Method, for few Men will be at the Pains to persuade when they know they can compel. But in a free Country, if a Tumult happens from a just Cause of Complaint, the People ought to be satisfied, their Grievances ought to be redressed; they ought not surely to be immediately knock'd on the Head, because they happen to complain in an irregular Manner. To make use of Regular Troops upon every such Occasion, is like a tyrannical School-Master, who never makes use of the soft Arts of Persuasion and Allurement, but always makes use of the Rod; such a Man may break the *Spirit*, but never can improve the *Minds* of his Scholars.

I do not know, Sir, what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by that Respect and Esteem which we ought to have, among our Neighbours; surely, Sir, this Respect and Esteem never can encrease in the same Proportion as our Regular Troops encrease; surely Gentlemen don't think that we are to be respected only according to the Regular Troops we have in our Pay: In that Case there are several Princes in *Germany* who would deserve more Respect than we; there is hardly a Kingdom in *Europe* that would deserve so little; and I am sure those who keep up their *Hundreds of Thousands*, as some of our Neighbours do, would have no Occasion to shew us any Regard or Esteem. But I believe the Case is directly otherwise. For my own part, Sir, I am so far from being of that Opinion, that I think I can venture

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



ture to make it appear, that the more Regular Troops we keep up in time of Peace, the less we shall be respected or esteemed by every one of our Neighbours: They know we have no Frontier to defend, nor fortified Towns to gar- rison, and therefore they will conclude our Government would never be at the Expence of keeping up a large Body of Regular Troops, if they were beloved or esteemed by their own People. They will conclude that such a Body of Troops is kept up, only to keep the People in Obedience ; and a Government which does not enjoy the Affections and Esteem of their own People, will certainly be despised by Foreigners, and they know at the same Time, that the Peo- ple must be fleeced in order to maintain them. Whereas, when those in the Government of this Nation do their Duty, when they enjoy the Affections and Esteem of the People in general, tho' we had not a Regiment of Regular Troops in the Kingdom, our Neighbours know we could in a few Months appear in the Field with our *Hundreds of Thousands* of Regular Troops as well as they, besides an irresistible Navy, by means of which we could carry Ter- ror and Desolation to every Part of their Sea Coasts, and at the same Time protect our own from any Insult.


It is not therefore, Sir, to our keeping up a large Body of Regular Troops in time of Peace, we owe any Part of that Respect we may have among our Neighbours ; it is to our Naval Power, to the natural Bravery of our Men in general, and to our Government's possessing the Hearts of their Subjects. From hence it is we derive our Security ; and the keeping up of a large Body of Regular Troops in time of Peace, will derogate from every one of the three. It will render it impossible for us to keep up such a Naval Power as we might otherwise do : It will propagate a Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice among all those who are not of the Army ; and it will always contribute towards render- ing our Government hateful to the People in general. For this Reason I will be bold to say, that if ever any of our Maritime Counties or Cities be plundered by a small Party of foreign Regular Troops, it will be owing to our keeping up a Standing-Army. Considering the Extent of our Coasts, we cannot have so much as one Regiment, nor half a Regiment, at every Place where a small Party may land ; such a Party may therefore plunder and lay desolate a great Part of the Country before any of our Regular Troops can come up to oppose them ; and the Effeminacy, and Co- wardice, into which the Inhabitants, by an entire Disuse of Military Exercises, may fall, will instigate our Enemies to make many such Attempts.

I am really very much surprized, Sir, to hear it said, we have felt no Inconvenience from our Army. Besides the Danger to which our Liberties are exposed, is not the great Debt we still owe, and the many Taxes we still pay, in a great Measure owing to our keeping up so numerous an Army in time of Peace? Can it be said that the Quartering of Soldiers is no Inconvenience to those poor People who are subject to that extraordinary Burden? Is it not a very great Expence, as well as a great Inconvenience to every public House in the Kingdom? And can we imagine our Soldiers are always so civil in their Quarters as never to be guilty of any Insolence or rude Piece of Behaviour? I hope I shall be forgiven when I wish that some of the Gentlemen who tell us so could be metamorphosed, for a few Weeks only, into a Country Inn-keeper, or Alehouse-keeper, with a handsome Wife, or two or three pretty Daughters, whose Virtue and Well-being he might be supposed to have some Concern for: I believe such Gentlemen, upon their Return to this House, would shew a little more Sympathy; I believe they would allow our Inn-keepers and Alehouse-keepers might live at a less Expence, and with a great deal of more Ease and Quiet, if they had no such Inmates, at least not so many, as they are now generally plagued with. But this is not all: Can any Gentleman say our Liberties can never be in Danger from a Standing-Army? Have they not once already been overturned by an Army, which was raised and paid by Parliament? An Army, wherein the very Officers were put in by the Parliament, or by those whom the Parliament had named, which rendered it more the Creature of the Parliament, than it is possible for our Army upon its present Footing to be. For tho' our Regular Troops are at present kept up by our Authority, we are not certain our Authority will be sufficient for disbanding them, whenever we have a Mind, our being in no Danger from his present Majesty signifies nothing: Under a good King, we ought to adopt no Custom, nor make any Precedent, which a bad King may make a bad Use of.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Whatever our pacific Measures may have done, I am persuaded, Sir, neither the late Preservation of our own Tranquillity, nor the Restoration of the public Tranquillity, was owing to the Army we kept up, or the Addition we made to it. As to our own Tranquillity, it is certain our remaining quiet, was the utmost that could be hoped for by those who began the War: Our not joining against them was the greatest Favour they could expect from us, and therefore it would have been ridiculous in them to have disturbed

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



turbed our Tranquillity, because it would have forced us to join against them. And as to restoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, I am sure it cannot be said to have been restored upon the Footing of any Scheme or Plan proposed by his Majesty : I am sure his Majesty never did, nor ever would propose to add such a large Dutchy as that of *Lorain* to the Dominions of *France*. On the contrary, we know the Peace was clapt up between the two chief contending Powers without our Knowledge, without our Advice or Assistance ; and I wish we may not find it was clapt up on Conditions which may prove disagreeable both to us and our Allies.

I shall grant, Sir, that the System of Affairs in *Europe* seems to be altered by the late Peace ; but I cannot think either of the contracting Parties has a Design of making any immediate Incroachment upon us or any of our Allies. The Maxims they have of late pursued for distressing us are more slow and more effectual than they were some time ago, when they had other Ministers to direct their Affairs. I dare say, Sir, there is not a Court in *Europe* that has now a Thought of invading us or our Allies, for if that were the Case, our Ministers at those Courts would certainly have discovered such a Design : Their Wisdom, their Care, and their Penetration, are so well known, it is not possible to suppose such a Design could be kept concealed from them ; and if there be no immediate Design, there is no Occasion for us to prepare against it : On the contrary, if we suspect any distant Views, and such only, (if our Ministers at foreign Courts have done their Duty) we can suspect, we ought in the mean Time to save as much as possible, in order that we may be the better able to oppose such Designs, when any Attempts shall be made for carrying them into Execution.

But, Sir, if we can suppose any Alteration made by the late Peace, with respect to the System of Affairs in *Europe*, it must be occasioned by a real Conjunction and thorough Union between the *Emperor* and *France* : It must proceed from a Concert between those two Potentates for prescribing Rules to the rest of *Europe*, or for joining together in order to make Incroachments upon some of their Neighbours ; and in that Case the War which the *Muscovites* are already engaged in, and which the *Emperor* will probably be very soon engaged in, against the *Turks*, is a Sort of Pledge for securing the Tranquillity of the rest of *Europe* ; because it will prevent the *Emperor's* being in a Capacity of executing his Part of any such Concert. Then again, if we suppose that no such Alteration has been made by the late Peace, but that *France* may take that Opportunity, as she was formerly wont

went to do, of attacking the *Emperor* or some of those, who, according to the antient System, are his natural Allies, it is at the same Time reasonable to suppose that we would not be so far wanting to ourselves as to stand by the Spectators ; in such an Event, it is not the first Time the *Emperor*, in conjunction with his Allies, has supported successfully a War against the *Turks*, and at the same Time set Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, even when he had not the *Muscovites* to assist him, and at a time when we had no such numerous Standing-Army in *Britain* as we have at present.


Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



But, Sir, it is impossible to imagine or expect a time when all the Princes of *Europe* will be not only in profound Peace, but without any Views or Designs of making Incroachments upon one another. If we are not to diminish our present Army till such a time happens, if we are not to pass the River till it runs dry, it is ridiculous ever to think of passing, or to expect a Diminution. Against secret Designs and sudden Invasions, we may always defend ourselves by means of our Fleet ; and there is no Gentleman of those who oppose a Land Army that is against our keeping the Royal Navy always in good Repair, a considerable Number of Seamen always in Pay, and to encouraging Military Discipline among our Men in general ; but when we are ourselves at Peace, we ought always to take that Opportunity to ease ourselves of the Expence of maintaining a Land Army. Are we to keep up a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies ? No, Sir ; they have fortified Towns, and numerous Garrisons to defend them against any sudden Attack ; and if they do their Duty towards themselves, if they keep the Fortifications of their Frontier Towns in good Repair, and such a Body of Regular Troops in their Pay, as is necessary for defending their Frontier, we shall always have time to raise or to hire an Army for their Support, before they can be brought into any great Danger.

I am sorry to hear, Sir, there is so much Discontent, and so many Tumults in the Nation ; but upon such an Occasion to bring his Majesty's Name, or his Majesty's Government, into Question, as I observe they too often are, is not fair ; I must beg Leave to say, I do not think it altogether decent. I am sure there is no Man in the Kingdom that ever thought himself wronged by his Majesty, but I shall not say so much with respect to his Ministers. Therefore, if there be any Discontents in the Nation, we are to suppose the Nature of our Constitution points it out to us to suppose that such Discontents are owing to the Measures pursued by the Ministers only ; and if we examine the History of this

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Nation for some Years past, we may easily see how they have been raised, and to what they are chiefly owing. During the late great War, the People of this Nation were subjected to many new and heavy Taxes, and a great public Debt incurred. Every Man was then sensible of the Debt contracted, every Man then felt severely the Taxes he paid, but every Man comforted himself that in a few Years of Peace the Debt would be paid off, and most of the Taxes abolished. We have now enjoy'd a Peace of twenty five Years standing, and yet now we find the public Debt near as large as it was at the End of the War, and all the Taxes but one, as high and as heavy as they were in any time of the War. In this long Tract of peaceable Times, the People have not felt themselves relieved from any one Tax, except a Part of the Land Tax, and even that Tax is as high in *Britain* now in time of Peace, as it is in *France* in time of War. Thus the People have been long disappointed, and now at last they begin to despair of ever seeing themselves relieved from the heavy Burdens they groan under. There may be several other Reasons; there are some which I could mention, but this is the chief Reason of the Discontent being so general, as I am afraid it is; and I am sure the keeping up of a numerous Standing-Army in time of Peace, is not a proper Method for removing this Cause of Discontent. So far from it, Sir, that I am afraid it is one of the principal Causes of all that Dissatisfaction so much insisted on; for a free Government cannot be supported but by having the Affections of the Generality of the People.

To imagine, Sir, that our Government would be in any Danger from the disbanded Soldiers joining with the Discontented is without any Foundation; for there are many Soldiers would be glad to be discharged, there are many of them would be glad to return to their former Labour and Industry, and there are some who would be entitled to *Chelsea-Hospital*; of these there are not perhaps a great many, for of late we seem to have taken more Care to make a fine Figure at a Review, than a brave Stand in a Field of Battle; so that we have not at present many old Soldiers in our Army; however there are some, and they would be glad of being put upon the Establishment of *Chelsea-Hospital*. By this means a Reduction might be managed so as not to discharge a Man who did not look on it as a Favour; and surely it is not to be supposed that those Men who had just received a Favour from the Government would join with any Party against the Government; nor would the Number of disciplined Soldiers in the Kingdom be diminished by
such

such a Reduction; for, as the Officers would all be put upon half Pay, both Officers and Soldiers would remain in the Island, and would be ready to assist in the Defence of their Country against any Invasion or Insurrection, and act as bravely as if they were in full Pay and Regimented.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn, there is no Force in any of the Arguments made use of for our keeping up the same Number of Forces we had last Year, nor any Danger to be apprehended from a Reduction; but I cannot leave this Subject without representing to Gentlemen the Danger our Constitution is exposed to by keeping up such a numerous Army. Such Representations have, 'tis true, often been made, and enforced with more Strength than I am Master of, but I think they ought to be repeated as often as there is Occasion. The Number we have at present, especially considering how easily and how soon they may be increased to double the Number, I will be bold to say, is sufficient for trampling upon the Liberties of this Nation; and the longer they are kept up, the more sufficient will they be for that Purpose; because the People will every Day grow less apt or able to vindicate their Liberties, and our Army will every Day grow the more cemented, and consequently the more fit for such an Undertaking. *Oliver Cromwel*, when he turned every Member of this House out of Doors, when he bid one of his Soldiers take away *our Mace, that Fool's Bauble*, as he called it, had not a much more numerous Regular Army than we have at present on Foot; and tho' the Army under King *James II.* behaved in a more honourable Manner, yet such a Behaviour is not much to be depended on; for I am convinced even that Army would not have behaved as they did, if the Discontented had not had an Army to repair to; or if proper Measures had been taken to garble them a little before Hand.

But, Sir, without any open and violent Attack upon our Liberties, like that made by *Oliver Cromwel*, our Constitution may, by means of our Army, and the many other Posts in the sole Disposal of the King, be undermined, and at last, to use the Military Expression, entirely blown up. It may come to be laid down as a Maxim, that an Officer or Soldier ought to be as observant of his Orders in this House, or at Elections, as he ought to be in a Camp or a Field of Battle; and that Courage and Experience in the Field are never to be regarded, however serviceable they may have been to his Country, if they happen to be joined to a Backwardness for the Minister's Measures in the House. Nay it may happen, that the making of a proper Interest at Elections, or the giving of a right Vote in the House of

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Commons, shall be deemed the only Service, the only Merit worthy of Preferment in the Army; and considering how many Officers are in Parliament, considering how many must always be in Parliament as long as we keep up the same Number of Forces we have at present, I may venture to say, that if such Maxims should be established and pursued, it would be in the Power even of the most wicked Minister, to have always a Majority at his Command in both Houses of Parliament. In which case our Parliaments, like the Senate of *Rome* under their Emperors, or the present Assemblies of the States in most of our neighbouring Kingdoms, would serve only for giving Countenance to the Schemes of our Ministers, and for rendering them more bold in their Oppressions.

At present, Sir, we have more Reason than usual for being afraid of such Maxims. Several Officers have been lately removed from their Commands in the Army; Officers of almost every Rank and Station, and Officers who could not be accused of any Neglect or Contumacy in their Military Duty; therefore some People take it upon them to say, that they were removed for some Neglect or Contumacy in that, which with respect to such Maxims may be called their Parliamentary Duty.

They had the Misfortune to differ from some Gentlemen in their Sentiments, and they had the Honesty to declare their Sentiments freely, and to vote accordingly in Parliament; soon after this they were removed from every Post they had in the Army, without any Cause assigned; What can the World think of such Removals? And I am sure every Gentleman of this House, who believes that they were removed for voting in Parliament according as their Conscience and their Honour directed them, must join with me in Opinion, that it is now high time to think of reducing our Army, and of putting the Military Force of the Kingdom upon some Footing very different from what it has been upon for many Years past. It is now the very Beginning of a Session: If we now resolve upon a Reduction, we may have time to contrive and pass a Bill for regulating our Militia so as to make it useful; but if we should now resolve upon continuing the same Number of Regular Forces, I am sure, no Gentleman can expect a proper Concurrence or Assistance in any such Design, and therefore I am sure no Gentleman will venture to propose any Schemes for that Purpose; for many Objections may be made against the best Scheme that can be proposed, and those who have not a Mind to agree to any Scheme, will always pretend to think the Objections unanswerable; so that unless the Question for

a Reduction, at a time of so profound a Tranquillity, be approved by a Majority of this House, no Man can expect the Approbation of the Majority to any Scheme he can propose; and no Man will chuse to propose a Scheme which he is sure will be rejected.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.*


From what I have said, Sir, I think it will appear, that the Question now before us is not, Whether by keeping up the same Number of Forces, we shall continue to neglect our Militia, for one Year longer? But whether we shall continue to neglect it for ever? This, Sir, is truly the Question now before us; and I leave it to every Gentleman who has a Regard for the Constitution, or for the Liberties of the People, or for the Honour and Safety of his native Country, to consider what may be the Consequences of his agreeing to such a Question? For my own Part I have done my Duty; and if I should see our happy Constitution overturned, and the Liberties of the People destroy'd; if I should see our Maritime Cities and Towns plundered, and the Honour of the Nation exposed by that Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice which will soon prevail among all those who are not of our Army, and perhaps at last among them likewise, I shall at least have this Comfort left, that I have done my Duty in this House.

The Reply was by Sir R. Walpole, and to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

*Sir Robert
Walpole.*

SIR,

I should be extremely glad to hear a Method proposed by which we could provide for our Safety both at Home and Abroad, without keeping any Troops in our Pay; but the honourable Gentlemen who now seem to be for a Reduction, tho' they have told us our Neighbours keep up their Regular Troops only for supporting their Arbitrary Power, and tho' they have talked a great deal of the Militia, yet they have proposed no Scheme for making the Militia of this Kingdom useful, nor have they shewed us any Method by which we can defend ourselves against the Regular Troops kept up by our Neighbours, unless it be by keeping up some of our own. What Reasons our Neighbours may have for keeping up such large Bodies of Regular Troops as they do, or, whether the Militia of this Country, or any Country, may be so well disciplined as to be made equal to Regular Troops, are Questions which I do not think very material at present; because, 'tis certain every one of our Neighbours do keep up large Bodies of Regular Troops, and it is as certain that our Militia, according to their present Regulation, would be of no Use for defending us against such Troops; therefore till our Militia are made useful,

Anno 10. Geo. useful, till they are so well disciplined as to be able to defend
11. 1736-7. us against Regular Troops, we can put no Trust in them,
 we must keep up a sufficient Body of Regular Forces; and
 as soon as I see such a Militia in this Kingdom as may be
 safely entrusted with the Defence of the Kingdom, I shall
 then most readily agree to the Disbanding of every Regi-
 ment we have in our Service, but that I am afraid will not,
 at least for some Years, be the Case.

Give me leave farther to say, that tho' I wish, Sir,
 as much as any Gentleman in this House, our Militia could
 be made as good as Regular Troops, yet in my Opinion, the
 Thing is impossible. There is nothing, I'm afraid, but
 Necessity or Pay, can make Men bear the Trouble and Fa-
 tigue of training themselves up to the Use of Arms and
 Military Discipline; and as the People of this Nation are
 not now under any Necessity of so doing, I do not think
 you can ever get any Number of them to submit to such
 Discipline, unless you pay them for the Trouble they are
 at, and for that Part of their Time at least which they em-
 ploy in that Way. By Necessity I mean that natural Ne-
 cessity which Men are brought under by the Circumstances
 of the Country they live in. In former Ages all *Europe*
 was divided into a great Number of little States or Princi-
 palities, each of which was in some manner independent,
 and therefore they were often making Inroads upon, and
 plundering one another: Many of these little Principalities
 were often united under one King or Governor; but each
 of them had so much Power within himself, and was so in-
 dependent of the chief Governor, that they were very te-
 nacious of whatever they either pretended or thought to
 be their Right, and their Quarrels were oftner decided by the
 Sword than by the Laws of their Country: This laid every
 Man under an immediate Necessity of accustoming himself
 to the Use of Arms and Military Exercises; and indeed
 most of them neither thought of nor practised much of any
 other Sort of Employment. But ever since *Europe* has been
 reduced under the Dominion of a few powerful Potentates,
 the People live in Security; those of the same Kingdom or
 State have their Differences decided by the Law, and the
 Differences that arise between two great Sovereign States are
 oftner decided by Treaty than by the Sword; therefore
 the Generality of the People in each State being free from
 those Apprehensions their Ancestors were perpetually under,
 have long since neglected the Use of Arms, and have ap-
 plied themselves to Arts and Industry; but this general
 Neglect of martial Discipline has made it necessary in each
 Country to keep up a Body of Regular Troops; and this is
 the

the true and the natural Reason for introducing that Custom in very Kingdom and State now in *Europe*. The supporting of Arbitrary Power cannot be the Reason in every one of them, because Regular Troops are kept up in all the free States of *Europe*, and according to the Exigencies and Power of their Government in as great Numbers too as in those where Arbitrary Power has been established.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

In this Country, Sir, the People live in the same, or rather greater Security as those of any other Country in *Europe*, and for the same Reason the Generality of them have neglected, and will always neglect to train themselves up to War. They are now under no natural Necessity of studying or practising that Art; and if you should pretend to lay them under a legal Necessity, I am afraid you will find it impracticable. Such a Law, or such a Scheme, may appear extremely easy in Speculation, but I am convinced when you come to the Execution, at this time you would meet with insurmountable Difficulties. Let us consider, Sir, that for keeping the Militia always well disciplined, you must have them out at least twice a Week to learn or to practise their Exercises. If you should make Sunday one of the Days, you may depend on it many of the Clergy, of all Sects and Persuasions, would look upon it as an Incroachment upon them, and would therefore preach against it; from whence many of your People would refuse to obey such a Law out of a Scruple of Conscience; so that we might perhaps have Martyrs for keeping holy the Lord's Day, which might at last produce a religious Civil War in the Kingdom. Two Days out of six is what no labouring Man can spare; nay, even one Day out of six, to be spent in military Exercise, without any Pay, would be hard upon a poor labouring Man who had a Family to provide for: It would be a Tax, and a severe Tax too, upon every labouring Man, and every Man of Business in the Kingdom. Their Time is their Estate, and therefore it would be taking one sixth Part of their Estate from them, which, considering how low our Estates are rated to the Land Tax, would be near equal to six Shillings in the Pound upon Land. For this Reason all the labouring Men, and all the Men of Business in the Kingdom, would think it a great Grievance, to be obliged to spend one Day of the Week, besides Sunday, at their Military Exercises; and what would our Landed Gentlemen, and our rich Merchants and Shop-keepers think, what would those Gentlemen of this House who now seem to be so fond of a well-disciplined Militia, think of being obliged to get up two Days of the Week, at five or six o'Clock in the Morning, wet or dry, to take a Musket upon their

Souldiers,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Shoulders, and to spend the whole Day in painful Exercise and Fatigue? It would therefore I believe be impossible to oblige all the Men of the Kingdom to list themselves in the Militia, and it would be unjust to oblige a few only, unless you paid them for that extraordinary Service.

Gentlemen may talk, Sir, of making the People use Military Exercises by way of Diversions; but 'tis certain the People will always chuse their Diversions; if you establish any Diversion by a Law, it becomes a Duty, and ceases to be Diversion: The People will then look upon it as a Business, and a very troublesome useless Business too. Besides, Sir, no Man that minds his real Business or Occupation, repairs to any Diversion till his Business be over, therefore no Man has any set and unalterable Time for his Diversion; even Sunday itself is often incroached on, when necessary Business requires. If you appointed one or two certain Days every Week for Military Exercise, which would be absolutely necessary, such Appointment would often interfere with People's other Affairs, with those Affairs by which they are to get their Bread, or provide for their Families; and if you sent them to their Officers for Leave of Absence, the obtaining of such Leave would probably become a Tax upon every Man that had occasion for it, and the Tax would rise in proportion to his Ability, and the Urgency of his Business. We may from hence see, it is impossible to establish Military Exercise as a Diversion: Such an Attempt especially, if it were enforced by Law, would raise a most general Discontent and Murmuring, and would consequently expose our present happy Establishment to greater Danger, than it can ever be exposed to by keeping up a small Regular Army, and leaving the rest of the People to pursue some industrious Art or Employment, or to follow such lawful Diversions as they themselves shall chuse, without any Let or Disturbance.

Therefore, Sir, while we are surrounded with Neighbours who keep vast Armies of Regular Troops continually on Foot, I must think it absolutely necessary for us to keep up some Regular Troops of our own, for defending our Coasts and maritime Cities from secret and sudden Invasions, and considering the Extensiveness of our Sea Coast, and the present unsettled State of Affairs in Europe, I cannot think a less Number sufficient than that we have now on Foot. But, Sir, whatever may be said, whatever can be said, in favour of a well disciplined Militia, can be no Argument for a present Reduction of our Regular Forces; because no Man can say our Militia is now under any tolerable Sort of Discipline, or that they are such a Military

litary Force upon which our Government can depend either for its own Support, or for the Protection of the People; and I must think it would be a Sort of Madness to give up that, or any necessary Part of that upon which only we can now depend for our Safety and Protection, till we have provided something in its stead, upon which we may with some Reason depend for our Security, at least against foreign Invasions.

Anno 10 Geo.
II 1736 7.



The next who spoke on the same Side was the Honourable Henry Pelham, Esq.

Henry Pel-
ham, Esq;

SIR,

My Honourable Friend who sits near me has so fully answered the Gentleman who spoke against the Motion, that I believe every Gentleman here is convinced, that there is an absolute Necessity of our keeping up a Number of Regular Forces in this Nation. But, Gentlemen, give me leave to take Notice of two or three Things that were thrown out by the Honourable Gentleman over the Way.

The Honourable Gentleman, Sir, seemed to be very apprehensive of the Effects which the Army may have upon the Courage and Morals of the Subjects. For my Part, I am so far from being of Opinion, our Regular Army tends to depress the natural Courage or the Spirit of the rest of our Subjects, that I am convinced a Regular Army of Natives, well clothed, well paid, and kept under an exact Discipline, will in every County tend to raise the Spirit of the People, and to make their Men in general affect to imitate that Courage, that Regularity of Manner, and that Discipline, by which they see so many of their Countrymen, perhaps their Relations, rise to Honour and Preferment; for if an Army be kept under proper Discipline, and Preferments justly disposed of, a regular and virtuous Behaviour in private Life, as well as an exact Performance of his Duty as a Soldier, will always be made necessary for intitling a Man to Preferment in the Army; and if the Youth and High-metall'd of every Country are apt to keep Company with, and imitate the Soldiers, an Army, under a right Government, will always be of greater use towards establishing Virtue and Morality among the People in general, than any other Sett of Men, not excepting even the Clergy, can be. Indeed, if your Government be in vicious Hands, if Favours and Preferments in the Army be distributed only to the Lewd, the Debauched, and the Profligate, your Army, like every other Sett of Men who depend upon such a Government, will contribute towards corrupting the Morals of the People, and under such a Government the Militia would

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

do the same ; for Preferment in the Militia, as well as in the Army, must always depend upon the Government.


Liberty, Sir, does not depend, it never did depend upon the Government's having or not having a Regular Army in their Pay. The Liberties of a People must always depend upon their Virtue. The Armies of a virtuous People will protect their Liberties ; and a luxurious, vicious People will sell them to the first Purchaser, whether they have a Standing-Army or no. The *Romans* had great Standing-Armies long before they lost their Liberties, and when they did lose them, Sir, the Standing-Army was on the Side of Liberty, at least on that Side that had the greatest Shew of it. We have now several free States in *Europe* who keep up, who have long kept up numerous Standing-Armies. In *Holland*, in *Venice*, in *Poland*, they keep up Standing-Armies, without thinking their Liberties can from thence be in any Danger. In *Sweden* it was their Army that restored their Liberties ; and in this Country it was our Army that restored our Liberties in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and it was our Army that preserved them in the Reign of his Brother King *James*. In all Countries the Army will follow the general Bent of the People from whence they are drawn, and if the general Bent of the People be towards Slavery, they will do as they did some time since in *Denmark*, they will make a free Gift of their Liberties : Then, indeed, an Army may be so modell'd, as to prevent the People's resuming the Grant they have made ; but such an Army must not be an Army like ours, it must not be an Army whose very Existence depends upon the annual Consent of the People, and whose Pay depends upon the Grants annually made by a Parliament tenacious of their own and the Nation's Rights. In this Country I hope the general Bent of the People is no way inclined towards Slavery : I am sure some Gentlemen have lost a great deal of Pains if it is. And if there be a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty among the People, the same Spirit must prevail in our Army, which is drawn from the People, and commanded by some of the best of the People ; therefore it can never be supposed our Army will countenance or support any Measures that may tend towards establishing Arbitrary Power.

As to what has been insinuated as if Soldiers were no better than the Slaves of Power, whatever it may be in other Countries, the Soldiers of our Army, Sir, are as free as any other of our Subjects. They are governed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as all other Subjects are. There is, 'tis true, one Law which relates particularly to them ; but that Law

is fixed and certain, and publickly known; a Soldier from thence knows his Duty, and if he behaves like a good Subject, and does his Duty as a Soldier, he can be subjected to no Punishment; he is not under the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of any Man in the Kingdom, no not even of the King himself. Our Soldiers are not, nor can they suppose themselves a Body of Men different from the rest of the People, on account of their being subject to a Law which relates to them only. Every Corporation, every Society, almost every Sort of Tradesmen in the Kingdom, have the same Reason to think themselves a Body of Men different from the rest of the People; for every one of them are subject to some Laws which relate only to the particular Corporation or Society of which they are Members, or to the particular Trade or Profession they are of. Our Militia are in the same Circumstances; they are already subject to a Law which relates to them only; and whatever new Laws you may make for regulating our Militia, I hope you would not take the Command or the Power over them out of the Hands of the Crown; for such a Regulation, as it happened to be once before, I should look on as a total Subversion of our present happy Constitution. I can therefore see no Reason why we should think our Liberties in greater Danger from a Standing Regular Army than from a well disciplined Militia: I am sure it is as much the Interest both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army to preserve our Constitution, as it can be of any Sett of Men in the Kingdom. The Behaviour of the Army under *Oliver Cromwell* can be no Argument against our present Army: Our Constitution was then overtuned; a Sett of Men who had got into this House, had murdered their King, had annihilated the other House, had excluded even from this House every Man who would not join with them in all their Measures, and by these Means had assumed to themselves an Arbitrary Power: In such Circumstances the Officers of the Army thought they had as good a Title to take the Government of the Nation to themselves, as to leave both the Nation and themselves under the absolute Power of any Sett of private Men in the Kingdom; and what was the Consequence? That very Army, as soon as they could find an Opportunity, restored our Constitution.

Arts and Sciences, Sir, are the certain Product of Liberty and Security; and Ignorance and Idleness are as certainly the Product of Slavery or a State of War. The Security of the People being once established, it may for some Time be preserved without any Regular Troops; but Security makes them neglect to train themselves up to the Art of

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




War, and then a Standing Army becomes necessary for their Defence; especially if their Neighbours are provided with great Numbers of Regular Troops. This is the natural Course of Things; it is, I believe, impossible to alter it by any Regulation. The Security of the People of this Kingdom was established, and Arts and Sciences began to flourish, before we had any Standing Army; but a total Neglect of Military Discipline was not then so general as it is now, nor were our Neighbours provided with such numerous Bodies of Regular Forces; therefore it might then be possible to preserve the Security of the People without a Standing-Army, and yet now the Case may be, and I think is, quite otherwise. Our Neighbours are fully sensible of the great Neglect of Arms and Military Discipline among the Generality of the People of this Kingdom: They know how much superior their Regular Troops are to your Militia; and if you had no Standing-Army they would be ready to insult you, to invade you, upon every Occasion; therefore to protect the People against foreign Invasions, a small Number of Regular Forces is absolutely necessary, and I do not think it can be less than it is at present.

Then, Sir, with respect to Insurrections and civil Com-motions, we may know from Experience, and from late Ex-perience too, how ready a factious Party are to fly to Arms, tho' they are certain of the Majority of the People's being against them; for the Battle is not always to the Strong, nor is Victory chained to the most numerous Army. In the late Rebellion, I hope it will not be said the Majority of the People were on the Side of the Rebels, and much less can it be said the Majority of the People had any In-clination or Occasion to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preservation; yet that Faction flew to Arms without any just Provocation, depending for Success upon the small Number of Regular Troops we had then in our Pay; and if it had not been for that Number of Regular Troops, small as it was, those factious Rebels might probably have overturned our Government, and with it, our Liberties. The Case will always be the same, Sir, when you reduce your Army too low, some Faction or another will fly to Arms, and in these several bloody Contests, our Constitution and Liberties will probably at last be made a Sacrifice; for tho' a State of perpetual Discord and Civil War may perhaps be better than a State of abject Slavery; yet we find in most Countries the People have at last chose to submit to Arbi-trary Power, rather than to continue under, or renew the Miseries of a Civil War. Queen *Elizabeth*, 'tis true, had great Reason to dread Insurrections and Convulsions at the
Beginning

Beginning of her Reign. She altered the Religion she found by Law established, and she had a Pretender to her Crown of that very Religion; but the Religion which was then established by Law, was far from being established in the Hearts of the Majority of her People; and her Establishing by a new Law that Religion which was before established in their Hearts, gained her not only the Hearts, the Hands, and the Purfes, of the Majority of her People, but proved her great and her chief Security against the Pretender to her Crown. This secured the Peace of the Nation at Home, and none of her Neighbours having then any great Number of Regular Forces in their Pay, it was not necessary for her to keep up a Standing-Army, for securing her People against foreign Invasions. His present Majesty will I hope upon every Occasion find he has the Hearts, the Hands, and the Purfes of the Majority of the People at his Command; I am sure he has thro' his whole Reign highly deserved it; but it cannot be said that our Militia are now so good as they were in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, nor the Protestants now so much united amongst themselves, or so zealous in the Defence of their Religion; and as every one of our Neighbours now keep in continual Pay vast Armies of Regular Troops, it may now be absolutely necessary for us to keep up a Standing-Army, tho' it did not appear to be so in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



I shall not say, Sir, that all the *Jacobites* are for Arbitrary Power; but I am sure the Consequence of their succeeding in their Scheme would be the Establishment of it; and as for the *Papists*, if they understand the Religion they profess, they must be for Arbitrary Power; for their Religion can be supported by nothing but Ignorance or Arbitrary Power: In former Ages it was supported by Ignorance, and now that Veil is pretty well removed, it can be supported by nothing but Inquisitions and Arbitrary Rule; we may therefore suppose, if the *Papists* amongst us should ever get the Government into their Hands, they would establish a despotic Sway, in order to restore and support the Religion they profess. As for Ministers and their Creatures, I do not know but many of them may have an Itch for Arbitrary Power; but they are not the only Persons infected with that Disease: It is a Disease incident to other Men, I'm afraid to most Men, as well as to Ministers; and we know by Experience, in this Country as well as in others, that Ministers have been opposed, have been hanged or beheaded, under a Pretence of their endeavouring to usurp Arbitrary Power, by Men who have committed that very Crime as soon as they found an Opportunity.

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



I believe, Sir, it cannot be said our Soldiers are the most abandoned Set of Men in the Kingdom. I could name some other Sets of Men that do more Mischief by their Example. Some of the abandoned, do infinitely more. Soldiers may be lewd, profligate Wretches, but where there is one so, I hope, there are at least ten otherwise ; and the Example of ten will always have a greater Effect than the Example of one. But if the Majority of the Army were supposed to be such Wretches, it could be no Argument for disbanding them ; it would only be an Argument for taking some Method to put them under a better and stricter Government ; for 'tis certain the Military Law may be made much stricter and more severe than the Common Law can be made ; therefore the Army may be made to promote Virtue by its Example ; and if any Set of Rogues should venture to oppose the Civil Power with Force of Arms, surely a few Regular Troops would be of great Use for suppressing such a Gang. From what happens while we have an Army, we are not to judge of what may happen while we have none, or but a small one ; none but Smugglers have lately dared to oppose the Civil Power with Force of Arms ; but if we had few or no Regular Troops, I make no Question but other Rogues, even House-breakers and Highwaymen, would follow the Example of the Smugglers : While we have a sufficient Number of Regular Troops, no Set of Rogues dare venture upon any such thing ; if they did, I hope no Gentleman of the Army would think it beneath him, to march against those who appear in Arms against their Country.

I must say, Sir, I am sorry to hear any Gentlemen of this House make the most distant Insinuation in Favour of Mobs and Tumults. If any Magistrate should oppress or injure the People, they may have recourse to, and will be relieved by, the Laws of their Country. To seek for Redress in a mobbish tumultuous Way is certainly illegal, and is often attended with Mischief to the Innocent as well as the Guilty. Rogues generally take the Opportunity of such public Calamities to plunder without Distinction ; and the Malicious take Occasion to satisfy their own private Malice and Revenge : It ought therefore to be the chief Care of every Government to prevent Mobs, or suppress them as soon as possible ; and no Method can be so effectual, as to have a few Regular Troops ready to obey the Call of the Civil Magistrate upon such Occasions ; but you cannot have a few Regular Troops in every Part of the Kingdom ready to answer the Call of the Civil Magistrate, if you reduce any Part of the Number you have at present on Foot.

Sir,

Sir, the Respect and Esteem we have among Foreigners does not depend upon our Regular Troops only, it depends likewise upon our Navy, and the great Number of Regular Troops they know we could have, and could maintain, in case they should provoke us to War ; for this Reason we are justly more respected and more feared than some other States who keep in continual Pay as many Troops as we do ; because they keep up in Time of Peace as many as they could have or maintain in case of War ; and have no such Navy either to protect their own Coasts, or to infest those of their Enemy. But, surely, we are more to be dreaded by our Neighbours, when they know we can immediately, upon a Rupture, send out a superior Fleet, with an Army of 5 or 6000 Regular Troops on board, to plunder and lay waste their Country, perhaps for several Miles up from their Sea-Coast, than we should be, if they knew we could send nothing but a Fleet against them, which could only bombard some few of their Sea-Port Towns : And while we have such an Army as we have at present, they cannot propose to do us so much Mischief upon a Rupture, by landing small Parties here and there in the Island, as they could propose to do, if we had no Regular Troops, or a less Number of Regular Troops, to oppose the Landing of such Parties, or to intercept them in their Return to their Ships.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



'Tis true, Sir, we cannot have a great Body of Regular Troops in every Part of that Island where an Enemy might land ; but the small Body of Troops we have may be cantoned so as to have at least a Regiment at or very near every Place where an Enemy could expect any Plunder worth their while ; and one Regiment, with the Assistance they would upon such an Occasion get from the Country People, would be sufficient to oppose the Landing of a very large Party, or at least to stop their Progress ; for one Regiment of Regular Troops would add greatly to the Spirit even of our Militia, and would encourage them to take Arms for the Defence of their Property. But supposing the Army we have at present not sufficient for guarding all our Maritime Counties, it may be an Argument for putting our Militia on a better Footing ; but till that is done, it is an Argument for increasing rather than for diminishing the Number of Forces we have now on Foot. And while our Army consists of natural-born Subjects of *Great Britain*, no Foreigner can, from our keeping a few Regular Forces in Pay, suppose our Government does not enjoy the Affections and Esteem of their own People : A mercenary Army of Foreigners kept up in the Kingdom might give Occasion for such Supposition ; but an Army of Subjects will always be liable to the same Affections with the

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

the rest of the People, and will therefore always be a very improper Instrument for supporting a hateful Government, or for keeping a disaffected People in Obedience.

Every Convenience in this Life, Sir, must be attended with some Inconveniencies; the Inconveniencies attending our keeping up to small a Number of Regular Forces are so few and so small a Consideration, it may be properly enough said we have felt no Inconveniencies from our Army; the Meaning of which is, we have felt no such Inconveniencies as ought to be regarded. If we had never since the Peace kept up above one Half of what we do at present, the Saving that way would have paid no considerable Part of our Debt, and therefore could not have freed us from any of our Taxes; and the Quartering of Soldiers is so far from being thought an Inconvenience or Expence to any County or City in general, that most Parts of the Kingdom are desirous of having Soldiers among them; because it consumes a Part of their spare Provisions, and can be no Burden or Inconvenience to any but those who keep public Houses, most of whom get more by what the Soldiers spend in their Houses, than the Expence of their Quarters can amount to. As for the Insolence or rude Behaviour of the Soldiers, if any such Thing happens, which I am convinced seldom does, the Landlord is sure of getting Justice done him in the most summary Way, by a Complaint to the commanding Officer; and if he should fail of it in that Way, he may get Redress by complaining to a Justice of Peace; or for any Assault, Battery, or the like Misdemeanour, he may have an Action or Indictment at Common Law against a Soldier, as well as against any other Man in the Kingdom. And as for our Liberties, I can see no Reason why our Soldiers should not be as careful of them as any other Set of Men in the Kingdom; for very few of the Officers, and none of the Soldiers, can propose to better their Condition, but must necessarily make it a great deal worse, by subjecting themselves and their Country to Arbitrary Sway.

Now, Sir, with respect to the present Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad, and the Reasons that may from thence be drawn for keeping the same Number of Forces in our Pay, at least for this ensuing Year; whatever may have been the Effect of our late Measures, 'tis certain, that if the late Peace between the *Emperor* and *France* be not such a one as it ought to be, it is so far from being an Argument for reducing our Army, that it is a strong Argument for increasing it; for if by that Peace the *Emperor* and *France* entered into any Concert for prescribing Laws to the rest of *Europe*, or for incroaching upon any
of

of their Neighbours, now is the proper Time for breaking that Concert, either by Force or by Treaty, because the *Emperor* is not now in a Condition to perform his Part of that Concert, or at least not in such a Condition as he will be, after he has brought the *Turks* to submit to what Terms he shall please to impose. If immediate Force should be found necessary, we must greatly increase our Army; and if it should be proposed to be done by Treaty, by reducing any Part of our Forces, we shall derogate from the Weight we may have in any Treaty to be set on Foot for that Purpose. But if there is really no such Concert between the *Emperor* and *France*, as I believe there is not, have we not some Reason to apprehend that *France* and her Allies will lay hold of the present Opportunity for gaining some new Advantage, or for making some new Conquest, from the *Emperor*, or from some of his Allies? And while we are under such reasonable Apprehensions, can it be said the present is a proper Time for us to reduce our Army?

Anno 10. Geor.
II. 1736-7.

We are not, 'tis true, Sir, to keep a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies, nor do any of them desire we should: They are all of them at vast Expence in keeping up numerous Land Armies, and fortifying and keeping in Repair their Frontier Towns, in order to provide for their own Defence; but we stand engaged by Treaty to furnish some of them with a Body of Regular Troops as soon as they shall be attacked, and this Engagement we could not perform, if we should reduce our Army to a less Number than it consists of at present. I shall likewise admit that we might in a Year or two appear with great Armies in the Field, tho' we had not near so many Regular Troops in our Pay as we have at present; but in that Time some of our Allies might be reduced to the last Extremity, and perhaps obliged to submit to a Peace on any Terms. We all know how easily and how soon *France* reduced the whole Kingdom of *Spain* after the Death of their last King; which could not have been done, if we had been ready to have sent a great Number of Regular Troops to the Assistance of the Party we had then in that Kingdom: By this Means the following War became much more heavy and expensive than it would otherwise have been; so that we paid severely for the little Frugality we made use of in reducing our Troops after the Treaty of *Ryswick*; and if ever such a War breaks out again, the Consequence will be the same, if we should render ourselves unable to assist our Friends with a large Body of Troops, at the very Beginning of the War.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Thus, Sir, I think it must appear that from the present Situation of our Affairs Abroad, no Reason can be drawn for an immediate Reduction; and from the present Situation of our Affairs at Home, there is I am sure as little Reason for a Reduction; for let the national Discontents at present proceed from what they will, when those Discontents are come so great a Length as to break out in Mobs and Tumults in several Places of the Kingdom, it is not surely a proper Time to make a great Reduction of our Army. I am as sorry as any Gentleman can be, to find so many of our People uneasy and discontented; and I must be the more sorry, because I am certain they never had less Occasion. It is not the Debt we owe, it is not the Taxes we pay, nor the Continuance of those Taxes, that are the true Causes of our present Discontents. The Debt we owe was contracted for preserving our Religion, our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a People. Our Taxes must be continued till that Debt is paid, and our immediate Preservation must in the mean Time be taken care of. For this Purpose no Expences have been incurred, but what the Wisdom of the Nation hath thought absolutely necessary, nor any Taxes imposed or continued but such as are the least burdensome to the People. We must therefore look some where else for the Cause of our present Uneasiness, and 'tis well known where we ought to look for it. There is a Party amongst us who have been labouring for many Years to overturn our present happy Establishment; they can approve of no Debt that has been contracted, nor of any Taxes that have been or shall be imposed for the Support of that Establishment they are labouring to destroy: By Means of the Scribblers and other Tools they imploy, they have persuaded Multitudes of People, that our Debt was unnecessarily incurred, and that a great Part of it might have been paid off, and the Taxes consequently abolished, if we had not every Year, for many Years past, run ourselves to a vast public Expence, for which there was not the least Occasion; like petty-fogging Lawyers, who always find Fault with an honest Attorney's Bill, in order to persuade the Client to leave him and employ them; and as few Men are themselves good Judges of the Case, such Petty-foggers too often succeed; but when they do, the Client always finds his Lawyer's Bills more extravagant, and his Affairs at last entirely ruined. The Case would be the same with this Nation, if ever that Party should prevail. I hope they never will. However it must be confessed, it is well known, that by Means of the daily, weekly, monthly, and occasional Libels they publish, and by Means of the many

Orators

Orators they have in every Place of public Resort, they have poisoned the Minds of many of his Majesty's Subjects ; in which their late Success is chiefly to be ascribed to the Law lately passed against the Retail of Spirituous Liquors ; for tho' every Man of Virtue or Sense in the Kingdom must approve of that Law, yet it is certainly disagreeable to the lower Class of People, of which our Mobs are generally composed. This Law I say, Sir, this most necessary Law has added greatly to the Success of the disaffected Party amongst us : Nay, it has made them so daring as to direct their Libels against the Parliament itself : They have of late even attempted to diminish that Veneration which our People have always most justly had for Parliaments ; but this I am no way surpris'd at ; for that Party have never shewed any great Liking to Parliaments ; and if we should disband any great Part of our Army, they would probably shew their Dislike in a Manner more effectual, or at least more dangerous, than that of Writing or Talking.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

There may perhaps, Sir, be some Soldiers in our Army who would be glad to be discharged, but I am sure there are not many, unless it should be with a View of getting new Levy-Money in a little Time after ; and if they should be disappointed in that View, they would list with the Discontented for nothing. But, Sir, if we should in a Time of general Discontent, and when Insurrections are justly to be apprehended, offer to disband any of our Soldiers, there are many who would desire to be discharged, not with a View to return to Labour and Industry, but with a View to join whoever should appear in Arms against the Government ; for among Rebels, a disciplined Soldier may expect to be made a Serjeant or Corporal at least ; and every Serjeant would expect to be made an Officer. *Chelsea Hospital* could receive but very few of the Disbanded ; it could not receive one half of those who would expect to be put upon that Establishment ; and those who found themselves disappointed, would certainly imitate their Betters, they would join with the Disaffected ; so that in every Light we can consider it, a present Reduction would be a diminishing the Power of the Government to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, and an increasing the Power of the Disaffected to disturb the Quiet of the People ; and that at a Time when the Power of the latter has been, by a most necessary Law, greatly increased. In a little Time, perhaps in a few Months, these Discontents may subside ; the lower Class of our People will find they can live without the Use of Spirituous Liquors, and that they live more healthfully than with them ; they will then join with the rest of the King-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



dom in their Approbation of that Law, and then a Reduction will not be so dangerous as it is at present.

Sir, I have already shewn why any Army under a lawful and regular Government, can never be supposed to behave in the same manner the Army did under *Oliver Cromwell*; and if any Attempts should be made to undermine our Constitution by means of those Maxims we have been frightened with, the Parliament would interpose, the Army itself would mutiny against such Maxims; but I cannot see why we have at present any Reason for being afraid of such Maxims; for I am sure no Man will pretend his Majesty would, or could be prevailed on to cashier any Officer for voting or behaving according to Honour and Conscience. The Behaviour of an Officer may be influenced by Malice, Revenge, and Faction, under the Pretence of Honour and Conscience; and if ever any Officer of the Army, because his Majesty refused to comply with some very unreasonable Demand, should resolve to oppose in every Thing the Measures pursued by his Majesty and his Ministers, I should think any Man a most pitiful Minister, if he should be afraid of advising his Majesty to cashier such an Officer. On the contrary, I shall leave it as a Legacy to all future Ministers, that upon every such Occasion it is their Duty to advise their Master, that such a Man is unfit for having any Command in his Armies. Our King has by his Prerogative a Power of placing, preferring, and removing any Officer he pleases, either in our Army or our Militia: It is by that Prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our Laws and preserve the Peace of the Kingdom: If a wrong Use should be made of that Prerogative, his Ministers are accountable for it to Parliament; but it cannot be taken from him or diminished without overturning our Constitution; for our present happy Constitution may be overturned by Republican as well as by Arbitrary Schemes. Therefore it must be left to his Majesty to judge by what Motives an Officer acts, and if he thinks an Officer acts from bad Motives, in Duty to his People, in Duty to himself, he ought to remove him.

The only Question, Sir, now before us is, Whether we ought to keep up the present Number of Forces for this ensuing Year? Next Year the same Question must again come before us, and then every Gentleman may again vote as he pleases. There may be Reasons peculiar to the present Time, I think I have shewn some very sufficient and peculiar Reasons for keeping up the same Number for this ensuing Year. In so doing I am sure I have done my Duty; and if the Nation should be insulted and invaded by Foreigners; if a Civil War should break out, and spread

Desolation

Desolation and Murder over the whole Island; if the *Jacobites* should prevail, and our Religion, our Liberties, and our Properties should be thereby rendered precarious; I shall have some Consolation in this Reflection, that I endeavoured as much as I could to prevent our exposing ourselves to such Miseries.

The Question being at last put upon the Motion for keeping up the same Number of Troops, it was upon a Division carried in the Affirmative by 246 to 178.

February 23. Mr. Pultney made a Motion for an Address to be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to settle 100,000 Pounds a Year upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; the Substance of his and the other Speeches, as well in the House of Peers, where the same Address was moved for the same Day, was as follows:

SIR,

I have a Matter of the highest Importance to lay before you, a Matter which chiefly concerns one of the greatest and most illustrious Persons in the Kingdom; but as the Well-being of the Nation depends upon his Welfare and Happiness, therefore I must justly say, the whole Nation is deeply concerned in the Affair I am now to take the Liberty of laying before you; and as the Parliament is his Majesty's first and chief Council, there can be no Question of a Nature too high for our Consideration; for which Reason every Gentleman, who has the Honour to be a Member of either House of Parliament, has not only a Right, but is in Duty bound to lay before the House whatever he thinks may affect the Happiness or the Honour of his Country. The Affair I am now going to propose for your Consideration is, indeed, an Affair of so high a Nature, that I should not of my own Head have taken upon me to have mentioned it to you; but I have communicated my Sentiments to several Persons of the greatest Rank and best Abilities in the Kingdom, Persons with whom I should chuse to live, with whom I should chuse to die; and all of them, I find, are of the same Sentiments with me: They are all of Opinion, it is an Affair which ought to be laid before Parliament, therefore I shall take upon me to mention it to you, and to make you a Motion which I hope will be unanimously agreed to.

The Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, have not only an undoubted Right to make such Grants as they think are necessary for the Honour and Welfare of the Nation, and to appropriate those Grants to the Uses for which they intend them, but likewise, Sir, they have a Right

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Division 246,
178.

Motion for an
Address to his
Majesty to set-
tle 100,000
Pounds a
Year upon the
Prince of
Wales.

Argument for
the Motion;
Speakers,
Mr. Pultney,
Sir John
Barnard,
Mr. Hedges,
Ld Baltimore,
Mr. Waller,
Sir William
Windham,
Mr. Herbert,
Mr. Pitt,
Mr. Gybbon,
Mr. Lytelton,
Mr. Green-
ville,
Mr. Bootle,
Sir Willifred
Lawson,
Sir John
Rushout,
Mr. Henry
Bathurst,
Mr. Noel,
Sir Thomas
Sanderfon,
Mr. Frederick,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Right to follow those Grants, to examine into the Application of them, and to punish those who shall be found to have misapplied them. Nay farther, they may annex to their Grants such Conditions as they think proper, and if those Conditions should not be performed, or if the Occasions for which the Grants were made should cease, they may resume them, or may direct their being applied to Uses of a quite different Nature. This, I say, is the undoubted Right of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and therefore, if any Money formerly granted by Parliament has not been applied, or has not been properly applied, to the Use for which it was intended by Parliament, we have not only a Right, but it is our Duty to examine into it, and to direct, that for the future, it may duly, and in the most proper Manner, be applied to that Use for which it was granted.

After having thus mentioned to you, Sir, one of the most undoubted Rights of Parliament, I shall next take Notice that by an ancient and most reasonable Maxim in our Constitution, the Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Son of the King, and Heir apparent to the Crown, ought to be made as Free and Independent as any other Subject whatever; and for that Purpose he ought not only to have a Provision sufficient for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth, but that Provision ought to be settled upon him in such a Manner as to put it out of the Power of any Person to dis-appoint him of it: Not only his Title to it ought to be made as firm and irrevocable, as any other private Title in the Kingdom can be, but he ought at least, as soon as he comes to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, to be put into the actual and immediate Possession. This has always been held as an established Maxim in this Kingdom, and we find our Parliaments have often interposed, and have taken upon them to enforce the Observance of this Maxim. Upon his late Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, the Parliament was then so sensible of the Utility and Reasonableness of this Maxim, that they granted a very large Addition to the *Civil List Revenue*, in order that an honourable and a sufficient Provision might be settled upon his present Majesty, who then was Prince of *Wales*; and it having been found during his late Majesty's Reign that the *Civil List Revenue* particularly appropriated for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown was too small, therefore a very large new Addition was granted by the first Parliament of his present Majesty's Reign, in order that he might be enabled to continue the same Provision for the present Prince of *Wales*, which he himself had enjoy'd in the Lifetime of his Father. From all which I must conclude, that the

the Motion I am to make, for having a sufficient Provision settled upon his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, is a Motion founded upon Law, upon Equity, upon Wisdom and good Policy, and upon Precedent. Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.

But before I make my Motion, give me Leave, Sir, to enquire particularly into these several Foundations: And to begin with the last, I shall shew from many undoubted Authorities, that the Prince of *Wales* has always had, and ought to have, a sufficient Provision settled upon him, in such a Manner as to render him as independent of the Crown as any other Subject can be. To recount all the Precedents that occur in our Histories and Records, would take up too much of your Time, and therefore I shall take Notice only of some of the most remarkable. King *Henry III.* granted to his eldest Son *Edward*, after King *Edward I.* the Dutchy of *Guienne*, before he was *fourteen* Years of Age, and the Moment the *Prince* was married, he not only confirmed his former Grant by a new Patent, but likewise granted him, and put him in Possession of, the Earldom of *Chester*, the Cities and Towns of *Bristol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*, with several other Castles and Manors, created him *Prince of Wales*, to which he annexed all the conquered Lands in that Principality, and appropriated him Lieutenant Governor of *Ireland*, tho' he was then but just turned of *Fourteen*; all which was done, as the Historians express it, *ut maturus ad res graviores gerendas expertus redderetur*. By this Generosity and Benevolence of the King towards his eldest Son, that *Prince* was early in his Youth established in a State of Independency and Grandeur, and those paternal Favours were afterwards fully repaid by that illustrious and most *Heroic Prince*, for he afterwards proved his Father's chief and only Support. Every one knows how by his Courage and Conduct at the Battle of *Evesham* he relieved his Father out of the Hands of his Enemies, and restored his Affairs after they were brought into a most desperate State. Nay, not only the King himself, but the Nation reaped signal Benefit from the free and independent Circumstances in which that King had so early placed his eldest Son. A State of Independency naturally ennobles and exalts the Mind of Man; and the Effects of it were most conspicuous in this wise and brave *Prince*, for he afterwards became the Glory of *England*, and the Terror of *Europe*.

The next Precedent I shall take Notice of is, That of *Edward* the Black Prince, upon whom *Edward III.* his Father, settled at different Times the Earldom of *Chester*, the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, the Principality of *Wales*, the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and the Principality of *Aquitain*. That

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



wife and great King, Sir, was so sensible of the Reasonableness of the ancient Maxim of *England*, with regard to the King's eldest Son; that he took Care every future *Prince of Wales* should have something to depend on; independent of his Father, from the very Moment of his Birth; for which Purpose he settled by Act of Parliament the *Dutchy of Cornwall* in such a Manner, that the King's eldest Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown, has ever since been Duke of *Cornwall* as soon as born, and without any new Grant from the King, from whence has risen the common Proverb, *Natus est, non datus, dux Cornubiæ*. Some of the later Grants of that King might, indeed, proceed from the great personal Merit of the Son; but the first Grants could not proceed from any such Consideration; they could proceed only from his own Wisdom, and from the general Maxim I have mentioned; for the *Prince* was not *three* Years old when his Father settled upon him by Patent the *Earldom of Chester*, he was but *seven* Years old when *Cornwall* was erected into a *Dutchy*, and settled upon him as by Act of Parliament as beforementioned, and he was but *thirteen* when the *Principality of Wales* was settled upon him. Soon after that time, indeed, his personal Merit began to appear: But how came it to appear? Its early Appearance did proceed, and could only proceed from his Father's having put him so early into an independent Situation, and from his having employ'd him in, and inured him to the Study of weighty Affairs, at an Age when most *Princes* are industriously taught to think of nothing but Baubles and Toys.

The same Conduct, Sir, that wise King observed during that brave *Prince's* Life: He was continually heaping Favours upon the *Prince* his Son, and the *Prince* was continually repaying them with glorious Acts of Gratitude and filial Duty. When he was *seventeen*, he fully repaid all former Favours, by having the chief Share in the Victory obtained over the *French* at the famous Battle of *Cressy*. In the 24th or 25th Year of this *Prince's* Age, the King invested him with the *Dutchy of Guienne*, which new Favour he soon after repaid by sending the King of *France* home Prisoner to his Father, after having defeated and taken him at the memorable Battle of *Poitiers*. And in the *two* and *thirtieth* Year of that *Prince's* Age, a great Part of *France* having been conquered and subdued by his Valour, the King his Father erected *Guienne*, *Gascony*, and several other Provinces of *France*, into a *Principality* under the Name of the *Principality of Aquitain*, with which he invested the *Prince* his Son: This new Favour likewise the *Prince* soon repaid by carrying the *Glory of the English Arms* into *Spain*,

Spain, and replacing *Peter* upon the Throne of *Castile*, after having defeated the Usurper *Henry* at the Battle of *Nejara* in that Kingdom; for all which glorious Victories, and many other great Services done to his native Country, the Nation was so grateful to his Memory, that immediately after his Death, or at least as soon as their Grief for the Loss of so brave a Prince would give them Leave, the *House of Commons* addressed the King to create his Son *Prince of Wales* and Duke of *Cornwall*, which that wise King immediately agreed to; for his Grandson being then Heir apparent to the Crown, he became intitled, by the Maxim I have mentioned, to an independent Settlement; but as he was not the King's eldest Son, he had no Pretence from any former Precedent to the Principality of *Wales*, and his Right by the late Act to the Dutchy of *Cornwall* was thought to be doubtful by the Lawyers of that Age, the Lawyers being then, it seems, as dexterous at starting Doubts and Scruples as the Lawyers of the Age we now live in.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Give me Leave, Sir, to mention one other Precedent, That of Prince *Henry*, afterwards the glorious King *Henry V.* whom his Father *Henry IV.* in the very first Year of his Reign, created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, tho' the Prince was then but twelve Years of Age; all which Grants were recorded upon the Parliament's Request, in order to prevent any Possibility of a Revocation; and tho' that King was naturally of a jealous and a suspicious Temper, yet we find, during his whole Reign, he was every now and then making new Grants to the Prince his Son, even tho' he was sometimes maliciously made to believe, the Prince was conspiring against him. This Prince, 'tis true, fell into some Excesses incident to Youth and Idleness, but from the first Part of his Life, and from his Conduct after he became King, we may judge that those Excesses were rather owing to his Father's Jealousy than to his own natural Temper; for when he was but about sixteen, he by his Valour contributed greatly to his Father's Victory over the Rebels at *Shrewsbury*, and the very next Year having been entrusted with the Command of his Father's Army against the Rebels in *Wales*, by his Conduct and Courage, he gave them two signal Defeats, by which he gained so much Esteem, that the King his Father, from his own natural and unhappy Temper, and not from any undutiful Behaviour in his Son, began to grow jealous of him, and therefore never afterwards employ'd him in any public Affairs; so that the Excesses he fell into probably proceeded from the Idleness of his Life, and the Activity of his Genius, or perhaps rather from a Design of removing

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



from his Father all future Occasions of Jealousy. This, indeed, seems to be confirmed, or at least rendered the most probable Conjecture, by his Conduct after he became King; for immediately upon his Accession, he banished from his Presence all the Companions and sycophant Upholders of his former Debauches, and became one of the greatest, and one of the most glorious Kings that ever sat upon the *English* Throne.

But, Sir, 'tis quite unnecessary to mention particularly all the Examples that could be brought of the great and irrevocable Provisions that have been made for the eldest Sons of our Kings. We have not, 'tis true, had many Princes that have come to Man's Estate in the Life-time of their Fathers, but every one of them that has done so, has had an independent Settlement made upon him long before he was of Age. Nay, even the presumptive Heirs of the Crown have always had an independent Settlement made upon them, generally as soon as they began to be the presumptive Heirs of the Crown: For Proof of this I need bring no other Example than that of the late King *James II.* when Duke of *York*, and that of the late Queen *Anne* when Princess of *Denmark*; for the Duke of *York* had a great Settlement made upon him by Parliament, soon after the Restoration, tho' he was but presumptive Heir of the Crown; his Brother King *Charles* being then in a Capacity of having Children, who would have given him a more effectual Exclusion than could ever be attained by Parliament, till his own ridiculous Measures put it in their Power; and the late Queen *Anne*, when Princess of *Denmark*, had likewise a great Settlement made upon her by Authority of Parliament, tho' King *William* and Queen *Mary* were both then alive, and in a Capacity of having Children; so that the Princess *Anne*, when that Settlement was made, was but the presumptive Heir of the Crown.

From these Precedents it appears, Sir, that the Maxim of having an independent Provision settled upon the apparent or presumptive Heir of the Crown, is a Maxim which has always been observed in this Nation; and that the Parliament may interpose for that Purpose, I shall likewise shew from several Precedents. I have already mentioned to you the Address of the House of Commons in Favour of *Edward* the Black Prince's eldest Son, therefore I shall proceed to mention some others of a late Date. In the first Year of King *Henry IV.* the Lords and Commons, upon proper Motions for that Purpose, desired of the King that his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, might be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, and in the same Parliament

Parliament the Commons petitioned the King that the Charter of the said Principality and Earldom, and an Act of the said Creation, might be enrolled and enter'd upon Record, as an Article agreed upon by Parliament ; both which that King immediately complied with ; for as he had been called in by the People, and raised to the Throne by the Parliament, he had so just a Sense of the Obligations he lay under both to his People and Parliament, as not to refuse any just Request they could make. In the Reign of *Henry VI.* the Parliament not only took Care to have the Principality of *Wales* settled upon Prince *Edward*, eldest Son of the King, but likewise declared and ascertained the particular Sums that were to be allowed for his Table, till he came to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, when he was to be put in Possession of the whole Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County *Palatine of Chester*. And but lately, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the House of Commons resolved to address their Majesties to make a Settlement on the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, who was then but presumptive Heir of the Crown ; which Resolution does not, 'tis true, seem to have been very agreeable to the Court, with regard to the Sum at first proposed, but the Right the Parliament had to present such an Address was so far from being controverted, that after the Dispute about the Sum was settled, even the Courtiers themselves joined, the next Session, in the Resolution for that Purpose, which plainly evinces the Power and the Duty of Parliament, with respect to their addressing for having a sufficient Provision settled independently upon the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown, and consequently will from Precedent justify the Motion I am to make

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Now, Sir, with respect to Wisdom and good Policy, that of having the Heir apparent to the Crown bred up in a State of Grandeur and Independency, is certainly a Maxim of great Use in all Countries, but in a free Country it is absolutely necessary. A free and generous Education tends greatly to open the Mind, to endow it with noble and right Sentiments, and to shut out all mean, narrow, and selfish Views ; therefore it is the only proper Education for one who is by his Birth to have the chief Rule over any People ; but for one who is to have the chief Rule over a free People, such an Education becomes absolutely necessary ; for, besides the Advantages already mentioned, a Prince who has lived in a State of Freedom and Independency before he begins his Reign, thereby learns how to be

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



a dutiful and obedient Subject, without being an abject Slave; and by tasting in his Youth the Sweets of such a delicious State, he comes to know the true Value of it, from whence he must necessarily conclude his Subjects will not easily part with it, and therefore, when he comes to mount the Throne, he not only knows how to exact a dutiful Obedience without expecting a slavish Submission, but he will in common Prudence content himself with the former, because he knows he cannot without great Danger aim at the latter. Such a Prince will always be sure of being well served, because he can with Patience receive an honest and a free Advice from his Ministers and Favourites: He will not take it ill to be even controuled by his Council or his Parliament; whereas a *Prince* educated in Slavery, and advanced to Power, being unacquainted with any Sort of Submission but that he has himself been bred to, is apt to look upon every honest Freedom as a Mark of Disrespect or Disobedience, and as he cannot bear Sincerity, he may expect never to meet with it from any of his pretended Friends or Favourites. Thus it appears to be requisite both for the Honour and Prosperity of the Prince who is to reign, and for the Ease and Happiness of the People over whom he is to reign, that he should be bred up in a State of Freedom and Independency.

But farther, Sir, even with Regard to the King upon the Throne, especially in this Nation, the Grandeur and Independency of his Heir Apparent must be of great Service to him. The Affection and Esteem which the Heir Apparent acquires among the People, is so far from being a Disadvantage to the King, that it must always be, and has always been reckoned one of the most solid Supports of the Crown. The great and the wise King *Edward III.* was so far from being jealous of any Glory or Esteem the *Prince* his Son might acquire, that in the famous Battle of *Cressy*, he gave his Son the chief Command of that Part of his Army which was to attack the Enemy, in order that he might have the sole Glory of the Victory, reserving to himself only the Command of a great Body in Case of Accidents; and when Word was brought him that his Son was in great Danger, and hardly pressed by the Enemy, his Answer was, *I know my Boy has Courage, let him but push the Enemy, he will certainly conquer: I am loth to rob him of any Share of that Glory I see he is in a fair Way of obtaining.* Such were that King's Sentiments; and in the Charter of *Henry VI.* to his Son *Edward*, it is expressly declared, that by giving due Honours to the Prince, the Throne was established, and the Royal Scepter exalted;

exalted; and therefore, by granting the Principality of *Wales* and County Palatine of *Chester* to his Son, he consulted his own Honour, the Security of the Royal Family, and the Good of his People, rather than the *Prince's* Honour. From the Behaviour of all our Kings towards their eldest Sons, we may judge their Sentiments have been the same. They have all been of Opinion, that their eldest Sons ought to live in Grandeur, and that the more Honour and Esteem they acquired, the more they added to the Security of the Throne: But how can a *Prince* live in Grandeur, who has nothing of his own, or not a Sufficiency to subsist on? How can a *Prince* who is in a continual State of Dependency, a continual State of Slavery, acquire Esteem from those who are themselves free and independent? The very submitting tamely to live in such a State, must derogate from his Honour, and render him despicable in the Eyes of a brave and a free People, which the People of this Nation, I hope, will for ever continue to be.


Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Suppose then, Sir, there were no Precedent for having a sufficient and an independent Provision settled upon the *Prince of Wales*; suppose there was no Example of the Parliament's having ever interposed for that Purpose; yet if true Wisdom and good Policy require that it should be done, if the making of such a Settlement can contribute to the Honour of the King, to the Security of the Royal Family, and to the Happiness of the People, it is a Thing that ought to be done; and if it should be unnecessarily delay'd, has not the Parliament a Right, are we not in Honour, in Duty, bound to interpose, and to advise or petition our Sovereign, that it may be done as soon as possible? But when we consider the constant Course of Proceeding in this Particular, when we see how often the Parliament has interposed, even when this Provision was not made out of any Grants from the People, but out of the King's own Estate, out of the Lands and Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, can we balance a Moment about our Right, can we in Duty to our King, or to that most illustrious and most deserving *Prince* his eldest Son, delay requesting that to be done which ought to have been done long before this Time? Especially now, Sir, that no Part of that Provision is to come out of the Lands or Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, but is wholly to be taken from a very liberal Grant long since made by the People to the Crown, and which has been of late greatly increased with this very View, that an honourable and a sufficient Settlement might be made upon his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* as soon as the same should become necessary.

This,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



This, Sir, of course, leads me to consider the Nature of that Parliamentary Grant, now called the Civil List Revenue, from which 'twill appear that what I am now going to propose, is founded both upon Law and Equity. In ancient Times the Estates and Revenues, properly belonging to the Crown, were sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family; the People were charged with no Taxes for that Purpose, except a small Custom upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods and Merchandize: No Grant, no Aid was ever desired from them, but when some extraordinary Expence became necessary, for defending the Nation against Pyrates or threatned Invasions, or for vindicating and supporting its Honour in some Affair of great Consequence and of an extraordinary Nature; but by the profuse Liberalities of some of our former Kings, and by other Accidents, the proper Estate and Revenue of the Crown came at last to be so much diminished, that it was not near sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family, and therefore at the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the dangerous Tax called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and the more dangerous Tax called *Excise*, were established, and granted to that King for his Life; and at the same Time an additional *Excise* was established, in lieu of the *Wards* and *Liveries* which were then abolished, and settled upon that King and his Heirs and Successors for ever; which Taxes were partly for what is now called the Civil List, and the Residue for what we now call the Current Service. Several other Taxes were established in that and the following Reign, and intended for the same Purposes, without distinguishing or specifying any particular Uses; but it having been found that the Money granted by Parliament was often applied to Purposes very different from those intended by Parliament, therefore, after the happy Revolution, which put us in a Condition of rectifying some former Errors, and removing some of our former Grievances, the Custom of appropriating each respective Grant to its proper Use, was introduced and established; and from that Time the Revenues granted to the Crown by Parliament came to be distinguished into the Civil List Revenue, and the Current Service Revenue; the former being that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for the Royal Family; and the latter, that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for maintaining our Fleets and Armies, or providing for any other extraordinary public Services.

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In order therefore to determine what Branches of the public Charge were designed by Parliament, and ought in Law and Equity to be defray'd out of those Grants appropriated to the Civil List, we must examine, Sir, what Uses that Revenue was applied to, immediately after its being first distinctly established, which was in the Reign of the late King *William*; and we find that, during his whole Reign, the Provision appointed for the Princess *Anne of Denmark* was always charged upon, and paid out of his Civil List Revenue. Then again, upon his late Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, the Parliament granted and appropriated to the Civil List the same Taxes and Revenues, which had been granted and appropriated to the Civil List, during the Reign of his Predecessor Queen *Anne*; but his late Majesty, in his first Speech to his Parliament, took Notice, That the Branches of the Revenue, formerly granted for the Support of the Civil Government, were so far incumbered and alienated, that the Produce of the Funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. To which he added, That since it was his Happiness to see a *Prince of Wales*, who might in due Time succeed him on the Throne, and to see the *Prince* blessed with many Children, the best and most valuable Pledges for his Care and Concern for our Posterity, That must occasion an Expence to which the Nation had not for many Years been accustomed, but such as surely no Man would grudge. Do not these Words shew that his late Majesty was of Opinion, the Civil List Revenue was unquestionably to be charged with making an honourable Provision for the the *Prince of Wales*? And is it not as apparent, that the Addition granted to the Civil List by Parliament, in consequence of that Speech, was granted with an Intention, that such a Settlement should be granted out of that Revenue to the *Prince of Wales* as should be sufficient for supporting the Dignity of his high Birth, and the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to which he was Heir apparent? 'Tis plain his late Majesty meant so, and took the Intention of Parliament to be so; for within *ten Days* after that Law passed, he notified to his Parliament, that he had ordered Letters Patent for 100,000 *l.* a Year to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, from Payment of any Fees or Taxes, and for empowering the Commissioners of Excise and Customs to pay directly to the *Prince*, or his Treasurer, the Produce of such Branches of the Civil List Revenue, as his Majesty should appoint for answering that Settlement; by which

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. his *Royal Highness* was rendered so absolutely independent of the Crown, with respect to his own proper Revenue, that he was not so much as obliged to apply to his Majesty's Exchequer for the Payment of it: His Revenue could not run in Arrear, even his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer could not put him off with that common Excuse for not answering a just Demand, That there was no Money in the Exchequer: And I cannot omit taking Notice, that at the very same Time, in the very same Session, there was also another Act passed, for enabling his Majesty to grant to him the Principality of *Wales*, and County Palatine of *Chester*, which were immediately after granted to him accordingly.

But now, Sir, to come to his present Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, and that Parliament which established the large Civil List, now settled upon the Crown. During his late Majesty's Reign, by reason of some very extraordinary and uncommon Disbursements, it had been found, that a Civil List Revenue even of 700,000 *l.* a Year, as it had been managed, was not sufficient to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to pay 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; for which Reason several additional Sums had been granted in that Reign to the Civil List, amounting in the whole to 1,300,000 *l.* which made the Civil List during that Reign amount, at an Average, to 803,000 *l.* a Year; therefore his present Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, told his Parliament, He was persuaded that the Experience of past Times would prevail upon them to shew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; which the Parliament, without examining into the Reasons of that past Experience, immediately complied with, and settled upon his present Majesty for his Life, what the *Experience of past Times* had shewn to be necessary, and what had actually been given to, tho' not settled upon his Father, with this remarkable Improvement, that if the Taxes appropriated for that Purpose produced more, the Surplus should belong to his Majesty, but if they produced less than 800,000 *l.* a Year, the Deficiency should be made good by Parliament; which new Improvement seems to have had great Influence upon some of our Measures since that Time; for it seems to have made us endeavour, as much as possible, to increase the Produce of those Taxes in which the Civil List has the greatest Share. Now I would gladly know, what his present Majesty meant, or what the Parliament meant, by the *Experience of past Times*, which was the only Ground for the Resolution they came to with respect to the Civil
Lists;

Lift: Surely they both meant that an honourable and a sufficient Provision for the *Prince of Wales* should be chargeable upon the Civil Lift Revenue, and upon that only; for the *Experience of past Times* had shewn that 700,000 *l.* a Year was not sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for allowing 100,000 *l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; but the same *Experience* had shewn that 800,000 *l. per Ann.* was sufficient both for the one, and for the other; and therefore by proceeding upon the *Experience of past Times*, and upon that only, and from thence settling 800,000 *l.* a Year for his present Majesty's Civil Lift, both his Majesty and his Parliament must then certainly have meant, that out of that Revenue a sufficient Provision should be settled upon his *Royal Highness*, as soon as his future Circumstances should require such a Settlement to be made: From all which I must conclude, that the Motion I am to make for this Purpose, is a Motion founded both upon Law and Equity.

*Ann. 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

I think, Sir, I have now shewn that according to Law, according to Equity and Conscience, according to Wisdom and good Policy, and according to Precedent, his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a Provision settled upon him, sufficient for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth; and that the Parliament not only has a Right, but ought to interpose, and advise his Majesty to do that which in Law, in Equity, in Wisdom, and according to Precedent, ought to be done. The next two Questions that will naturally occur in this Affair, are, When that Settlement ought to be made? And what may be thought a sufficient Settlement? As to the Time when it ought to be made: It ought certainly to have been made long before now. The Mind of every Man is formed early in his Youth. Those Notions and Sentiments which are early imbibed, take deep Root, and are seldom or never shaken off. If then an independent State can any way contribute to the Improvement of a Prince's Mind, the more early he is put into such a State, the better. According to this has the constant Practice in this Kingdom always been: King *Henry III.* made a Settlement upon his eldest Son *Edward*, afterwards King *Edward I.* before he was *Fourteen*. *Edward III.* made a Settlement upon his eldest Son, *Edward the Black Prince*, before he was *three Years* of Age; and within a *few Months* after the Death of that Prince, the Commons addressed the King to make a Settlement upon that Prince's eldest Son, who by his Father's Death was become Heir Apparent to the Crown. The *Post-Office* and *Wine License* Revenues were settled by Parliament upon the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Duke of York, who was but Presumptive Heir of the Crown, within three Years after his Brother King *Charles II*'s Restoration. A Settlement was made upon the *Princess Anne of Denmark*, who was likewise but Presumptive Heir of the Crown, in Pursuance of an Address for that Purpose from the House of Commons, the very first Year, or the beginning of the second Year, of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. And his late Majesty ordered Letters Patent for making a Settlement upon the present King, then *Prince of Wales*, within ten Days after the Parliament had granted him a Fund for that Purpose. In short, Sir, look over all our Histories, examine all former Precedents, I believe no Example can be found, where the making of such a Settlement has been so long delay'd, as in the present Reign: What may be the Reason I shall not pretend to determine; but I am sure there never was a *Prince of Wales* who better deserved it, nor a Crown Revenue that could better spare it. It ought, in my Opinion, to have been done as soon as his *Royal Highness* arrived in *England*, especially as he was then of full Age, and, as every one that has the Honour and Happiness to know him must grant, extremely capable to govern his own Affairs; and since it is not yet done, it is high Time for us to take the same Liberty former Parliaments have often taken, it is high Time for us to desire that it may be done.

Now, Sir, with regard to what may be deemed a sufficient Settlement for his *Royal Highness*, I think there cannot properly be any Question about it, because it seems to have been determined by that Parliament which established the Civil List in the late King's Reign, and also by that Parliament which established, and from the *Experience of past Times* increased, the present Civil List Revenue. Both were certainly of Opinion, and the latter have, I think, very expressly determined, that his *Royal Highness the present Prince of Wales* was, and ought, to have, at least 100,000 *l.* a Year settled upon him, out of the large Civil List they then granted; ~~for~~ what else could they mean by settling a Civil List Revenue of 800,000 *l.* a Year? The *Experience of past Times*, which, as I have said, was then the only Ground for increasing that Revenue, had shewn that 700,000 *l.* a Year was sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, without including what was to be allowed the *Prince of Wales*; and therefore by their adding to that yearly Sum 100,000 *l.* a Year more, and granting a Civil List Revenue of 800,000 *l.* a Year at least, it must be supposed they meant and intended that the 100,000 *l.* they had so added to the Civil List Revenue,

more

more than what the *Experience of past Times* has shewn to be sufficient for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, should be settled upon the present *Prince of Wales*, besides the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County Palatine of *Chester*, in the same Manner as it had been settled upon the present King, while he was *Prince of Wales*: And indeed from the very Nature of the Thing we are to judge so; for what Reason could they then think of, or what Reason can now be assigned, why the present *Prince of Wales* should live in less Grandeur than his Father did whilst he was *Prince of Wales*, or why the same Grandeur might be supported at a less Expence than had been before necessary? I can think of no Reason but one, which is, That the Nation is not so rich as it was formerly: This, indeed, may at last come to be a good Reason for diminishing the Allowance or Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*; and it is a Reason for which, I am sorry to say it, I think there is too good a Foundation; but then it is a Reason for diminishing every other Article of the public Expence, especially that belonging to the Civil List; and I am far from thinking the Provision for the *Prince of Wales* is the first we ought to begin with; for if any Judgment can be formed from the *Experience of past Times*, 100,000 *l.* a Year, besides the now exhausted Revenues of *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Chester*, is the least Provision we can as yet think of allowing for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the Heir Apparent to our Crown. I shall therefore take it for granted, till I hear it contradicted, that it is now high Time the Provision for the *Prince of Wales* should be settled in the usual Way, and that 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil List is the least Provision we can suppose necessary, and the least the Parliament that established the present Civil List designed he should have: These two Points I shall now, I say, take for granted; but if both, or either be controverted, I shall beg Leave to explain myself more fully upon this Head, unless some other Gentleman who is of the same Opinion with me, and more capable of giving the Reasons for his Opinion, rises up, and saves me that Trouble. For this Reason I shall not now take up your Time with enlarging further upon these two Questions, but shall take the Liberty to make you this Motion,

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to express the just Sense this House has of his Majesty's great Goodness and tender Regard for the lasting Welfare and Happiness of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*; and as this House cannot omit any Opportunity of shewing their Zeal and Regard

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



for his Majesty's Honour and the Prosperity of his Family, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that in consideration of the high Rank and Dignity of their Royal Highnesses the *Prince* and *Princess of Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciously pleased to settle 100,000 *l.* a Year on the *Prince of Wales*, out of the Revenues cheerfully granted to his Majesty, for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better supporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majesty to make an honourable Provision for his Royal Family in the same Manner his Majesty enjoy'd it before his happy Accession to the Throne; and also humbly to beseech his Majesty to settle the like Jointure on her Royal Highness the *Princess of Wales*, as her Majesty had when she was *Princess of Wales*; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enable him effectually to perform the same, as nothing will more conduce to the strengthening his Majesty's Government, than honourably supporting the Dignity of their *Royal Highnesses*, from whom we hope to see a numerous Issue, to deliver down the Blessings of his Majesty's Reign to latest Posterity.

I know, Sir, that several Arguments may be made use of against this Motion, Arguments which may seem to be of Dignity and Weight, because they can come from none but such as are in high Stations, who for that Reason ought never to oppose what is Just and Honourable, and much less ought they upon any Occasion to make use of weak or trifling Objections. By such Persons it may be said, that the presenting of such an Address will be a sort of intermeddling in the domestic Affair between Father and Son, which the Parliament has no Title, nor ever ought to intermeddle with upon any Occasion: But, Sir, I must beg Leave to insist upon it, that our presenting such an Address cannot be called intermeddling in any Affairs either public or private; it is only offering Advice to our Sovereign in an Affair of great Consequence to the Nation in general, and that we have not only a Right, but are in Duty bound to do, as often as we find it necessary. It is an Advice which I am sure his Majesty's Ministers ought to have given him: If they have not, they have been deficient in their Duty, and the Parliament ought to make up that Deficiency: If they have been so faithful as to offer the same Advice, and have not succeeded, which, for what I know, may be the Case, the Address proposed becomes absolutely necessary; it is what the Ministers ought to be fond of, because the Address of Parliament will add Weight to the good, tho' unsuccessful, Advice they have given. Then, Sir, with
respect


respect even to the domestic Affairs of the Royal Family, they ought to be considered in a two-fold Respect : If they are such as may contribute to the Honour and Happiness of the Nation in general, or such as may tend to the Dishonour of the Kingdom, or to the bringing of any Misfortune upon the People, they then come to be of a public Nature, and if any false Step be made, or any necessary Step neglected, or too long delay'd, it is the Duty of Parliament to interpose ; and of this Sort surely is that Affair to which the Address now proposed relates.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

It may likewise be said, that the King is the only Judge of the Time when it is proper to make a Settlement upon his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, and of the Amount of the Revenue that may be proper or necessary for that Purpose. To this, Sir, the Answer is very plain and easy. There are many Things in which the King has by his Prerogative the sole Power of Judging or Acting ; and yet in such Cases, if any wrong Measure happens to be pursued, or any proper Measure neglected, the Parliament is in Duty bound to act the Part of a faithful Counsellor to their Sovereign, and advertise him of what they imagine to be wrong. The two Houses of Parliament, or either of them, may not only offer their Advice, but they may go much further, they may examine into the Affair, and may punish those who by their Weakness or Wickedness have given his Majesty bad Counsel. The King has the sole Power of making Treaties of Peace or Alliance, and of declaring War, and yet I hope it will not be said that the Parliament ought never to interfere, no not so much as by an Address, in any Case of that Nature : I hope it will not be said that the Parliament may not only address upon such Occasions, but may punish those Ministers who shall advise his Majesty to engage the Nation in dangerous and destructive Treaties, or who shall advise him to avoid a War, when both the Honour and the Interest of the Nation make it necessary. Therefore, tho' his Majesty be the only Judge, when a Settlement ought to be made upon the *Prince of Wales*, and what that Settlement ought to be, yet the Parliament may certainly interpose by an Address, when the making of that Settlement is too long delay'd ; and now that his *Royal Highness* is not only of Age, but is married, and as it were emancipated out of his Father's Family, it is certainly high Time for the Parliament to interpose : Surely it is not fit his *Royal Highness* should now depend upon his Father, or rather upon his Father's Ministers, for every Shilling he may have Occasion for : The very Thought raises in my Mind such ridiculous

Ideas,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



Ideas, that it is with the utmost Difficulty I can refrain from expressing myself in a Manner far below the Dignity of the Subject: Nothing, indeed, could prevent it but the great Esteem, the high Regard I have for the illustrious Persons who seem to be concerned.

In the next Place, Sir, it may be said that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue as now established; and that the Address proposed would be a sort of Encroachment upon that Right. I shall readily grant that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue, so he likewise has a legal Right to the Revenue for the current Service of the Year, and, I think, we but lately passed a Law for hanging or transporting those who go armed with a Design to rob or disappoint him either of the one or the other, which is more than any Subject in the Kingdom has for the Protection of any sort of Property; but as both these Revenues are granted by Parliament for certain and particular Uses, both ought to be applied to those Uses for which they were granted, and the Parliament has a Right to insist upon their being so applied. The Civil List Revenue was granted for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and making a sufficient Provision for the whole Royal Family; and if any Part of that Revenue should be purloined, hoarded, or misapplied by the King's Ministers, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown neglected, or any Branch of the Royal Family not sufficiently provided for, the Parliament has as good a Right to address, and even to enquire into that Misapplication, as they would have to enquire into the Misapplication of the Revenue provided for the current Service, in case any Part of that Revenue should be applied to other Purposes, and those Services neglected for which it was intended by Parliament.

Lastly, Sir, it may be said, that such an Address would look something like a Parliamentary Resumption; that it would look as if the Parliament were going to resume and take back from his Majesty what was long since granted by Parliament, and settled upon him during his Life. I confess, Sir, I do not like Resumptions of any Kind; I am always sorry when I find there is Occasion for them; but nevertheless a Resumption may sometimes become reasonable: When the Cause of granting any Revenue ceases, the Grant itself ought to cease, and therefore ought to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose. For this, even with respect to the Civil List Revenue, we have a late Precedent in Point: In 1699, the Parliament granted to King *William* a Civil List Revenue of 700,000 *l* per Ann. for the Service

Service of his Household and Family, and other his necessary Anno 10. Geo.
Expences and Occasions. This Grant was by Law settled 11 1736 7.
 upon that King during his Life; yet in 1701, we find he
 resumed 100,000 *l.* a Year, Part of this 700,000 *l.* Civil
 List Revenue, and applied it toward the Payment of the
 public Debts, for this exprefs Reason, *because the Occasions*
for which the said 100,000 l. was given, were then ceased.

This, I say, is a Precedent in Point, for a Resumption after the Cause of Granting has ceased; and from a Parity of Reason, if it should be afterwards found the Cause of Granting did not require near so large a Grant as was at first imagined, and therefore actually granted, ought not some Part of that Grant to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose? So that if it could be supposed that a less Revenue than what was intended by Parliament would be sufficient for the *Prince of Wales*, there would be some Reason for a Resumption; but I am far from supposing any such Thing; the Address I have proposed shews the contrary, and therefore it cannot be presumed that my Motion has the least Tendency towards a designed Resumption: It is only for having a Part of the Civil List Revenue applied to that Use for which it was granted by Parliament, and to which it ought in Law, in Equity, and in Wisdom and good Policy, to be applied; therefore I hope my Motion for that Purpose will be unanimously agreed to.


The Answer was by *Sir Robert Walpole*, to the following *Sir Robert*
 Effect: *Walpole.*

SIR,

I rise up to offer you my Sentiments upon the Motion which the Honourable Gentleman has now been pleased to make to you; but I must begin with declaring, that I never rose up to speak upon any Affair in this House with a deeper Concern, a greater Reluctancy, than I do upon the Affair now before you. I shall most readily agree with the Honourable Gentleman that it is a Matter of the highest Importance, it is indeed of the utmost Importance, but it is of so sad, of so melancholy a Concern, that I am sorry it ever should have been mentioned, or that any such Motion should have been made in this House. I am sure the Honourable Gentleman does not view it in the same Light I do; if he did, I am convinced he would have been the last to have mentioned it, or to have advised its being mentioned in either House of Parliament; and therefore, when he considers it seriously, I hope he will withdraw the Motion he has made; for if he should insist upon it, he must necessarily bring every Gentleman of this House under one of the greatest Difficulties any Man ever was, or ever can

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



be in. It is an Affair of Property, it is a Question by which the legal Property of the Crown itself is to be determined; and in such a Case, must not every Gentleman be under the greatest Difficulty how to give his Vote or his Opinion? By declaring in favour of the Motion, he may seem to injure the Royal Father, his Sovereign; by declaring against it, he may seem to injure the Royal Son, and Apparent Heir to the Crown. As I have the Honour to know particularly the Wisdom and the Virtue of both the Royal Persons concerned, I can give my Opinion with the more Freedom; because I am sure neither of them will think himself injured by a Gentleman's giving his Opinion or his Vote freely in Parliament; and I am sure his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* has so much Wisdom, and so true a Sense of filial Duty, that he will never look upon any thing as a Favour done to him, if it has the least Tendency towards offering an Indignity to his Royal Father.

That there is no Affair of an Importance too high for the Consideration of Parliament I shall admit; but, Sir, there are many Affairs of a Nature so delicate, that neither Wisdom nor good Policy will allow of the Parliament's taking them into their Consideration; and if ever there was an Affair in which the Parliament ought to avoid giving Judgment, the Affair now before you is one. From our passing Judgment in such an Affair, every Man without Doors will imagine there is a private Mistake or Dispute between his Majesty and his *Royal Highness*, and such an Opinion, if it should generally prevail, may be of the most dangerous Consequence to both: We should therefore if possible avoid giving any Judgment in this Affair; but as for complying with the Motion, if it were in our Inclination, I do not think it is in our Power: It would be a Violation of Property, a taking from the King a Part of that Property which is already established in him by Act of Parliament, and to which he has as good a Right as any private Man in the Kingdom has to any private Property he does or can possess; for tho' the Parliament has a Power to appropriate Money to particular Uses at the Time it is granted, yet afterwards they have no such Power; and it has always been a Rule of this House, not to enter into any Consideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without first having the Consent of the Crown. The Civil List Revenue has already been granted to his Majesty; when we made that Grant, we might have ordered the Application of it to particular Uses, and might have gone so far as to have appropriated a particular Sum to each respective Use; such a particular Appropriation might perhaps, and I think

think with Reason too, have been thought derogatory to the Honour of the Crown; but I shall not now controvert that Point; no such particular Appropriation was then made; and as it was not made at the Time that Revenue was granted, we have now no Power to make any such particular Appropriation, with respect to any Parts of it, or with respect to any Use to which any Part of it ought to be applied; and much less have we now a Right or a Power to prescribe to his Majesty, what Part of the Civil List Revenue ought to be applied towards maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his eldest Son, or in what Manner that Application ought to be made: However, this will best appear from considering the several Arguments made use of in favour of the Motion, which I shall take upon me to do in as brief a Manner as I can.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

As for the Maxim so much insisted on, That the *Prince of Wales* ought always to have a seperate and distinct Provision, and settled upon him in a Manner as to be quite independent of the King his Father, I never heard we had such a Maxim in our Constitution, nor can I see how it is possible to make a Son altogether independent of his Father, and much less to make a Subject altogether independent of his Sovereign. The latter would, I am sure, be a very great Solecism in Politics, and the former, whatever may be the Case with respect to Royal Families, has, I am certain, often produced great Misfortunes in private. 'Tis true the Custom has generally been for our Kings to settle some Estate by Patent or Charter upon their eldest Sons, and those Charters have often been confirmed by Act of Parliament; but I cannot see a good Reason for saying, that the making of such a Settlement is absolutely necessary, or that the Heir Apparent of the Crown cannot be educated, or cannot live in a proper Manner without it; for that Dependency which the Son of a great Family naturally has upon his Father, can no way tend toward the Debasing of his Mind; and the Dignity and Grandeur, even of a *Prince of Wales*, may be as well supported by a yearly Allowance as by a perpetual and independent Settlement. For this Reason there never was any Regulation expressly established in this Kingdom for providing an independent Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*; but on the contrary, the Making of such a Provision, and the Manner of settling that Provision, have always been left intirely to the King upon the Throne, nor has the Parliament ever, or but very seldom, intermeddled in that Affair, unless when applied to by the King, or by some Persons under his Direction, and that Application has generally proceeded from some other Rea-

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. sons besides that of making a Settlement upon the *Prince of Wales*.

It is not so much as pretended, Sir, that any of those Grants made by King *Henry III.* to his Son *Edward* proceeded from the Interposition of Parliament: On the contrary, 'tis evident, they proceeded entirely from the Politics of the Court at that Time, and those Politics were not founded upon the Maxim of making the *Prince* independent, but upon a Design of gaining the Affections of the People in those Countries which had been but lately subdued, it having been thought more honourable for them to be governed by the King's eldest Son, than by any other Subject. In like Manner we know that none of the Grants made by *Edward III.* to his Son *Edward, the black Prince*, proceeded from any Address or Application from Parliament; for tho' they were, most of them, confirmed by Parliament, yet it appears that all those Confirmations were obtained and passed at the Desire of the King himself; and here likewise it may be said, and I believe with Justice too, that the erecting of *Cornwall* into a Dutchy, and settling it upon the eldest Son of every future King, as also the erecting of *Guienne* and *Gascony* into a Principality, and granting it to the *Prince of Wales*, proceeded rather from a Design of doing Honour to those Countries, than from any Design of making the *Prince* absolutely independent of his Father; for we find it was a common Practice in former Days, to erect a Country or Province into a Dutchy or Principality, by way of doing Honour to the Country, and in recompence for some good Services performed by the Inhabitants: Thus we find the County of *Chester* was erected into a Principality by *Richard II.* because the Militia of that County had countenanced and enforced his most Arbitrary Measures during his famous Parliament at *Shrewsbury*; and every one knows that it has always been reckoned an Honour to any City or Province to adopt it as a Title for any of the Princes of the Royal Family; therefore we are not to conclude that the Grants made to former *Princes of Wales* are a sufficient Authority for establishing it as a Maxim, that every *Prince of Wales* ought to have a separate and independent Provision settled upon him.

Now, Sir, with regard to those Cases mentioned where the Parliament have actually interposed. In the Case of *Prince Richard*, eldest Son of *Edward the black Prince*, it is very probable that Application from Parliament was procured by the King himself, in order to disappoint any Hopes the *Duke of Lancaster*, his second Son, might have of succeeding to the Throne; but suppose it was not procured by

by the King himself, as there was then some Jealousy in the Nation that the *Duke of Lancaster* would endeavour to usurp the Crown after his Father's Decease, who was then very old, the Parliament had great Reason to address for having the eldest Son of the deceased *Prince of Wales* created *Prince of Wales* in the Room of his Father, in order to avoid all Disputes about the Succession to the Crown; which is a Reason cannot be said now to subsist, and is a Reason very different from that of having an independent Provision settled upon the *Prince of Wales*. As for the Application from Parliament for having *Prince Henry*, eldest Son of *Henry IV.* created *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornwall*, and *Earl of Chester*, it plainly appears to have proceeded from the King's particular Favourites in Parliament, therefore we must suppose it was with the Approbation, or rather Procurement, of the King himself; and his Reason for procuring such an Application was very far from being founded upon any Maxim or Design of settling an independent Provision upon the *Prince* his eldest Son; but as his own Title to the Crown was a little doubtful, 'tis evident he procured that Application from Parliament, with a Design to have his Son declared his lawful Successor, and only rightful Heir to the Crown. Then as to what was done in the Reign of *Henry VI.* I hope none of the Transactions of that unfortunate Reign will be insisted on as good Precedents for any Thing that ought to be done in this; for that whole Reign was a continued Series of weak and destructive Measures on the Part of the Court, and very unjustifiable Incroachments on the Part of the Parliament.

Thus, Sir, none of the Precedents mentioned relating to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, can be any Way taken as a good Precedent for our agreeing to the Motion now before us; and of the two Precedents mentioned relating to the presumptive Heirs of the Crown, that relating to King *James*, when *Duke of York*, can have nothing to do in the present Question; for the making of a Settlement upon him was so far from proceeding from any Address or other Application from the Parliament to the King, that it proceeded rather from the King's applying to his Parliament for that Purpose; and the Parliament's having any Thing at all to do in that Affair proceeded from Necessity not Choice; because the Revenue of the Post-Office, and Wine License Office could not be settled upon the *Duke of York* but by Authority of Parliament. And as for that relating to the late Queen *Anne*, when *Princess of Denmark*, it appears probable, indeed, that that Affair was first brought into Parliament, not only without the Approbation, but

*Ann^d 10. Geo^r
II. 1736-7.*



Anno 10. Geo. contrary to the Inclination of the Court at that Time ?
II. 1736-7. But what was the Consequence ? It occasioned an unseasonable Prorogation of that Session, by which the Affairs of




the Nation were very much embarrassed ; and if such were to be the Consequence of our agreeing to this Motion, I am convinced the honourable Gentleman that made it, would not so much as desire any Gentleman to agree to it. Nay, even that very Parliament could never come to any fixed Resolution in that Affair, 'till they had obtained the King's Approbation of what they were about to do, and then they unanimously agreed to address his Majesty to make a Provision for the *Prince and Princess of Denmark* of 50,000 *l.* a Year ; so that even that Affair can be no Precedent for our agreeing to this Motion, 'till it be some Way or other signified to us, that his Majesty approves of what we are about to do.

From these Observations, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Precedents which have been mentioned are either such as ought not to be followed, or such as are no way applicable to the Case now before us ; therefore it cannot be said that the Motion is founded upon any proper Precedent ; and whatever the Wisdom and Policy of our Kings may have been with respect to the settling an independent Provision upon the Heir Apparent to the Crown, it seems it has always been the Wisdom and Policy of the Nation to leave that Affair entirely to the Option of the King upon the Throne, and never to intermeddle but when it has appeared, or has even been signified to the Parliament, that their intermeddling would be agreeable to both the Parties concerned. This, Sir, is true Wisdom ; this is right Policy. Even, in private Life, it is generally held to be officious and imprudent for a Stranger to intermeddle in the Family Affairs of his Neighbour, without any Call from the Parties concerned ; if there was no Breach before, it generally occasions one ; and if there was a Breach, it makes the Breach wider much more often than it occasions a Reconciliation. The Parliament has a Right, the Parliament is often in Duty bound, to offer Advices to their Sovereign ; but in determining when, or upon what Occasions, we may or can offer our Advice, we ought to consider our Sovereign in a twofold Respect : We ought to consider him in his Political and Royal Capacity, and in his Natural and Paternal Capacity. In all Cases which regard his Political and Royal Capacity we have certainly a Right to judge of the Measures that are taken, and may recommend what we think most expedient ; but in Affairs which regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity we have no Right to judge ;

it would be officious in us to recommend, without some sort of Application from him for that Purpose; and as the Providing for every Branch of the Royal Family is an Affair which regards only his Natural and Paternal Capacity, it would be officious in us, it is inconsistent with true Wisdom or good Policy for us, to pretend to judge, or to prescribe what ought to be done, or in what Manner it ought to be done.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



That the *Prince of Wales* ought to be supported, that he ought to be honourably supported, I shall most readily grant; and I shall likewise grant that the Support of the *Prince of Wales* is and ought to be a Charge upon the Civil List Revenue; but, Sir, that he has either a legal or an equitable Right to any particular Share of that Revenue, or to any Share, but such as the King his Father pleases to allow him, is what I cannot so easily admit. I have perused all the Acts of Parliament that were ever made, relating to that Revenue, I have particularly considered that Act by which the Civil List Revenue was settled upon his present Majesty, and neither in that Act, nor in any other, can I find any Words for giving the *Prince of Wales* a legal Right to any other Share, than what his Majesty shall please to allow him; nor can I find any Words from which a Right to any other Share can be equitably inferred. To me it seems his Majesty has as absolute a Right to the whole Civil List Revenue, during his Life, as any Gentleman in *England* can have to his own Estate. The eldest Son of every landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be supported out of his Father's Estate, and that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family; yet I hope it will not be said that the eldest Son has any legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Estate, or to any Share, but such as his Father pleases to allow him, unless that Right be established by some Conveyance made to the Father, or by some Settlement before made and agreed to by the Father.

In all Cases of Equity, to be sure, Sir, the Intention of an Act of Parliament is to be chiefly regarded; but that Intention must some way or other appear from the Words. We are not to take the Intention of a Law from the Intention this or that Gentleman really had, or may say he had, when he agreed to the Passing of that Law. When a Law is to be passed, and under the Consideration of Parliament, every Gentleman may have his own Intention, his own Reasons for agreeing to it, and some may have Reasons quite contrary to those of others. One Gentleman may have an Intention that it should be interpreted in one Way, another may intend that it should be interpreted in a quite

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



quite different ; but when that Law is passed, and comes afterwards to be applied to any particular Case, neither the Reasons nor the Intentions of those who passed it, are to be regarded : There is nothing to be regarded, but the Context and the Words of that Law, in order to put upon them the most equitable Construction they will bear ; and to put such a Construction upon any of those general Words in the Act for establishing the Civil List Revenue, by which that Revenue is appropriated to the Support of his Majesty's Household, as would take from his Majesty the Power of judging what was fit to be done in his own Family, would, I am sure, be a very unnatural Construction, and consequently, I must think, a very unequitable one. It is a Construction the Words themselves will no way admit of ; it is an Intention I am convinced no Gentleman could have when he agreed to them.

I hope, Sir, from what I have said it will appear, that there is no absolute Necessity, either from the Nature of the Thing, or from any Maxim in our Constitution, that a certain, perpetual and independent Provision should be settled upon the *Prince of Wales* ; that if there were, it would be very improper for the Parliament to intermeddle in the Affair ; and that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, whether such a Settlement ought to be made or not. Therefore we must conclude, that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, when that Settlement ought to be made. But to take away all further Dispute upon either of these Heads, I must acquaint you, That I am commanded by his Majesty to lay before this House, that his Majesty Yesterday sent a Message to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, by the Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Richmond, Duke of Argyle, Duke of Newcastle, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Scarborough, and Lord Harrington ; which Message, so sent by those Lords, being in Writing, I shall now, Sir, deliver to you.

This Message was as follows, viz. " His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness*, in his Name, That, upon your *Royal Highness's* Marriage, he immediately took into his Royal Consideration the settling a proper Jointure upon the *Princess of Wales* ; but his sudden going abroad, and his late Indisposition since his Return, had hitherto retarded the Execution of these his gracious Intentions ; from which short Delay his Majesty did not apprehend any Inconveniencies could arise, especially since no Application had, in any Manner, been made to him upon this Subject by your *Royal Highness* ; and that his Majesty hath now given Orders for settling a Jointure upon the *Princess*

Princess of Wales, as far as he is enabled by Law, suitable to her high Rank and Dignity ; which he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of her *Royal Highness*. Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.

The King has further commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness* that, altho' your *Royal Highness* has not thought fit by any Application to his Majesty, to desire, that your Allowance of 50,000 *l. per Ann.* which is now paid by Monthly Payments, at the Choice of your *Royal Highness*, preferably to Quarterly Payments, might, by his Majesty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered less precarious, his Majesty, to prevent the bad Consequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Measures, which, his Majesty is informed, your *Royal Highness* has been advised to pursue, will grant to your *Royal Highness*, for his Majesty's Life, the said 50,000 *l. per Annum*, to be issuing out of his Majesty's Civil List Revenues, over and above your *Royal Highness*'s Revenues arising from the *Duchy of Cornwall* ; which his Majesty thinks a very competent Allowance, considering his numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family."

And that to this Message his *Royal Highness* the Prince returned a verbal Answer, which, according to the best Recollection and Remembrance of the Lords, was in Substance as follows; *viz.*


" That his *Royal Highness* desired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility at his Majesty's Feet ; and to assure his Majesty, that he had, and ever should retain, the utmost Duty for his Royal Person ; that his *Royal Highness* was very thankful for any Instance of his Majesty's Goodness to him, or the *Princess*, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious Intention for settling a Jointure upon her *Royal Highness* ; but that, as to the Message, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could ' give no Answer to it."

After which, his *Royal Highness* used many dutiful Expressions towards his Majesty, and then added, *Indeed, my Lords, it is in other Hands, I am sorry for it.* Or to that Effect.

His *Royal Highness* concluded with earnestly desiring the Lords, to represent his Answer to his Majesty in the most respectful and dutiful Manner.

From this most gracious Message it appears, Sir, that his Majesty has for some Time given a yearly Allowance to his *Royal Highness*, and such an Allowance as his Majesty thought a very competent Allowance considering his numerous

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



merous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family; and it appears further, that this Allowance has been regularly paid in that Manner in which his *Royal Highness* himself chose as the most proper and convenient for him; therefore it cannot be said that the making of such an Allowance has been in the least delay'd; and if the converting of that Allowance into a perpetual and independent Settlement had been absolutely necessary, or were now absolutely necessary, it cannot be said there has been any such Delay as can give Occasion for the Interposition of Parliament; because, if his *Royal Highness* had not before his Marriage been satisfied with the Manner in which his Allowance was made to him, or had but signified that he thought it was established upon too precarious a Foundation, his Majesty would have established it in any Manner he desired; and considering how soon his Majesty went abroad after the happy Marriage of his *Royal Highness*, it cannot be pretended that the least unnecessary Delay has since that Time been made, with respect to the making of a Settlement upon his *Royal Highness*, even in that Manner which is said to be absolutely necessary by the Maxims and Custom of the Kingdom. But supposing that the making of that Settlement had been unnecessarily delay'd, whatever Delay or Neglect may have happened in that Respect is now made up by his Majesty's Message to his *Royal Highness*; and the communicating of that Message to this House, which I have now done by his Majesty's Command, must be a full Answer to every Thing that can be said, with respect to Time at least, in Favour of the Motion now before us. Nay, from his *Royal Highness*'s Answer to his Majesty's Message, it seems reasonable to believe that his *Royal Highness* is himself satisfied with what his Majesty offers, and that he would be sorry to hear of our having agreed to the Motion now made to us; for what other Meaning can be put upon his *Royal Highness*'s saying, that *he was sorry for the Affair's being then in other Hands?*

For this Reason, Sir, I think the Debate will now be brought within a very narrow Compass; for if the Motion should now be insisted on, it can proceed from nothing but Gentlemen's taking upon them to differ in Opinion from his Majesty, and to think that 50,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil List, besides his *Royal Highness*'s Revenue arising from the *Duchy of Cornwall*, is not a competent Allowance, considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family. As this has been
already

already insisted on, as it has been said that 100,000 *l.* a Year is the least his *Royal Highness* ought to have out of the Civil List, besides the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales* and *Duchy of Cornwall*, and that it was the least the Parliament that established the present Civil List intended he should have, I must beg Leave to answer in as few Words as possible, to what has been said upon that Head, and to give my Reasons for being of the same Opinion with his Majesty.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

By what I have said, or am to say upon this Head, I would not have it understood, Sir, as if I believed his *Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* ought not to have more than 10,000 *l.* a Year: On the contrary, I think he ought to have a great deal more than double the Sum, if it were possible for his Majesty to spare so much from the Civil List Revenue, or if the Nation were so happy as to be in a Condition to increase the Civil List, so as to enable his Majesty to make such an Allowance to his *Royal Highness* as he deserves, and as his Majesty would incline to give him. Were we to measure his Allowance by his Merit, as we know no Bounds to the latter, we could prescribe no Bounds to the former: The only Course we could take would be, to offer whatever he pleased to demand; and even in that Case we would have Reason to fear lest his Modesty might do an Injury to his Generosity, by making him confine his Demands within the strictest Bounds of Necessity. I am not therefore to examine what his *Royal Highness* ought to have, I am only to endeavour to shew that we have no Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what he ought to give; that it could not be the Intention of that Parliament which established the present Civil List, to grant 100,000 *l.* a Year; or any other certain yearly Sum out of the Civil List Revenue to his *Royal Highness*; and that his Majesty cannot at present conveniently spare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year out of that Revenue.

To say, Sir, that the Parliament has a Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what Provision he shall make out of his own Estate for any one of his Children, has something in it at first View so very extraordinary, that I am surprized to hear it insisted on. Such a Right would put the King in a much worse State than any one of his Subjects; and I must desire Gentlemen would consider, what a Foreigner would think of this Nation, if he should be told, we entrust the King with the Government of the whole Kingdom, but we will not entrust him with the Government of his own Family. I do not know that there is in all our Histories or Records any one Precedent or Foundation for such a Par-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.


liamentary Claim, but that single one in the Reign of Henry VI. and that was, we know, so weak a Reign that it became necessary for the Parliament to assume several Rights and Privileges which they were not properly, and by the Nature of our Constitution, intitled to. As for what the Parliament did in Relation to the *Princess Anne of Denmark*, it can no Way be made use of in the present Case; that Affair was first brought into Parliament when they were considering how much it would be necessary to allow for the Support of our Civil Government, and then it became very proper to take into their Consideration what particular Sum was to be allowed for the Support of the *Prince and Princess of Denmark*; for tho' they were of the Royal Family, they were not of the King's own Family; and therefore the Appropriating of a certain particular Sum for their Support, or the Addressing to have a certain Sum appropriated for that Purpose, could not be called an Intermeddling in the King's domestic Affairs.

Besides, Sir, it is not so natural for any Man to provide honourably for his presumptive Heir, as for any one of his own Children: The presumptive Heir is sometimes looked on even with Jealousy and Envy; and therefore, there is a very strong Reason for the Parliament's interfering more particularly in one Case, than common Decency can admit of in the other.

But suppose, Sir, the Parliament had a Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what Provision he shall make out of his own Estate for any, or for every one of his Children, how is it possible for us to exercise that Right in our present Situation? Before we can with any Countenance pretend to exercise such a Right, we ought to examine narrowly into the Produce of the Civil List Revenue, and the several Uses to which it must necessarily be applied, in order to see how much his Majesty can conveniently spare out of that Revenue: We ought likewise to examine particularly into the Establishment of his *Royal Highness's* Household, and all the Expences he may necessarily be put to for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur in which the Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* ought to live, in order to determine what particular Sum his Majesty shall allow him annually out of the Civil List Revenue. Is it possible for us in our present Situation to examine into either of these Particulars? We have at present no Account relating to the Civil List, nor any Account relating to his *Royal Highness's* Household before us, and without a Multitude of such Accounts it is not possible for us to go thro' with any such Examination.


Now,

Now, Sir, with regard to the Intention of that Parlia-
 ment by whom the present Civil List was established ; if we
 consider the Circumstances of the Royal Family at that
 Time, and the Circumstances of the Royal Family when
 the Civil List was established in the former Reign, we shall
 very easily find a Meaning for the *Experience of past Times*
 being very different from what is now put upon these Words.
 When the Civil List Revenue was established upon his late
 Majesty, a very narrow Scrutiny was made into the whole
 Articles of the Expence of our civil Government, and par-
 ticularly into the Expence necessary for supporting the
 Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales* ; from which
 Scrutiny it was computed that 600,000 *l.* a Year at least
 would be necessary for supporting the King's Household and
 civil Government ; but let us consider that the King had
 then no Queen, nor any Children to provide for : From
 the same Scrutiny it was computed that 100,000 *l.* a Year
 out of the Civil List Revenue was the least Sum that would
 be necessary for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of
 the *Prince of Wales* ; but let us remember that the *Prince*
of Wales had then a *Princess of Wales*, and, to our Happi-
 ness, several Children to provide for. During that Reign
 it had been found that 100,000 *l.* a Year, was sufficient
 for supporting the *Prince and Princess of Wales*, and all
 their Children ; but it had likewise been found that it re-
 quired 700,000 *l.* a Year to support the King's Household
 and civil Government, tho' he had no Queen nor any
 Children to provide for.

Anno 10. Geo.
 II. 1736-7.


This, Sir, was the *Experience of past Times* which gave
 Occasion to the Increasing his present Majesty's Civil List
 Revenue to 800,000 *l.* a Year ; but if we consider the Cir-
 cumstances of the Royal Family at the Time of his Ma-
 jesty's Accession, we must see that the Parliament from *this*
very Experience could not but conclude, that it would re-
 quire more than 700,000 *l.* a Year to support his present
 Majesty's Household and civil Government ; because he had
 a Queen and several younger Children to provide for, which
 the late King had not ; and from *the same Experience* they
 must likewise have concluded, that it would not require
 100,000 *l.* a Year to support the *Prince of Wales*, because
 he had then neither a *Princess*, nor any Children to pro-
 vide for ; for if they had concluded that 100,000 *l.* a Year
 would be necessary for supporting the *Prince of Wales* sing-
 ly, they must from the *Experience of past Times* have granted
 more than 700,000 *l.* a Year for supporting the present
 King's Household and civil Government, considering that
 he had a Queen and several young Children to provide for,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



which the late King had not; and since they granted for the Support of the present King's Household and civil Government, but exactly the same Sum that had been found from the *Experience of past Times* to be necessary, and had been actually given for the Support of the late King's Household and civil Government, it is apparent to me they concluded his Majesty might save and deduct as much from the Allowance to be made to the *Prince of Wales*, as would be sufficient for providing for her present Majesty the Queen, and all their other Children. From all which it is to me evident that the Parliament that established the present Civil List did not intend his *Royal Highness* should have out of it a full 100,000 *l.* a Year. They intended only what was right they should intend, and what only in due Deference to their Sovereign they could intend, which was, that his Majesty should allow the *Prince of Wales* what he, in his great Wisdom, might think a competent Allowance for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Heir Apparent to the Crown, considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which would necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

I think, Sir, I have now clearly shewn what his Majesty meant by, and what the Parliament could only intend from the *Experience of past Times*; and, if we now proceed upon the same Foundation, we must conclude, that 50,000 *l.* a Year is the most his Majesty can spare out of the Civil List for the Support of his *Royal Highness*. His Majesty allows 8000 *l.* a Year for the Support of his *Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*, 5000 *l.* a Year to her *Royal Highness the Princess of Orange*, 5,300 *l.* a Year for the *two eldest Princesses*, and 2000 *l.* a Year for the *two youngest*; all which are extraordinary Expences unknown in the late Reign. To these if we add the 50,000 *l.* a Year for the Support of her Majesty, which was likewise unknown in the late Reign, and a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the several Palaces, we must conclude that his Majesty must necessarily be at 100,000 *l.* a Year Expence more than was found, or could be necessary in the late Reign, which will make the whole Expence of his Majesty's Household, and civil Government, without including the Allowance of the *Prince of Wales*, amount, according to the *Experience of past Times*, at least 800,000 *l.* a Year; so that every Shilling his Majesty allows for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*, must arise from Frugality and good Management, and from contracting, and saving a Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign. Therefore, so far from
concluding

concluding or imagining that his Majesty may spare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*, we have reason to be surprized how he can spare so much.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



But this, Sir, will appear still more evident by an Example in private Life. Suppose two Country Gentlemen, each of 8000 *l.* a Year Estate in Land: Suppose their Rents equally good, and equally well paid, and that their Lands are equally taxed; and suppose that one of these Gentlemen has but one only Son, but that the other has five or six Children. Can we suppose the latter able to settle upon his eldest Son as large a Part of his Estate as the former may spare to settle upon his only Son? Surely, Sir, no Man in Reason can suppose any such Thing; the latter has his younger Children not only to maintain, but to provide for, and therefore neither he nor his eldest Son can live in such Grandeur, as the former and his only Son may do. This is the very Case before us: His present Majesty has but 800,000 *l.* a Year Estate, the late King had the same, if we add to his late Majesty's settled Revenue, the several additional Grants that were occasionally made to the Civil List in his Reign. His late Majesty had but one only Son; his present Majesty, to our Comfort and Happiness, has several Children; and therefore it is not to be supposed that the present King, or the present *Prince of Wales*, can live in such Grandeur, as the late King, and the present, whilst *Prince of Wales*, were able to do, unless the Parliament should think fit to encrease the Estate of the Crown by a new additional Grant to the Civil List Revenue.

I shall take no Notice, Sir, of the Insinuations that were made against the Management of the Civil List Revenue in the late Reign, or the Method of settling it in this. I do not think they any Way relate to the present Debate. The Management in the late Reign, might, if necessary, be easily accounted for; and the Method of settling the Civil List Revenue in this Reign hardly deserves the Name of an Improvement. But now after having shewn that we have not properly a Right to present such an Address as is proposed; that we ought not either in Wisdom, or Policy, or even common Decency, to present such an Address, I must beg, I must intreat of Gentlemen to consider what they are about. Gentlemen may call it, if they please, offering our Advice to our Sovereign; but it is really bringing his Majesty and his eldest Son as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. In this Light it will be looked on by every Man without Doors. It is stating ourselves as the higher Power, and bringing his *Royal Highness* to sue for Justice before us: Our agreeing to the Question, would be a determining that
his

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.




his Majesty had done Injustice to his eldest Son: It would be giving a Victory to the Son over the Father, which might prove, the Lord have Mercy on us, the Destruction of both. No Man can patiently bear an Inquiry into his Family Affairs; no Father can easily forgive a Son for appealing to a higher Power: For God's sake, let us stop in Time this widening Gap, which may make Way for an Inundation to drown us all. Our agreeing to such a Question might occasion a perpetual Breach, an *Immedicabile Vulnus*, tho' not, I hope, *Ense recidendum*. I hope the Wisdom of this House will timeously prevent any Amputation.

The Question now before us, Sir, is of a most dangerous Nature, it may be the Occasion of such fatal Consequences to the Royal Family and to the whole Kingdom, that I must think, the original Authors and Contrivers of it can be no Friends to either. I am far from suspecting any Gentleman of this House, or any Member of either House of Parliament. It is not possible for me to suppose that either of them could have been the original Author or Contriver of such a Question; and I am sure no Gentleman of either House would have attempted to have brought such a Question into Parliament, if he had viewed it in the same Light as I do. We may remember, Sir, the fatal Division that happened between his late Majesty, and his present Majesty when *Prince of Wales*: We may remember to what a Height that fatal Division was carried. The *Prince of Wales*, the eldest, the only Son of the King, and Heir Apparent to the Crown, was turned out of the Royal Palace, was excluded from every one of the Royal Palaces, and was obliged to live like a private Nobleman, in a private House, and without any Guards, or other Ensigns of Royalty. Nay, his very Servants were tempted and hired to forsake him, and were even threatned and bullied if they refused; yet it cannot be said that the Son was ever guilty of any undutiful Behaviour, or that the Father was deficient in natural Affection. To what then could this terrible Division be owing? It could be owing to nothing but little malicious Slanders and Tale-Bearers, who, for their own private Ends, stirred up a Division in the Royal Family: But it is well known they are all Foreigners who were the original Authors of it: We know there was not a *British* Subject had the least Hand in it. However, be they who they will, it is certain they could be no real Friends either to the Father or the Son, or to any of the Royal Family.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it now so much insisted on, that the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown has a
Right

Right to have a distinct and independent Provision settled upon him. I remember a Time when this Doctrine was far from being admitted as one of the Maxims of our Constitution. I remember a Time when the present Royal Family, who were then the presumptive Heirs of the Crown by Act of Parliament, were so far from being allowed a distinct and independent Settlement, that they had no Allowance at all: Nay, even when the Question was moved, the Parliament would not so much as give any of them Leave to come and reside in the Kingdom. The Maxim now insisted on was therefore very far from being thought a Maxim at that Time, and I should think it very strange, if those who were then so regardless of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, should now shew themselves so careful of the Apparent Heir, as to do an Injury to the King upon the Throne, for the Sake of providing a very large independent Settlement for the Apparent Heir.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7



I am likewise surprized, Sir, to hear the Term, Emancipation, made use of in this Debate. In this Kingdom to talk of the Son's being emancipated by Marriage out of the Family of his Father, is certainly not a proper and just Way of Speaking. In those Countries where the Term Emancipation was first made use of, the Son was in some Manner the Slave of his Father. In those Countries Fathers had at first even a Power of Life and Death over their Children, and a Right to every Thing the Son could acquire either by his own Industry, or by Gift, or otherwise; nor was the Son freed from his paternal Power by Marriage: The only Way of freeing him was by a solemn Act of the Father, an Edict of the Prince, or a Decree of the Magistrate; and the Freeing of the Son from the paternal Power by either of these Ways was called Emancipation. But in this Kingdom we can have no such Term, because the Father has not properly any Power over his Children; a Son after he comes of Age has no further Dependence upon his Father, than what proceeds from filial Affection and Duty, and this continues after his Marriage the same it was before; it is a Dependence, which never can, nor ever ought to be taken away: It is a Dependence which, I am sure, no Member of this House would endeavour to diminish; for whoever endeavours to diminish it can have no true Regard either for the Son or the Father.

But, Sir, I must confess, I am no way surprized to find that those who were some Time ago for inroaching upon the King's Prerogative with respect to the Officers of his Army, should now be for inroaching upon his paternal Power with respect to the providing in whatever Manner he

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



may think most proper for his own Children. I am persuaded neither of these Attempts proceeded from any real Disaffection to his Majesty, or his illustrious Family: I believe both proceeded from mistaken Notions of Liberty, or from an erroneous Idea of our Constitution; but I hope those Gentlemen will consider, that what they now propose is really in some Manner, as I have said, accusing his Majesty of Injustice towards his eldest Son. It will be so looked on by the whole Nation. This will of course very much lessen the Esteem the People have, and ought to have for his Majesty; and will certainly make many of them suppose he is no longer fit to rule over us. The Consequences of such an Opinion may be extremely fatal. For my own Part, if I were in a foreign Nation, and should hear that such a Question as this had been brought into the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and carried against the Father, I should expect to hear, by the next Post, that the same Parliament had deposed the Father, and had set the Crown upon the Head of the Son. This is a Consequence which, I am sure, the Son would be far from desiring to see; it is a Consequence which I am convinced no Gentleman in this House designs; but as it is a Consequence which I think sooner or later might be justly apprehended from this Question's being carried in the Affirmative, therefore I thought myself obliged to rise up and give my Reasons for being against it; and now that I have done so, whatever may happen to be the Fate of the Question, I am sure I shall sleep this Night much sounder in my Bed, and with a safer Conscience, than I could have done, if I had given only a bare Negative to a Question in which I think the Happiness of my King, the Happiness of the Royal Family, and the Happiness of my Country so deeply concerned.

To conclude, Sir, as the Honourable Gentleman who moved you this Question, has told us that several Arguments of great Dignity and Weight might be made use of against it, I have and shall always have so great a Deference for that Gentleman's Opinion, that I shall, upon all Occasions, be extremely cautious of giving my Assent to any Question against which he thinks any Argument of Dignity or Weight may be made use of. 'Tis true, he endeavoured to evade those Arguments by making some sort of Answer to each; but those Answers will, from what I have already said, appear, I think, to be very insufficient; so that the Arguments he made use of against his own Motion must now stand in their full Force. In all Questions, even where the Prerogative is concerned, which relate to Affairs of a public Nature, the Parliament may interpose, but in those
which

which relate only to the Royal Family, the Parliament can have no Concern: Even his Majesty's Ministers cannot properly or prudently intermeddle, unless specially called upon. As for the Parliament's refusing any Grant, when the Cause of granting ceases, it can have nothing to do in the present Debate; for there is no Pretence for saying that any one of the Causes for granting the present Civil List Revenue has ceased. And as to the Amount of the Civil List Revenue, and the Manner in which it is established, or the Uses for which it ought to be applied, I am surprized to hear any Objections made to the former, or any Attempt made for directing the latter, since at the Time of granting, as I am told, it was unanimously agreed to in one House, and with but one contradictory Vote in the other; and I do not hear that in either House there was the least Mention made of the Uses to which the Whole, or any Part, ought to be applied. In short, Sir, there was never any Thing happened in Parliament, gave me so great a Concern as the hearing of this Motion made. The very making of such a Motion may be attended with cruel Consequences; but if it should be agreed to, after having used my utmost Endeavours to prevent it, I shall pray to God to avert those Judgments which may be brought upon the whole Nation by our agreeing to such a Motion. This I take to be my next indispensable Duty; but I hope the Success of my Endeavours will prevent such a melancholy Occasion for my Prayers.

The Reply was by Mr. *Pultney* and the other Gentleman, who spoke for the Motion.

S I R,

The Importance of the present Debate I shall readily acknowledge, has been, I think, acknowledged by every Gentleman who has spoke upon either Side of the Question; but some of the Gentlemen who have spoke against the Motion, have endeavoured to represent it in a Light which, I am sure, it can no way bear; a Light which, I must say, can no way contribute to the Honour or Advantage of either of the two Royal Persons who seem to be concerned. To insinuate that either of them can conceive the least Grudge from any Thing that passes in Parliament, is really, in my Opinion, to insinuate, that they are ignorant, or not observant of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. This, I believe, the honourable Gentlemen were not sufficiently aware of, otherwise they would not have pretended that this Motion, or any Motion in Parliament, could ever occasion any Breach or Dispute between his Majesty and his Royal

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736.7.



Highness the *Prince of Wales*, or that it can lay any Gentleman under the least Difficulty how to behave.

As my Attachment to the present Royal Family is so well and so publicly known, I cannot, I think, be suspected of desiring or designing to foment or stir up any Division between them: I hope every one who knows me will do me the Justice to think, I would do all in my Power to prevent any such fatal Division; and for this very Reason I am for agreeing to the Motion now made to us; because it will remove that which is often the Cause of Dissension in private Families, and may be the same even with respect to the Royal; for when the Son is obliged to apply to the Father for every trifling Sum he may have Occasion for, it is a continual Fund for Dissension, and often begets a Coolness both on the one Side and on the other.

It is to be supposed, I hope, Sir, there will always be good Reason for presuming, that the Behaviour of every Gentleman in this House, with respect to any Motion he may make, or any Opinion or Vote he may give, is founded upon what he thinks right, upon what he takes to be his Duty as a Member of this House; and to imagine that his Majesty, or his *Royal Highness*, would be offended at any Gentleman's doing what he takes to be his Duty in Parliament, is certainly a very wrong, and a most groundless Imagination: But to suppose that either of them could conceive the least Grudge against the other, on account of any Motion or Question in Parliament, is to suppose that the Parliament is directed in every thing they do, either by the one or the other; which is a Supposition as injurious to the Honour of Parliament, as it is inconsistent with the Wisdom and Justice both of his Majesty, and of his *Royal Highness the Prince of Wales*; we therefore ought to suppose that neither his Majesty, nor his *Royal Highness*, knows any thing of what we are about; we are in Duty bound to suppose, that neither of them will be offended with the Fate of this Question, be it what it will; and it is impossible to suppose it can occasion any Breach between them; so that let the Importance of the Question be of ever so high a Nature, it can be of no *melancholy Concern*, nor can it be attended with any cruel Consequences. No Man can from thence imagine there is any private Mistake or Dispute between his Majesty and the *Prince*, because no Man can justly suppose, I hope no Man does suppose, the Proceedings in Parliament are directed by either. The only Thing they can suppose is, that his *Royal Highness* is not as yet provided for in the Manner he deserves, and in that Manner in which all former *Princes of Wales* have been; and this was
not

only supposed, but publicly known, and generally talked of, long before this Motion was thought of; therefore, if this Motion has any Effect on People without Doors, it will be, to shew them, that we are mindful of our Duty, and that we have a due Regard for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Happiness and Independency of the *Heir Apparent to the Crown*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

I am far from thinking, Sir, that our agreeing to this Motion will occasion any Breach between the two Royal Persons concerned: On the contrary, I am convinced it will be extremely pleasing to both. The Royal Father must be pleased to see his eldest Son and *Apparent Heir* so greatly beloved, as to have the Parliament interesting themselves in his Behalf; and the *Prince* will be pleased to see the Parliament taking Care of his being made independent of his Father's Ministers and Servants. Therefore no Gentleman can in that respect be under any Difficulty in giving his Vote for the Question; and I am surpris'd to hear it said that by voting for or against it, an Injury can be done to either of the Royal Persons concerned. Can the giving of an honest and disinterested Advice ever be looked on as an Injury to the Person to whom it is given? Can my refusing to give an Advice, which I do not think proper, be looked on as an Injury by any Person whatever? The Address propos'd is only by way of Advice; and it is giving our Advice in the humblest Manner. Shall this, Sir, be called a Violation of Property? Shall it be called a taking from the King that Property which is established in him by Act of Parliament? If the Motion had been, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000 *l.* from the Civil List, and settling it on the *Prince of Wales*, there might have been some Pretence for such Exclamations; but surely our advising his Majesty, in the humblest Manner, to give what we think the *Prince* ought to have, can never be called a Taking his Property from him by Violence; even supposing he had as good and as absolute a Right to the whole Civil List Revenue, as any private Man can have to his Estate! Which I cannot grant without some Restriction; for a private Man may squander his Estate in what Manner he pleases, whereas, if the Civil List Revenue should be ridiculously squandered, the Parliament would have a Right to interpose, and would, I believe, interpose in a Manner more effectual than that of Addressing.

To pretend, Sir, that the Parliament has no Power to appropriate Money after it is granted, or that we never enter into any Consideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without the previous Consent of the Crown, has

Anno 18 Geo.
II. 1736-7.



no Relation to the present Debate; because it is not now proposed to bring in a Bill for appropriating any Money, nor to take into our Consideration any Grants made to the Crown; it is only proposed to address his Majesty to make such a Settlement on the *Prince of Wales* as we think necessary for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth: But I must confess, I am at a Loss to know how the Power of Parliament comes to be confined in either of the Cases mentioned; I am sure the Parliament often in one Bill appropriates Sums of Money granted by former Bills in the same Session, and why it may not appropriate Money granted by a Bill passed in a former Session, I cannot comprehend: And, I think, but last Session, we took into our Consideration, and absolutely released a very large Sum of Money, formerly granted to the Crown, without any previous Consent of the Crown; for I do not remember we had any general Message from the Crown, when we passed the late famous Bill for and against Smugglers, by which a very large Sum of Money, due by them to the Crown, was absolutely released by Parliament; tho' it must be granted, his Majesty had as good and as absolute a Right to every Shilling of that Money, as he has to any other Part of the Civil List Revenue. Therefore, if a Motion had actually been made, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000 *l.* a Year from the Civil List, and settling it on the *Prince of Wales*, it would not have been without Precedent, with respect to our having no previous Consent from the Crown; and as the Parliament has certainly a Right to see every Sum of Money applied to that Use for which it was intended, tho' not expressly appropriated, with respect to the Power of Parliament, such a Motion would not have been entirely without Reason: But as the Motion now made to us is only for an Address, there can be no Doubt of the Parliament's having a Power to present such an Address as is proposed, and therefore the only Question is, Whether or no it be proper?

With respect to this Question, Sir, the Debate seems now indeed, by his Majesty's Message, to be brought within a very narrow Compass; it seems in some Manner to be reduced to one single Point, which is, Whether his Majesty can spare more than 50,000 *l.* from the Civil List Revenue, for the Use of his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*? By this Message even his Majesty seems to acknowledge, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have an independent Settlement, and that it is now high Time that Settlement should be made; and the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Message seems to admit that the Settlement proposed

proposed by it to be made is not a sufficient Settlement; so that the only Question now remaining is, Whether the Civil List Revenue, as it stands at present, can possibly spare a larger Sum for the Use of his *Royal Highness*? And from this being made a Question I shall shew, that the Address proposed is a very proper Address, and that it is become absolutely necessary for us to agree to present such an Address; but as some Objections have been made to the Right which the *Prince* has to a sufficient independent Settlement, I shall first beg Leave to answer some of the most material Objections I have heard made against it.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

The Maxims of State, Sir, in any Kingdom or Commonwealth, are always most certainly to be deduced from their ancient and general Customs: The Historians, or Political Writers of any Country, may be mistaken, they may deliver that as a Maxim of State which never had any Authority as such; they may neglect to mention, or may perhaps not observe a Maxim which has always obtained; but where a Custom has been long and generally received, the Maxim, or Rule in Politics upon which that Custom is founded, must be allowed to be a Maxim of State in that Kingdom or Commonwealth. Can any one then say, the settling of an independent and sufficient Provision upon the *Prince of Wales* is not a Maxim of State in this Kingdom? Is it not a Custom which has been observed, without any one Exception, as long, as far back, as we can trace our Monarchy? And the Wisdom of this Maxim, not only appears from the Nature of the Thing itself, but is expressly pointed at almost in every one of the Charters and Acts of Parliament that have been granted or made for that Purpose. First, with respect to the *Prince*, the Wisdom of this Maxim is evident, because he is thereby enabled to support the Dignity and Grandeur of his Birth, without a Dependence upon his Father's Ministers and Servants: And then with respect to the Crown itself, the Wisdom of this Maxim is still more evident, because it is established and secured by the Honour and Character acquired by the Heir Apparent. These two Considerations are both pointed at in the Charter, or Act of Parliament, by which *Edward III.* granted the Duchy of *Cornwall* to his Son *Edward the black Prince*; and in the Charter granted by that King for creating his Son *Prince of Wales*, the Reason for that Grant is expressly declared to be, for doing Honour to the King, and for adding Strength to the Nation and to the Royal Family. Thus, Sir, we see that the settling of an independent Provision upon the *Prince of Wales*, was looked on as a Piece of great Wisdom by *Edward III.* but now it seems we are

to

Anno 10 Ged. to look on it as a Solecism in Politics, as a Step which
II 1736-7. might be the Occasion of great Misfortunes to the Royal
 Family.

But, Sir, while I can distinguish between that laudable, that honourable Dependance, which proceeds from Royalty and filial Duty, and that vile, that sordid Dependance, which proceeds from Lucre, I shall always be of the same Opinion with our great King *Edward III.* The *Prince of Wales* must always have a Dependance on the King as his Father, as his Sovereign: This is a Sort of Dependance which no Man can, which no honest Man would endeavour to take away or diminish; but to say that he ought to have a pecuniary Dependance upon the King, or rather upon the King's Ministers, is to say he ought to have a Sort of Dependance which no Man of Honour or Spirit can submit to; and it is a Sort of Dependance absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution. The *Prince of Wales* is by his Birth the first Peer in Parliament, and consequently ought not to be subjected to a dishonourable Dependance upon any Man; but if it should once be established as a Maxim, that he ought to be under a vile pecuniary Dependance upon his Sovereign, it might then be justly said, he was not only the first Peer, but the first Pensioner in Parliament. — From this Consideration alone we may see how absolutely necessary it is, to have a sufficient and independent Provision settled upon every *Prince of Wales* before he comes to Man's Estate; and the making of such a Settlement will be so far from destroying or diminishing that Dependance which proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, that it will increase and secure it; whereas the keeping him under a pecuniary Dependance may provoke him to shake off both his Loyalty and filial Duty. A pecuniary Dependance is a Dependance of so slavish a Nature, that no great Mind can long bear it: The more Honour, the more Spirit a Man has, the more impatient will he be to get rid of such a Dependance, and that Impatience may at last get the better both of his Loyalty and his filial Duty.

Thus, Sir, in every Light we can put it, the Wisdom of this Maxim, and the Necessity of observing it, must appear evident to those who think there is any other Dependance in Nature besides that which proceeds from Lucre. Indeed to those who put no Trust in any other Sort of Dependance, the Politics of *Edward III.* and the Maxim on which those Politics were founded, must appear ridiculous and absurd; but, I hope, there are no such Gentlemen in this House. I hope there is no Gentleman in this House that ever submitted to such a slavish Dependance, or that ever endeavoured

voured to impose any such upon others ; and, I am sure, no Man can put his only Trust in that which he has never felt within himself, nor ever experienced in others.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




For this Reason it cannot but appear strange to me, that any Gentleman in this House should attempt to evade or deny the Maxim I have endeavoured to establish ; yet so loth, I find, are some Gentlemen to admit of it as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that they have ransacked our Histories to find out other Reasons for the frequent Settlements made upon our *Princes of Wales* ; and tho' the Security of the Crown, and the enabling the *Prince* to support the Honour and Dignity of his noble Birth, are the Reasons, and the only Reasons, mentioned in the Charters by which those Settlements were made, yet we are told these were not the true Reasons ; but that the true Reasons were, in order to do Honour to some County or Borough, to secure the Affections of a People newly conquered, or to declare and establish the Right of the *Prince of Wales* as next Heir to the Crown. Thus when we are to interpret ancient Laws or Charters, we are not to take their Meaning or Intention from the Words, we are to have no Regard to the express Words of the Law, but we are to take its Meaning or Intention from the History of some cotemporary Facts with which we cannot but be very well acquainted ; whereas when we are to interpret any late Statute, for Example, the Statutes by which the Civil List Revenue was established, we are to regard the Words only, we are not to take the Meaning or Intention of the Law from the History of those cotemporary Facts with which we are very well acquainted, and which Facts, to the particular Knowledge of many of us, greatly influenced the Passing of those Laws, and were the chief Cause of the Shape they now appear in. Whether this Method of interpreting Statutes be established upon any Rule or Maxim of Law, I do not know ; but to me it seems directly contrary to common Sense ; and therefore I must still continue to think, it has always been held as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a sufficient independent Estate of his own ; and that this Maxim, and the Wisdom and Policy upon which it is founded, were the chief Causes of all those Settlements that have been made.

A yearly Allowance, or an Annuity depending upon the Will and Pleasure of the King, might perhaps enable the *Prince*, if he resolved to spend the Whole, yearly as it comes in, to live in as grand a Manner, as an Annuity of the same Value settled upon him independently and for Life ; but as an Annuity depending upon the Will of any Man

must

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



must be precarious and uncertain, no Man of common Prudence will resolve to spend the Whole yearly : He will look on it as a Sunshine, upon the Continuance of which he can have no Dependance, and that therefore he ought to save as much as possible, in order to provide for a cloudy or rainy Day. Besides, Sir, an Annuity of such a Nature looks so very like a Pension, it would be inconsistent with the Honour of the Nation to suffer that the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown should have nothing else to depend on. It would even be inconsistent with our Constitution : In this Kingdom we do not admit the Judges of our Common-Law Courts to depend upon the precarious Will and Pleasure of the King, and shall we admit or suffer that the *Prince of Wales*, who is one of the Judges of the supreme and highest Court of Judicature in the Nation, should have nothing else to depend on ? Therefore we must conclude that, from the established Maxims of the Kingdom, from a continued Series of Precedents for a great many Ages passed, and from the very Nature of our Constitution, the *Prince of Wales* has a Right to a sufficient and independent Settlement ; and that the Parliament may interpose for making that Right effectual, has been shewn from many Precedents.

'Tis true, Sir, this likewise has been objected to, and it has been said, that the Parliament has seldom or never interposed but when desired or prompted by the Crown to do so ; or otherwise, that the Precedents are such as ought not to be drawn into Example. Sir, There is not one of the Precedents which have been mentioned, that appears to have been founded upon any Message from the Crown. The Motion was perhaps, in some of them, made by one who was known to be a Courtier ; but can it be said that the Motion's being made by a Courtier, without so much as signifying he had any Authority from the Crown for that Purpose, would have made it proper for the Parliament to have agreed to a Motion, which it would not have been proper for them to have agreed to, if the same had been made by any other Person, or by one who was not known to be a Courtier ? Therefore we must suppose, that without any Regard to the Mover, the Parliament approved of the Motion, and thought it such a one as was proper for them to agree to ; and from thence we must conclude, that every one of the Precedents mentioned in the Beginning of this Debate is a good Precedent for the Address proposed.

But unluckily, Sir, for the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, there are, I think, very sufficient Reasons for believing, the Address, or Petition of Parliament, for having *Richard* the Son of the *Black Prince* created *Prince*
of

of Wales, was resolved on by Parliament without any Direction from, nay probably in Opposition to the Court at that Time; for it appears from our Records, that that *young Prince* was sent to Parliament at the Desire and upon a Petition of the Commons; and when the Parliament addressed for having him created *Prince of Wales*, the King's Answer shews he was not very well pleased with the Address; for in his Answer he tells them, the creating of a *Prince of Wales* no way belonged to the Parliament, but to the King only; which is an Answer it can hardly be supposed he would have made, if the Address of Parliament had proceeded from his Authority, or had been moved for with his Approbation: Then again, from the Circumstances of the Court at that Time, it is not probable the King would have been so forward in creating his Grandson *Prince of Wales*, if he had not been forced to it by his Parliament; for it is certain that King, in his old Age, fell into a Sort of *Love Dots*, and gave himself entirely up to the Management of his Mistress *Alice Pierce*, and his second Son, the *Duke of Lancaster*, which raised a most reasonable Jealousy in *Edward the Black Prince*, who was then upon his Death bed, and therefore could not but be anxious about the Safety and Right of his only Son *Prince Richard*, whom he found he was soon to leave a Child in the Hands of a doting Grandfather, and an ambitious aspiring Uncle. For this Reason, 'tis thought, he applied privately to Parliament, and they obliged the King to send his second Son abroad, and to banish his Mistress and all her Favourites from Court, which happened only about a Year before the *Black Prince's* Death; but no sooner was that *Prince* dead than the King recalled this *Duke of Lancaster*; and *Alice Pierce*, and her Favourites, resumed their Places and their Interest at Court, insomuch that a Member of the House of Commons was imprisoned for having spoke freely against her in Parliament, and was actually a Prisoner, when *Prince Richard* was created *Prince of Wales*, which shews that the King was then very much under her Management; and it is not very probable she would advise the King to be so very speedy in conferring that Honour on *Prince Richard*, since she could not but be sensible that *young Prince's* Father had been the Cause of her having been banished the Court. For these Reasons I think it may most probably be presumed, that both the Motions in Favour of *Prince Richard*, both that for his coming to Parliament, and that for creating him *Prince of Wales*, were made and carried in Parliament, in Opposition to the Court at that Time. This fully justifies the Motion now made, and shews we have a Right

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.




and a Power to interpose in Favour of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, without any previous Consent or Approbation from the Crown; and I hope it will not be said of the Reign of *Edward III.* as has been said of the Reign of *Henry VI.* that nothing that happened in that Reign ought to be made a Precedent for any thing in the present Reign.

But, Sir, even with respect to the Reign of *Henry VI.*

— As unfortunate, as tempestuous a Reign as it was, there were many Things then done by Parliament, which ought to be made, and which, I hope, always will be followed as good Precedents, as often as the Parliament has the same Occasion. When the Nation has the good Fortune to be under a wise and a prudent Administration, the Parliament has never an Occasion to exert any of its extraordinary Powers. It is in a weak Reign, or under a wicked Administration, we are to look for the Powers of Parliament; it is in tempestuous Times the State flies to Parliament for Preservation; there, I trust in God, the State shall always find it, and then the Power of Parliament can be bounded by nothing but the Good of the Public.

Another Precedent, which we are told ought not to be followed, is that which happened in the Reign of King *William*; and why is not this to be followed? Because it produced a Prorogation. Sir, I say, for that very Reason it ought to be highly applauded, and ought to be followed. Can it be said that the *Princess Anne of Denmark* ought not to have had some additional Settlement made upon her? Would not such a Neglect have been a Blemish upon the Glory of that Reign? Yet that wise and great King, by the Advice of some weak or malicious Favourites, would probably have committed that Error, or would at least have omitted that Duty, if it had not been for the Honour, the Fidelity, and the Obstinacy of his Parliament. They thought it was what the King ought to do, they therefore thought it was their Duty to advise him to do it; they insisted upon it, notwithstanding the King's Displeasure, and by disobliging him they put one of the greatest Obligations upon him; because they at last prevailed with him to do that which was right. The Behaviour of that Parliament is therefore a glorious Example, which, I hope, will be followed by this. I can have no Apprehension that an unreasonable Prorogation will be the Consequence of our agreeing to this Motion; but if it should, it can be no Reason against our agreeing to the Motion: It would be a strong Reason for our resuming the Affair, and agreeing to a Motion of the same Nature the very first Day of the next Session.

But

But we have been told, Sir, there may be a Reason for *Anno 10. Geo.*
the Parliament's interposing between a King and his pre- *II. 1736-7*
sumptive Heir, which can never hold with respect to a 
King and his eldest Son; because it is not so natural for a
Man to provide honourably for his presumptive Heir, as it
is to provide for his own Children. Suppose then a King,
who has no Children, does not provide honourably for his
presumptive Heir, what is it that gives the Parliament a
Right to intermeddle? Is it not the Right which that pre-
sumptive Heir has by the Constitution and Maxims of this
Kingdom to a sufficient independent Settlement, and the
Power the Parliament has to see that Right made effectual?
And has not the *Heir Apparent* as good a Right, by the
Constitution and Maxims of this Kingdom, to a sufficient
independent Settlement, as the Heir presumptive? Surely
he has; he has not only the same Right by the Maxims of
the Kingdom, but also an additional Right by the Laws of
Nature; and if the King his Father should neglect or re-
fuse to give him his Right, which may certainly happen
some time or other to be the Case, has not the Parlia-
ment a Power to see that Right, at least, which he has by
the Maxims of the Kingdom, made effectual? To say they
have not, would be to tell us, that where the Maxims of
the Kingdom only are neglected, the Parliament may in-
terpose, in order to procure a Remedy; but where both the
Laws of Nature, and the Maxims of the Kingdom are
neglected, the Parliament cannot interpose, nor make the
least Step towards procuring a Remedy.

To avoid falling into such a palpable Absurdity, we are
told, that common Decency does not admit of the Parlia-
ment's interposing between Father and Son, that it would
be intermeddling in the King's domestic Affairs, and pre-
scribing to his Majesty what Provision he should make for
his Children; and lastly, that tho' the Parliament may
have a Right to offer Advice to their Sovereign in Affairs
which regard his Political and Royal Capacity, yet they
never ought to offer Advice to him in any Affairs which
regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity. As for
common Decency, Sir, it can never be inconsistent with a
Man's Duty; therefore if it be the Duty of Parliament to
interpose so far between the King and his eldest Son, as to
advise the Father to make that Settlement upon his eldest
Son, which he is bound to make by the Maxims and the
Laws of his Kingdom, common Decency can never forbid
or prevent the Performance of that Duty, nor can any hum-
ble and respectful Address or Petition from Parliament, ever
be called a Prescribing to the King what Provision he

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




should make for any of his Children; but if it should, the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family are in some Manner the Children of the Nation, as was in a late Case most solemnly decided; they are all so much the Children of the Nation, that the Nation is in Honour bound to see them provided for in a Manner suitable to their high Birth; therefore the Parliament has some Sort of Right to prescribe what may be deemed an honourable Provision for every one of them; they are to give that Provision, and surely they have a Right to see what they give properly applied. But with respect to the eldest Son, and *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, it has been made so fully appear, and has been so generally admitted, that the Nation has a Concern in seeing him honourably provided for, that I am surprized to hear it so much as insinuated, that an Address for that Purpose would be an intermeddling in the King's domestic Affairs, or in those Affairs which regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity: It is an Affair which regards his Majesty's *Political and Royal Capacity* as much as it does his Natural and Paternal Capacity; and therefore the Parliament has as good a Right to offer their Advice in that Affair as they can have in any other.

I hope, Sir, I have now, to the Satisfaction of every Gentleman in the House, established his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales's* Right to a sufficient and independent Settlement by the Maxims of the Kingdom, and, I hope, I have equally established the Power the Parliament has to interpose, at least by an Address, in order to see that Right made effectual, both from Precedent and from the Nature of the Thing itself. — With respect to the Right which his *Royal Highness* may have to such a Settlement, either in Law or Equity, from the Method in which the Civil List is now established, and from the Statutes by which that Establishment was made, I hope no Gentleman expects we are bound to make out the Right in the same Manner it would be, or ought to be made out, in any of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*; and therefore, I believe, I need not take any Notice of that Learning which has been made use of, to prove that he has not such a Right as would be recoverable in any of the Courts below. It may be true, that he has no such Right as would entitle him to sue and recover in any of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and yet he may have a Right both in Law and Equity, and such a Right as the Parliament are bound to see made effectual. The Courts of Common Law, we know, are confined to very strict Rules, it is necessary they should be so; but in Parliament we are bound to follow Justice and Equity wherever we can find,

find it, and to administer it impartially when we have found it: In so doing we shew a proper Regard to the Honour and Interest of the Crown, as well as the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; and while his Majesty's Ministers are as loyal as his faithful Commons have always shewed themselves to be, the general Equity of an Act of Parliament will be as sacred, as religiously observed, and as closely adhered to at St. *James's*, as the Words of it are in *Westminster-Hall*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



But, Sir, notwithstanding the narrow Limits our Judges at Common Law have confined themselves to, notwithstanding their close Adherence to the Letter of the Law, I can hardly believe they will give it as their Opinion, that the *Prince of Wales* has no Right either in Law or Equity to a Support out of the Civil List Revenue; because he has certainly as good a Right to that Share of the Civil List Revenue which was intended for him by Parliament, as they have to the Salaries they enjoy. Neither his Right nor their Right is founded upon the express Words of any Statute, they are both founded upon the Meaning and Intention of the Legislature, at the Time those Statutes were passed, by which the Civil List is established, and they must stand and fall together. I do not mean to say, that our learned Judges would at any Time be biassed in their Opinion by their own Interest, I am sure the present would not. No, Sir; they certainly think, and every Man, I believe, thinks, they have both a legal and an equitable Right to the Salaries they now enjoy, and as the *Prince of Wales's* Right stands upon the same Foundation, they would certainly judge of it as they do of their own, and would consequently give it as their Opinion, that it was a Right founded both in Law and Equity.

Surely, Sir, neither the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, nor any Lawyer, nor any Man in the Kingdom, can say, the *Prince of Wales* has no Right to have a necessary Support allowed him out of the Civil List. The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question do not pretend to say any such Thing; they have even told us, the eldest Son of every Landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be supported out of his Father's Estate, and that that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family; but, say they, he has no legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Estate, or to any Share but such as his Father pleases to allow him, unless that Right be established by some Settlement agreed to by the Father. Is not this, Sir, to tell us, the Son has a Right and no Right? He has a Right to be supported out of his Father's

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.


ther's Estate, but he has no Right to that Support, unless his Father pleases to allow it him. This Method of arguing might, for what I know, be of some Weight in *Westminster Hall*; but surely, it can be of no Weight in this House. If a Son has a Right to be supported out of his Father's Estate according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family, he certainly has both a legal and an equitable Right to that particular Share of his Father's Estate which bears a just Proportion to, and is determined by the Character and Circumstances of the Family; and if the Father does not allow him that Share, he certainly withholds his Right from him. This Right may perhaps not be recoverable in any of the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*; but there are many good and just Rights which are not made recoverable in *Westminster-Hall*, because the making them recoverable there, would occasion such a Multitude of Law-Suits, as would be inconsistent with the general Good of Society: The Right a Man has to Gratitude in Return for Benefits bestowed, is not recoverable by any Action or Suit at Law, yet that Right is as good and as equitable a Right as any Right a Man can have. In the same Manner the Right the *Prince* has to a sufficient independent Settlement out of the Civil List Revenue, is a good and an equitable Right, and tho' it be not recoverable at Law, yet it is such a Right as may be regarded, and ought to be enforced by Parliament.

To make still a farther Use of the Rights of private Men, in order to clear up the Right now under our Consideration; suppose, Sir, a Country Gentleman has a small Estate, and a great Number of Children; suppose a neighbouring Gentleman, or a Relation, of a plentiful Estate and bountiful Disposition, takes Notice of his Neighbour's or his Relation's Difficulties, and in order to relieve him, and enable him to support his Family, settles a large Annuity upon him for Life; and suppose that in the Deed for establishing that Annuity it is expressly mentioned, that the Annuity was granted him in order to enable him to support and provide honourably for his Family; I should be glad to know whether the eldest Son of that Country Gentleman would have any Right to be supported out of that Annuity, and what Sort of Right he would have? I believe in that Case, he would have not only a Right established upon the general Principles of Equity, but such a Right as would be recoverable in the Court of Chancery, especially if the Grantor of the Annuity joined with him in the Complaint. And I am very certain, if the Annuitant should waste his Annuity, and neglect to provide sufficiently

for

for his Children, especially for his eldest Son, the Grantor would have a Right to complain, or at least to advise, or desire of him that he would apply the Annuity to those Uses for which he had granted it; and his giving such an Advice would be absolutely necessary, if he intended that the Annuitant's eldest Son and Apparent Heir, should likewise be his Heir, and next Successor to his Estate. This is so apposite to the Case now before us, that I need not make any Application. It not only shews that the *Prince* has a Right to a sufficient Settlement out of the Civil List Revenue, but it shews that we have a Right, that we are in Duty bound to interpose, in order to see that Right made effectual.

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



Thus, Sir, it appears the *Prince* has a Right to be supported out of the Civil List Revenue by the general Maxims of the Kingdom, and also by the Meaning and Intention of those very Statutes by which the present Civil List was established; and if he has a Right to any Support, he has certainly a Right to a sufficient Support, to such a Support as the high Character of the Royal Family of *Great Britain* may require, and the present Circumstances of the Civil List Revenue will admit of; therefore, if the Settlement proposed, by the Message now before us, to be made, be not sufficient, the Message is so far from being an Argument against, that it is one of the strongest Arguments that can be thought of, for the Motion; because it shews that without the Interposition of Parliament, his *Royal Highness* is not to have, nor can expect a sufficient Settlement. That the Settlement proposed to be made upon his *Royal Highness* by this Message, is not sufficient, has been in some Manner acknowledged by the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Message; but farther, Sir, it has been expressly acknowledged by the King himself. By the Regulation and Settlement of the *Prince's* Household, as made some Time since by his Majesty himself, the yearly Expence comes to 63,000 *l.* without allowing one Shilling to his *Royal Highness* for Acts of Charity and Generosity. By the Message now before us, it is proposed to settle upon him only 50,000 *l.* a Year, and yet from this Sum we must deduct the Land Tax, which at two Shillings in the Pound amounts to 5000 *l.* a Year, we must likewise deduct the Sixpenny Duty to the Civil List Lottery, which amounts to 1,250 *l.* a Year, and also we must deduct the Fees payable at the Exchequer, which will amount to about 750 *l.* a Year more; all which Deductions amount to 7,000 *l.* a Year, and reduces the 50,000 *l.* a Year proposed to be settled upon him by the Message, to 43,000 *l.* a Year: Now as his

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Royal Highness has no other Estate but the *Duchy of Cornwall*, which can't be reckoned at the most above 9,000 *l.* a Year, his whole yearly Revenue can amount but to 52,000 *l.* a Year; and yet the yearly Expence of his Household, according to his Majesty's own Regulation, is to amount to 63,000 *l.* a Year, without allowing his *Royal Highness* one Shilling for the Indulgence of that generous and charitable Disposition with which he is known to be endued, to a very eminent Degree. Suppose then we allow him but 10,000 *l.* a Year for the Indulgence of that laudable Disposition, his whole yearly Expence, by his Majesty's own Acknowledgment, must then amount to 73,000 *l.* a Year, and his yearly Income, according to this Message, can amount to no more than 52,000 *l.* a Year. Is this, Sir, shewing any Respect to his Merit? Is this providing for his Generosity? Is it not reducing him to a real Want, even with respect to his Necessities, and consequently to an unavoidable Dependance, and a vile, a pecuniary Dependance too, upon his Father's Ministers and Servants? I confess, Sir, when I first heard this Motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my Opinion; but this Message has confirmed me: I now see that without the Interposition of Parliament, his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, must be reduced to the greatest Straits, the most insufferable Hardships.


After what I have said, Sir, I think I need not take up your Time with shewing the yearly Value of the Settlements made upon former *Princes of Wales*; the Insufficiency of the Settlement proposed for the present is so demonstrable from the Calculations and Accounts I have laid before you, that there is Occasion for having recourse to former Precedents, for shewing that Insufficiency; yet I cannot omit taking Notice to you, that the Revenue enjoy'd by the late *King James* while *Duke of York*, tho' but presumptive Heir of the Crown, amounted to 104,000 *l.* a Year; and the Revenue enjoy'd by the present King, while *Prince of Wales*, amounted to upwards of 100,000 *l.* a Year; which I take Notice of, in order to shew you, that his Majesty did not propose any Thing extraordinary or extravagant, when he regulated and settled the Household for his present *Royal Highness*.

I come now, Sir, to the last Question, and which I take to be, indeed, the only Question in this Debate, which is, Whether it be possible for his Majesty to spare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*, from the Civil List, as it now stands established? And this Question I shall consider in two Methods: first, by shewing that the Civil List

as now established, must amount to above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than was ever had or enjoy'd by his late Majesty; and next, by supposing that it amounts to no more than was enjoy'd by his late Majesty. In the first Method, Sir, let us remember, 'twas acknowledged in Parliament before the late Gin Act was passed, that the Produce of the whole Taxes, Excises, and Duties, appropriated to the Civil List, amounted to 818,000 *l.* a Year: I believe it will be admitted that the 70,000 *l.* a Year granted by that Act to the Civil List, and made payable out of the Aggregate, or rather out of the Sinking Fund, does more than compensate the Loss the Civil List sustained by taking from it the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, in which Case the Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, occasioned by the preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, must wholly be a nett Profit to the Civil List: The Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, if I am rightly informed, amounted for the very first Quarter, I mean from *Michaelmas* to *Christmas* last, to near 30,000 *l.* one Half of which goes to the Civil List; so that we may reckon the Civil List has got by the Gin Act, an Addition of at least 60,000 *l.* a Year; besides what is got by the Increase of the Wine-Licence Duty, which every one knows has been greatly increased by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors. Then, Sir, let us recollect, that a little before his present Majesty's Accession, the Civil List was discharged of 36,200 *l.* a Year in Pensions, which, during the greatest Part of his late Majesty's Reign, were paid out of the Civil List, but ever since his Majesty's Accession have been a Burthen upon, and paid out of the public Service. Let us add together these three Sums of 818,000 *l.* 60,000 *l.* and 36,200 *l.* and they amount to 914,200 *l.* which, according to the highest Probability, we must allow to be the yearly Amount of the Civil List Revenue as now established, and which is 114,000 *l.* a Year, more than was enjoy'd by his late Majesty, even including all the particular Grants that were occasionally made to the Civil List in his Reign.

But, Sir, this is not all; his present Majesty has had one very extraordinary Grant of 115,000 *l.* made to the Civil List; and the 80,000 *l.* granted as a Fortune to the Princess Royal, may properly be said to have been an extraordinary Grant to the Civil List; for tho' I am far from finding Fault with that Grant, yet as the Civil List was granted in order to enable his Majesty to make an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family, that Princess's Marriage Provision should have been paid out of the Civil List; and since the Public took it upon them, it ought to be looked on as a new and an extraordinary Grant made to the Civil List.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Then, Sir, I must not forget another yearly Addition; which may be looked on as a very great Sum, considering from whence it comes, I mean a Sum of 40,000 *l.* a Year from *Scotland*, which is now a yearly Addition to the Civil List. I will not, indeed, take upon me to say, that the Whole or any Part of that Sum is brought *in Specie* to *London*; but if it is laid out for paying Pensions in *Scotland*, which must be paid yearly out of the Civil List Revenue, I may take upon me to say, it prevents an equal Sum from being sent yearly *in Specie* from *London*. From all which Considerations I think it is evident, his present Majesty has above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than his late Majesty ever enjoy'd, and therefore we must conclude he may easily spare 100,000 *l.* a Year for the Use of his *Royal Highness*, without any great Frugality or good Management, and without contracting any Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign. I am now, Sir, to make a Supposition, which, I believe, no Gentleman that hears me, will join with me in: I am to suppose that the Civil List Revenue, with all the Additions and Improvements lately made to it, does not produce one Shilling more than his late Majesty enjoy'd, including the several occasional Grants that were made to him: In short, I am to suppose, it does not produce one Shilling more than 800,000 *l.* a Year; and if upon this Supposition I can shew, that with tolerable Management, it may spare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince*, I am sure every Gentleman will conclude, his *Royal Highness* ought to have at least that Sum settled upon him; and the Opposition that has been made to this Motion, and the Message we have received, will be additional Arguments for having that Sum settled upon him in the most independent Manner. We may remember, Sir, or at least we may see by the Journals, that when the 700,000 *l.* a Year was settled upon his late Majesty, the State of the King's Household, and also the State of the *Prince of Wales's* Household, and the whole Articles of Expence necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, or of the *Heir Apparent*, were very minutely and maturely examined into and considered, and upon that minute and strict Examination it was found, that 600,000 *l.* a Year was sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and that 100,000 *l.* a Year was the least that was necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent*. In the Calculations made at that time, we are not to suppose, the Parliament restricted themselves to the nett sum which appeared to be necessary for supporting the King's Household and Civil Government. We cannot suppose any such Thing, because the nett Sum
found

found necessary for that Purpose in the late Queen's Time, appears never to have exceeded 430,000 *l.* a Year; and in the first Year of the late King, the whole Expence of his Household and Civil Government, amounted to but about 453,000 *l.* so that if they had reitricted themselves to the nett Sum which appeared to be necessary for supporting the King's Household and Civil Government, they could not have computed the Sum necessary for that Purpose at above 460,000 *l.* a Year; but they considered that something was to be allowed yearly for Acts of Generosity and Charity, and something was likewise to be allowed yearly for what is called secret Service Money; for both which, it seems, they computed 140,000 *l.* a Year would be sufficient, and therefore reckoned that a gross Sum of 600,000 *l.* a Year would be sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, to which they added 100,000 *l.* a Year more for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*.

Anno 10 Geo.

II 1736 7.



The 140,000 *l.* a Year allowed for Acts of Generosity, and for secret Service Money, was then thought to be a very large and a very sufficient Allowance; and from the Experience of the former Reign, from the Experience of the Reign of *Queen Anne*, there was good Reason to think it a very sufficient Allowance; for in all that Reign, besides what was allowed for secret Service Money to the Generals of our Armies, and most profitably, most gloriously for the Nation bestowed by them, or at least by one of them, I mean our General in *Flanders*, there appeared to be but two Sums given to any secret or unknown Uses, and these were so small, so trifling, it would surprise one; for the one was a Sum only of 1200 *l.* and the other of 500 *l.* only; and even as to these, upon a particular and private Enquiry, it appeared, the first had been issued for entertaining *Prince Eugene*, when he did this Nation the Honour of a Visit, and the other had been made a Present of to one of the Queen's own Relations. From hence, I say, the Parliament had good Reason to think that 140,000 *l.* a Year was a sufficient Allowance to his late Majesty for Acts of Generosity, and for secret Service; but I do not know for what Reason, or by what Fatality, the Branch of the Civil List Expence called secret Money, increased prodigiously in the late Reign: It increased so prodigiously, Sir, that in four Years, from the Year 1721, to 1725, that Branch of the Civil List Expence amounted to 2,728,000 *l.* which was at a *Medium* 682,000 *l.* a Year, as appeared by an Account which happened by some Chance or other to be laid before Parliament. By that Account it appeared, that vast Sums of Money had been given for Purposes which nobody under-

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. flood, and to Persons whom nobody knew, or ever heard of; for which Reason in the Beginning of the following Session, the Account having been laid before the House at the very latter End of the former Session, several Gentlemen had a Mind to have it taken into Consideration, but this Enquiry was warded off, by telling them, the Parliament could not take into their Consideration any Account that had been presented to a former Session.

It is to this only, Sir, we are to impute the Necessity of making any new Grants to the Civil List in the late King's Reign; for as to the visible Expence of the King's Household and Civil Government, it was no Way increased, or at least not considerably increased, above what it was in the former Reign, or in the first Year of his own; and as the visible Expence of his present Majesty's Household and Civil Government is no way, or but very little, increased above what the Expence of the late King's Household and Civil Government amounted to, even supposing the present Civil List Revenue to amount to no more than 800,000 *l.* a Year, we must conclude that 100,000 *l.* a Year may easily be spared out of it, for the Use of the *Prince of Wales*; for allowing 460,000 *l.* a Year to be now necessary for supporting the nett Charge of the King's Household and Civil Government, which is 30,000 *l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the late Queen's Reign, and 7000 *l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the first Year of the late King's Reign; allowing 50,000 *l.* a Year for the Queen; allowing 50,000 *l.* a Year for *Prince William*, the Princesses, and for a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the several Palaces; and allowing 100,000 *l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; his Majesty has remaining 140,000 *l.* a Year to be employ'd in Acts of Generosity, and in secret Service, which is as large a Sum as the Parliament thought necessary for that Purpose in the Beginning of the late Reign, and is, in my Opinion, a larger Sum than can, in Time of Peace, be wisely or prudently employ'd in that Way, especially considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences which do, and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

From the Account I have given you, Sir, of the prodigious Increase of secret Service Money in the late Reign, we may more clearly see, than perhaps we could do before, what was the Intention of that Parliament which established the present Civil List upon his Majesty, and what was then meant by the *Experience of past Times*, and therefore I shall take the Liberty to explain myself upon that Head. The
surprising

surprising Account of the secret Service Money I have mentioned, was then fresh in every Man's Memory; it had been under their Consideration but a Year or two before; and the extraordinary Amount of that Account had been so much and so lately found fault with, that they would not certainly have agreed to settle upon his present Majesty as large a Civil List as had been settled and given to the late King, but that they considered that his Majesty had a Queen-Consort and several younger Children to provide for, and therefore could not allow his Ministers to run into any such extraordinary Expence with respect to secret Service Money, but would apply what might and ought to be saved upon that Article, to the making an honourable Provision for the Queen-Consort, and for his younger Children. As his late Majesty had in the Whole but 700,000 *l.* a Year, as that Revenue had enabled him not only to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, but to employ a much larger Sum in secret Service Money than had ever before been, or ever could for the future be necessary or safe in this Kingdom, according to the Opinion of many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, those Gentlemen could not, from the *Experience of past Times*, conclude, that 700,000 *l.* a Year would be necessary for his present Majesty, if they had not considered as I have said that his present Majesty had a Queen-Consort and several younger Children to provide for, and that whatever could be saved out of the Sums needlessly, as they thought, expended in secret Service Money by his late Majesty, might be usefully employ'd by his present Majesty, in making an honourable Provision for his Royal Family; therefore, and for this Reason only, they agreed to the settling 700,000 *l.* a Year upon his present Majesty for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for his Royal Family; and to this Sum 100,000 *l.* a Year more was added, in order that he might settle upon the *Prince of Wales*, as soon as he came to *England*, the same Revenue he had himself enjoy'd in the Life-time of his Father.

From this State of the Case, I think, we may evidently see, what the Parliament then meant by the *Experience of past Times*, and what they intended with respect to the *Prince of Wales*; but, Sir, to put this Matter in another, and yet a clearer Light, I shall beg Leave to divide the Civil List Revenue settled, and occasionally granted to his late Majesty, into three Parts; one Part, amounting to 460,000 *l.* a Year, is that which was applied for the Support of the King's Household and Civil Government, and was a little larger than had ever before been found necessary for that Purpose:

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

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Anno 10. Geo. the other Part, amounting to 100,000 *l.* a Year, is that
 II. 1736-7. which was settled, and had, during the whole Reign of
 the late King, and, indeed, I may say, ever since the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles II.* been deemed the least Sum that was necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown; and the remaining third Part, amounting to 240,000 *l.* a Year, is that which was allowed to his late Majesty for Acts of Generosity and Charity, and for secret Service Money, but had always been thought by most Men without Doors, and, I believe, by most within, to be too large a Sum, and was really at least twice as large a Sum as had ever been allowed for these Purposes to any former King of this Nation. Upon his present Majesty's Accession it appeared, that he was subject to a Charge which the late King was free from, I mean that of providing for his Queen and younger Children; yet he neither asked, nor did the Parliament grant him any greater Civil List Revenue than the late King enjoy'd. This additional Charge which the present King was then subject to, was therefore certainly intended, both by King and Parliament, to be thrown upon some one, or some two of the three Parts into which I have divided the King's Civil List Revenue, or upon the three jointly; and considering the Circumstances of these three Parts, which were then exactly as I have represented them to you, I must refer to every Gentleman that hears me, whether it is not most probable, that both King and Parliament intended to throw this additional Charge either solely upon the third Part, or upon the First and Third jointly? Is there not all the Reason in the World to presume, that both King and Parliament then intended that the second Part should be entirely free from this additional Charge? And is not this still the more probable, on account of the *Prince of Wales's* being then actually come to Man's Estate, and the whole Nation in daily Hopes of seeing him married and soon blessed with Children?

Sir, If there were not a Man alive who was then in Parliament, I should, from this State of the Case, be convinced, the Parliament then intended the *Prince* should have his 100,000 *l.* a Year without one Shilling Abatement; but I had then the Honour to be a Member of Parliament myself, I know what was my own Intention, I know what was the Intention of many others, I know we all intended and expected the 100,000 *l.* a Year should have been settled on the *Prince of Wales* as soon as he came to *England*: And I very well remember, the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion for settling the present Civil List Revenue,
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made use of it as an Argument for his Motion, that the *Prince of Wales* was then near of Age, and that it would be very soon necessary to settle the same Revenue upon him, that had been settled upon his Father, whilst *Prince of Wales*. This, Sir, I say I very well remember, and I remember too, that it seemed to be the Reason which had most Weight with the House, and which, I believe, chiefly procured his Motion almost an unanimous Approbation. Gentlemen may talk what they please about gathering the Intention of an Act of Parliament from the Words only: This may be the Rule in *Westminster-Hall*, but it is impossible it can be the Rule in either House of Parliament, especially when there are so many Members now in each House who had a Share in the Passing of that Law. They must gather the Intention of the Act from the Intention they themselves had at the Time of its Passing, and their Testimony ought to have some Weight with those who had not the Honour of being Members of either House at the Time the Law was passed.


Anno 10. Geo.
11 1736-7.



It certainly was the Intention of Parliament, Sir, I hope it still is the Intention of Parliament, that his *Royal Highness* should have at least 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil List; and since it is now made manifest by the Message delivered to us in this Debate, that he is like to be disappointed of one Half of what was, and, I hope, still is, intended for him by Parliament, it is become absolutely necessary for us to address his Majesty, in order to know from him the Reason of that Disappointment. If the Civil List Revenue produces above 900,000 *l.* a Year, as I believe it does, it may certainly spare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; if it produces but 800,000 *l.* a Year nett, which no Man believes, yet even in that Case, it may spare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, according to the best Judgment we can form from the Experience of any former Reign: But suppose it true, that by reason of some new and extraordinary Articles of Expence, the Civil List Revenue cannot spare above 50,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, we ought to have that Answer from the King himself, and in a proper and direct Manner, which we can have no other Way but by Means of the Address proposed. If such an Answer should be returned to us, I am sure it will then be our Duty to enquire into the Produce, and into the Disposal of the Civil List Revenue, especially that Part of it which is pretended to be laid out in secret Services. The Civil List Revenue was never so high as in this Reign: It is a most dangerous Revenue, especially when a very considerable Part of it may be applied, no

Man

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Man knows how: It is a sharp Instrument in the Hands of a Minister, which may some Time or other be employ'd in cutting the Throat of our Constitution. During his present Majesty's Reign, we cannot apprehend that any Part of it will be converted to a bad Use; but I hope I shall never see such a Revenue granted in any future Reign, nor granted in such a Manner. Money generally carries Persuasion along with it; therefore it is most justly to be apprehended, that some future guilty Minister, provided with such a large Fund of Persuasion, and that Persuasion supported by an armed Force, may be enabled to do whatever he pleases with our Constitution; and as either he or our Constitution must be sacrificed, we may easily judge which will bleed at the Altar.

As his Majesty's Message to the *Prince* was in Writing, and is now communicated to us by his Majesty's Command, it may be made use of, and is certainly a very strong Argument in favour of the Motion; but, Sir, I am surpris'd to hear the *Prince's* supposed Answer made use of in this House as an Argument against the Motion; because the *Prince's* Answer neither was in Writing, nor was desired to be given in Writing; and as I took it down in Writing soon after his *Royal Highness* delivered it, I must beg Leave to say, it was not exactly in the Terms the noble Lords who brought the Message seem to have reported; therefore I wish they had given his *Royal Highness* previous Notice of the Message, and desired that he might prepare to give them an Answer in Writing, which would have prevented any Surprize of the one Side, or any Mistake of the other; for I am convinced the noble Lords did not designedly make any Mistake in their Report. Altho' I took down his *Royal Highness's* Answer in Writing, yet, Sir, I shall not pretend to communicate it to this House, since I have no Authority from him for that Purpose; but thus much I may observe, that if his *Royal Highness* said he was sorry for any Thing, it was, That he was sorry any Gentleman of either House of Parliament should have Occasion to give himself any Trouble about that Settlement which ought to be made upon him; and this I believe the greatest Part of the Nation are sorry for as well as his *Royal Highness*: I am sure every Man who has a true Regard for either his Father or him, or for any of their illustrious Family, must be sorry for it. However, Sir, suppose his Answer was in the Words reported; It is so full of filial Duty and Respect, that it is a new Argument for the Address proposed; because the great Respect which his *Royal Highness* there shews for the King his Father, may very probably prevail upon him

him to submit to very great Difficulties, rather than take the Liberty of troubling his Father with any new, tho' most necessary Demand; which is a strong Argument for the Necessity of his having a sufficient independent Settlement, and for the Parliament's interposing in his Behalf.

Anno. 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.

So unlucky, Sir, are the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, that nothing has happened, almost nothing has been said during the Debate, but what tends to fortify the Argument against them. This, I am sure, may most justly be said of the melancholy Account they have given us of that unlucky Dispute which happened between the present King, when *Prince of Wales*, and the late King his Father. I shall most readily agree, that that Dispute was owing neither to any Want of paternal Affection in the late King, nor to any Want of filial Duty in the present, but to the Pride and Vanity of some mean and low Sycophants and Tale-Bearers. Now, Sir, I would be glad to know from those Gentlemen, what sort of Situation they think the present King, who was then *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, would have been reduced to, if he had had no independent Settlement of his own, or not a sufficient independent Settlement? The Account they have given us of his Situation is melancholy enough; but if he had not been provided with a sufficient independent Settlement, would not the Account of his Situation have been a great deal more dismal? Would not he have been obliged either to submit to, and become the Slave of those very mean and low Sycophants, or to subsist by the Generosity and Beneficence of his Friends? And we know, Sir, how hard it is to meet either with Generosity or Beneficence, when People are sensible that their Generosity or Beneficence will be imputed to them as a Crime against the State. Can any thing be said, Sir, can any thing be thought of, that can justify our agreeing to the Motion, more than this very Accident? For if ever any such unlucky Accident should happen (which God forbid) it may happen when his *Royal Highness* is blessed with as many Children as the King his Father was, when that Accident happened to him; and we are not certain that the Court would, in such a Case, behave in the same manner towards his Children.

I am surprised, Sir, to hear a Motion for an humble Address, called a Stating ourselves as the higher Power, and bringing the *Prince of Wales* and his Majesty as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. Can Advice be called a Degree, or is the common Stile of an Address the Stile of a superior Power? But I am still more surprised to hear it said, our agreeing to the Question would be a determining that his Majesty has,

Anno 10. Geo. done Injustice to his eldest Son. Does not every one know
H. 1736-7. that our Kings can do no Wrong, that they can do no Injustice ? If any Wrong is done, we must always necessarily suppose it done by the Ministers ; and if any of them has told the King that 50,000*l.* a Year is sufficient for supporting the *Prince of Wales*, or has led his Majesty into such an Expence that he cannot spare more out of the Civil List, I will say they have done Injustice, and the Nation will, the Nation ought to suppose they are no longer fit, nor ought to continue to rule over us ; so that whatever Foreigners may think, no Man who understands our Constitution, can expect or suppose our agreeing to this Motion will be attended with any such Misfortune as has been represented.

Our agreeing to this Question, Sir, can be attended with no Misfortune to any Branch of the Royal Family, nor can it be the Occasion of any Quarrel or Breach between the King and the *Prince* : Indeed it may be the Occasion of his Majesty's quarrelling with those who have told him that 50,000*l.* a Year is enough for his eldest Son ; because it is to be presumed, his Majesty will give more Credit to his Parliament than to any Counsellor he has about him ; and consequently will dismiss them from his Councils, for telling him what he finds by the Address of his Parliament to be a notorious Falshood : Or it may be the Occasion of his Majesty's quarrelling with those who have led him into such an Expence, as not to be able to spare above 50,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales* ; because such an Address from Parliament would certainly procure a Contracting of that Expence for the future, or would produce an Enquiry into the late Management of the Civil-List Revenue, by either of which his Majesty would find, they had led him into a needless Expence, the certain Consequence of which would be, his turning them out of his Service. Our agreeing therefore to the Motion can never produce any Breach between the Royal Father and the Royal Son ; but if we should disagree to the Motion, it will afford an Opportunity for evil Counsellors to confirm his Majesty in that Error they have already endeavoured to lead him into ; and as one wicked Step generally begets a second, worse than the first, they may very probably represent this Motion in Parliament as procured by his *Royal Highness*, in order to distress his Majesty's Measures, and to procure himself a much larger Settlement than he has any Occasion for. This second Step, we have some Reason to dread, Sir, even from the Words of the Message now before us ; and therefore we have great Reason to dread that our disagreeing to the Motion may produce, or at least be the distant Cause of a perpetual
 Breach

Breach between the Father and Son ; but in that Case it cannot be said, that those who have endeavoured to do Justice to the Son were the Cause of the Breach ; we must look for the Cause in the opposite Corner ; and, I hope, if there should ever be any Necessity for an Amputation, it will fall upon those who most justly deserve it.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

We have heard a great deal, Sir, of the ill Effects our agreeing to this Motion may have on the People without Doors. These Apprehensions, Sir, I have shewed to be without any Foundation, at least with respect to his Majesty himself, or any of his illustrious Family ; but let us consider the ill Effects our not agreeing to this Motion may have upon People without Doors, with respect to the Opinion they may from thence form of the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, or of the Justice and Equity of Parliament. What will People think, what will they say of the *Prince of Wales*, when they hear that his Settlement is reduced to one Half of what has, for these many Years last past, been thought necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent*, or *Presumptive* to the Crown of *Great Britain* ; and that at a Time when every other Provision for the rest of the Royal Family has been vastly increased ? The Civil List is now near double what it formerly was : The Dowry settled upon her present Majesty, and most deservedly settled, is double what was ever settled upon any former Queen. The Marriage-Provision granted by Parliament to the *Princess Royal*, is double what was ever given to any *Princess Royal* of *England* ; for King *Charles I's* Daughter had but half the Sum, and even that, I believe, was never paid ; and King *James II's* Daughter, whom King *Charles II.* looked on as his own, had but 40,000*l.* when married to the *Prince of Orange*, afterwards our glorious Deliverer ; nor was that Sum fully paid, I believe, till he came to be our King ; when, I do not know but he might have Interest enough to see himself paid. If we should disagree to this Motion, will not the People have Reason to conclude, that we have no great Opinion of the Merit of the present *Prince of Wales* ? Will they not from thence imagine he is not worthy of succeeding to the Throne ? They would certainly imagine so, Sir, if it were possible ; but, thank God, his Merit is publickly and generally known : Every one knows that no Part of any Settlement made upon him will be hoarded up to the Detriment of public Circulation, nor the least Part of it converted to any wicked or ridiculous Use : No, Sir ; whatever he may have more than necessary for supporting the Dignity of the *Apparent Heir* to our Crown, will, we are sure, be wholly

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

employed in Acts of true Charity and public Utility. So far as the *Prince* can spare it, the Wants of every deserving Man will be supplied, the Unfortunate will be relieved, and whoever excels in Virtue and true Merit will be forwarded. As this is the Case with respect to his *Royal Highness*, what Opinion can the People without Doors form of the Proceedings within? Will they not be apt to say, our Proceedings are directed, not by Justice, but by some selfish and sordid Consideration?

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion fully and freely in this Affair. I know the Danger I am in by appearing in favour of this Motion. I may perhaps have a Message sent me, I may lose the Command I have in the Army, as other Gentlemen have done for the same Reason, before me; but I should think myself a pitiful Officer, if I were directed in my Voting or Behaviour in this House, either by the Fears of losing the Commission I have, or the Hopes of obtaining a better; and if any Minister whatever should send to threaten me with the Loss of my Commission, in case I did not vote in Parliament as he directed, I should receive the Message with a suitable Indignation, and would be very apt to treat the Messenger in such a manner, as I do not think decent here to express. While I have the Honour to sit in this House, I shall upon all Occasions endeavour to judge impartially, and shall always vote with Freedom, according as my Honour and Conscience direct; and as I am convinced his *Royal Highness* has a Right, and ought to have a sufficient independent Settlement; as I am convinced 50,000*l.* a Year is not a sufficient Provision for the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; as I am convinced, the Civil List, if rightly managed, may easily spare 100,000*l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*; as I am convinced this is the Sum which was intended for him by that Parliament which established the present Civil List Revenue; and as I am convinced his Majesty has been misinformed, or ill advised, otherwise this Sum would have been settled upon him long before this time; therefore, as a Member of this House, as a loyal Subject to his Majesty, and a sincere Friend to his Family, I think myself obliged in Duty, in Honour, in Conscience, and in spite of every sordid Temptation to the contrary, to endeavour as much as I can to give my Sovereign a right Advice, and a true Information.

The Question being put, the Division was, *Noes* 234;
Yeas 204.

We have been obliged in this Debate, to throw all that was said in one general Argument, the Speakers upon that Occasion being so very numerous, that it unavoidably occasioned

tioned a frequent Repetition of the same Arguments, which *Anno 10. Geo.*
tho' it pleased in the Hearing, might disgust in the Reading. *II. 1736-7.*

On the 28th the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That a Sum not exceeding 79,723*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service for the Year 1737. That a Sum not exceeding 604*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* should be granted to his Majesty for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service, and not provided for by Parliament. That a Sum not exceeding 62,401*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ should be granted to his Majesty to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Service of the Year 1736. That a Sum not exceeding 10,043*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ shall be granted to his Majesty to replace to the Sinking-Fund the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the additional Stamp-Duties at *Christmas* 1735, pursuant to a Clause in an Act of Parliament passed in the 4th Year of his Majesty's Reign, for raising 1,200,000*l.* by Annuities and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731. That a Sum not exceeding 42,817*l.* 10*s.* should be granted to his Majesty on account of the Subsidy payable to the King of *Denmark*, pursuant to the Treaty bearing Date *September* 19, 1734, for three Quarters of a Year to *September* 19, 1737.

On *March* 4, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That a Sum not exceeding 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* should be granted to his Majesty upon Account, for Out-pensioners of *Chelsea* Hospital for the Year 1733. That a Sum not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ should be granted to his Majesty for defraying several extraordinary Services and Expences incurred in the Years 1735 and 1736, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hospital at *Greenwich*, for the Maintenance of the Seamen of the said Hospital worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country.

Several Gentlemen upon that Occasion took Notice of the great Charge that Hospital was like to bring upon the Public. They said they would not oppose the Motion then made; but they could not neglect that Opportunity of taking Notice, that notwithstanding its being a Time of Peace, the Charge of that Hospital seemed to be every Year increasing; for that last Year the Sum provided by Parliament for that Article was but 24,518*l.* 10*s.* and the preceding Year it was but 18,850*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* so that the Sum then demanded was very near 10,000*l.* more than was found necessary

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7



necessary for the same Service but *two* Years before. They would not, they said, pretend to suggest what were the particular Reasons for that great Increase; but there was one general Reason which would always hold, while we kept up such a large number of regular Forces, and observed the same Rules with respect to admitting Persons into that Hospital. In Time of War there had been two Rules established for intitling Soldiers to the Benefit of that Hospital; one of which was, a Soldier's being wounded or maimed in the Service, and discharged by his Colonel, as unfit for further Service; and the other was, a Soldier's having been *twenty* Years in the Service, and reduced, or discharged by his Colonel, as an old and decrepid Soldier. While the War continued, no Man could claim a Title to the Hospital by either of these Rules, unless he was by his Age, or his Wounds, become actually unfit for Service; because, as Recruits were then hard to be got, no Colonel would discharge a Soldier, as long as he was any way fit for Service; and there were but very few who could ever claim the Benefit of the last Rule; because most of them were either killed or wounded before they could be discharged as a Soldier grown decrepid with Age: Whereas, now, in Time of Peace, we had not, it was true, many Soldiers who could claim any Title from the first Rule; but the Numbers of those who might claim a Title from the second would be increasing every Day; for as Recruits were now easily procured, the Officers were very apt to discharge an old Soldier, as often as they could find a clever, well-look'd young Fellow ready to list in his stead, tho' the old Soldier might then be as fit for real Service, but not perhaps so proper for a Review, as the Man newly listed; and as none of our Soldiers were in Time of Peace in any great Danger of being killed, almost every Soldier in our Army would at last come to have a Title, by his having been *twenty* Years in the Service, to claim the Benefit of being admitted into *Chelsea* Hospital; and that at an Age perhaps when he might not only be fit for Service, but fit for gaining his Livelihood by any industrious Employment; for if a young Fellow listed when but *eighteen* Years of Age, at his Age of *eight and thirty*, if he could obtain a Discharge from his Officer, he would have a Title to claim being admitted into *Chelsea* Hospital; and by Means of a long Beard, a ragged Coat, and good Interest at the Board, he might even at that Age be admitted to a Share of that Charity, which was designed only for the Disabled and Decrepid. From hence they could not but suppose, that a peaceable Army would always furnish *Chelsea* with more Pensioners than a fighting Army

Army of the same Number could be supposed to do ; and the Pensioners drawn from the former would live longer to enjoy their Pension, and to be a Burden upon their Country, than the Pensioners drawn from the latter.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

These Things, they said, they took Notice of, not with any Design to oppose the Motion, but only to shew the many Disadvantages that attended the keeping up of a numerous Standing-Army in Time of Peace; and at the same Time they hoped it would contribute towards making those concerned as careful as possible, not to admit any to the Benefit of that Hospital, but such as were truly Objects of Charity, and deserved to be supported at the Expence of their Country.

To this it was answered, That tho' the Nation, by Means of the wise Measures pursued by his Majesty and his Royal Predecessor, had been so fortunate as to remain for many Years in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, tho' that happy State should continue for many Years to come, yet it had always been, and, they believed, would always be deemed necessary to keep up some regular Troops; and while they kept up any such Troops, it would be necessary to grant a Subsistence or Relief to those Soldiers who should grow old and decrepid in the Service; for a poor Man had no other Way to provide for the Infirmities of old Age, but by the Industry and Frugality of his Youth; and if a poor Man should in his Youth forsake every Sort of Business by which he might provide for the Infirmities of old Age, in order to make himself fit for serving his Country as a Soldier, and in order to be ready upon all Emergencies to venture his Life in the Cause of his Country, such a Man, tho' he partook of the Happiness of his Country, and passed thro' Life without Danger, yet he deserved as much to be provided for by his Country in his old Age, as if he had been during his whole Life involved with his Country in Bloodshed and Danger; and in the former Case he would more probably stand in need of it than in the latter; because in Time of Peace, a Soldier had nothing but his bare Pay, out of which it could not be supposed he could save any Thing as a Provision for old Age; whereas in Time of War, Soldiers were often allowed to plunder, and sometimes enriched themselves by the Spoils of their Enemies.

For this Reason, if the Pensioners in *Chelsea* College should become a little more numerous in Time of Peace than in Time of War, it was a Disadvantage which could not be prevented, but it was a Disadvantage that was sufficiently compensated by the many Advantages the Nation reaped from a State of Peace and Tranquillity; and the maintain-

Ann 10. *Geo.*
II. 1736-7.



maintaining a sufficient Number of regular Troops had contributed, and would always contribute towards securing and prolonging the Enjoyment of those Advantages. However, they said, they could not admit that any Officer would be very apt to discharge a Soldier, as long as he was every Way fit, and properly qualified for the Service; because the Breeding of a young Fellow up to Discipline, and making him thorough Master of his Exercises, was always a great Trouble to the Officer; and if the Officer should discharge such a Man, the Board were not obliged to admit him to the Benefit of *Chelsea* Hospital, even though he had been *twenty* Years in the Service, unless he was some Way disabled, or grown very old and decrepid; at least if any such Man was admitted, he was immediately sent to the Regiment, or to some of the Companies, of Invalids, and by that Means was made to serve for that Subsistence which he received from his Country, as long as any Service could be expected from him; so that they believed, there were few or no Soldiers upon the Establishment of *Chelsea* Hospital, but such as were real Objects of Charity; and they were very sure the Commissioners of that Board had been of late as careful as possible not to admit any Man upon that Establishment who was not every way entitled to the Benefit, as would fully appear if any Enquiry should be made into that Affair; and then the particular Reasons for the late Increase of the Charge of that Hospital would not only be made to appear, but would, they were convinced, be approved of by every Gentleman in that House.

This was the Substance of what was said of each Side upon this Occasion; after which the Question was put upon the Motion, and agreed to without a Division.

The next Affair upon which there was any considerable Debate in the Committee of Supply, was on *Wednesday* the 9th, and *Friday* the 11th of *March*, when the Motion was made for granting a *Million* to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities; but as this was a Sort of Resolution which had never before been moved for, or agreed to, in any Committee of Supply, we shall give our Readers an Account, how the Method of Proceeding came to be altered *last Session*, with respect to the paying off the National Debt, and the Application of the Sinking-Fund for that Purpose.

As soon as the House had upon the said *March* 9th, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider

sider of the Supply granted to his Majesty, Sir Robert Walpole stood up, and spoke to the following Effect, viz.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

SIR,


I have a Proposition to make to the House, which I think will tend to the Advantage of the Public, and against which there cannot, in my Opinion, be any Objection made, therefore I hope it will be agreed to without Opposition; but in order to make Gentlemen thoroughly comprehend the Advantage of what I am to propose, I must beg Leave to explain a little the present Circumstances of the Sinking-Fund, and the Method hitherto observed with respect to the disposing of the Produce of that Fund.

Sir Robert
Walpole.

We all know, Sir, that the whole Produce of the Sinking-Fund must be regularly, as it arises, deposited in his Majesty's *Exchequer*, and there wait the future Disposition of Parliament, so that no Part of it can be applied to any Use but that to which it has been appropriated by some preceding Session; and the Method this House has generally taken for disposing of that Fund, has been, To resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Application of the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund. This has always been the Method we have hitherto taken for applying that Fund towards paying off any Part of the National Debt; and as we seldom or never pay off under a *Million* at a Time, there is generally 5 or 600,000 *l.* Part of the Produce of that Fund, which lies for several Months quite dead and useless in his Majesty's *Exchequer*; which we must look on as a great Disadvantage to the Public, especially when we consider that the Government is during that Time obliged to borrow Money at Interest for answering the current Service of the Year.

This, Sir, has been the Case for several Years past, and must always be the Case for every Year to come, if the Proposition I am to make, or something like it, be not agreed to; for it is well known the Funds provided by Parliament for the current Service of the Year do not immediately produce such Sums as are necessary for answering the Charges of the Government, and therefore his Majesty is every Year empowered to borrow Money for that Purpose upon the Credit of some of the Funds granted by Parliament for the current Service of that Year; for which he is obliged to pay an Interest of at least 3 *per Cent.* which is an annual Charge of 10, 15, or perhaps above 20,000 *l.* a Year to the Public, and a Charge which might, I think, be prevented, by enabling his Majesty to make use of the Produce of the Sinking-Fund then lying dead in the *Exche-*

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



quer; and whatever Sums might be found necessary to be taken from the Sinking-Fund for answering the immediate Service, might be replaced by the Produce of the annual Funds, before *Michaelmas*, the Time when the Produce of the Sinking-Fund is generally to be issued by Direction of Parliament for paying off a Part of the National Debt; or if the Whole should not be replaced before that Time, a small Sum might then, and not till then, be borrowed for making good the Deficiency; so that the Government would never be obliged to borrow so large a Sum, or for so long a Time, as they generally are, according to the present Method.

For Example, Sir, the Produce of the Sinking-Fund is generally computed from *Michaelmas* to *Lady-Day*, and from *Lady Day* to *Michaelmas*; and it is to be supposed this House will, in the present Session, order the Sum of *one Million*, being the growing Produce of that Fund from *Michaelmas* last till *Michaelmas* next, to be applied to the Paying off so much of the National Debt: This Payment cannot be made before *Michaelmas* next, and as the Produce of that Fund will bring into his Majesty's *Exchequer* by *Lady Day* next, or soon after, 5 or 600,000 *l.* that whole Sum must, according to our former Method of ordering the Application of that Fund, lie dead in the *Exchequer*, without its being in the Power of the Public, or the Government, to reap any Benefit from it; and in the mean time, as the Produce of the annual Funds cannot answer the immediate Occasions of the Government, his Majesty may probably be obliged at *Lady Day* next, or soon after, to borrow 5 or 600,000 *l.* at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Credit, I shall suppose, of the *Malt Tax*, in order to answer those Demands which may occur before the Produce of that Tax can come in to satisfy them: Now if his Majesty were empowered to make use of the Produce of the Sinking-Fund in the mean time, it would prevent his being under a Necessity of borrowing any Money at *Lady-Day* next; and whatever should be found necessary to be taken in the mean time from the Sinking-Fund, might be replaced by the Produce of the *Malt Tax*, or some of the other Funds provided for the current Service of this next ensuing Year, before *Michaelmas* next, which is the soonest any Payment can be directed to be made out of the Produce of that Fund; or if the Whole should not then happen to be replaced, a small Sum might be then borrowed for a short Term, in order to make good the Deficiency, and to make that Payment to the public Creditors, which, I suppose, will by this Session be directed to be made at *Michaelmas* next.

I hope, Sir, I have explained myself so as to be understood by every Gentleman that hears me; and if the House thinks fit to agree to what I propose, the proper Method of doing it will, in my Opinion, be, To come to a Resolution in this Committee, to grant his Majesty *a Million* towards redeeming the like Sum of some of the public Debts; and when we take this Affair into our Consideration in the Committee of Ways and Means, we may resolve, That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the Sum of *one Million* out of such Monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise of the Surplusses, Excesses, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking-Fund. This, Sir, I take to be the proper Method of carrying what I have proposed into Execution, and if I find the House approves of it, I shall take the Liberty to rise up again, and make you such a Motion as, I think, ought to be agreed to in the Committee we are now in.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

As this new Method of ordering the Application of the Sinking-Fund was generally approved of, the same Gentleman stood up on the 11th, when the House had again resolved itself into the said Committee, and after a short Speech, moved, to resolve, That the Sum of *one Million* should be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea Company*, as was then commonly called *Old South-Sea Annuities*.

But as many Gentlemen were of Opinion the said *Million* ought not to be applied towards redeeming any Part of the *South-Sea Capital*, but towards redeeming a Part of the *Bank Capital*, there ensued a long Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were by Mr. *Pultney* and others to the Effect as followeth, viz.

Mr. Pultn.
Sir William
Windham,
Mr. Waller.

S I R,

As the Sinking-Fund is one of the most useful Funds that ever was established in this Kingdom, as it is the only Fund from which we can expect a Diminution of our Taxes, and an Ease to ourselves or our Posterity, and as the Disposition of that Fund is left intirely to the Wisdom of Parliament, we ought to be extremely careful of applying it yearly to that Purpose from which the greatest Benefit may redound to our native Country; and when we happen to be in Circumstances so lucky as to be able to apply the whole Produce towards discharging so much of the National Debt, the only two Questions that can fall under our Consideration, are, What Part of the public Debts are most grievous to the Nation in general? and, What Part may be paid off with the greatest Ease to those who are the Creditors of the Pub-


Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. lic? The first Question deserves, and will certainly meet with our greatest Regard; but if it should appear, that the Interest of the Public is no way concerned, which Part of the National Debt shall be first paid off, the second Question will then deserve our Attention; because the greater Regard we shew to the Creditors of the Public, the more we shall establish the public Credit; and the more the Credit of the Nation is established, the more easy will it be for us to reduce the Interest now payable upon our public Funds.

If there were any of our public Debts that bore an Interest higher than the rest, that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and, consequently, ought to be the first to be paid off; but as the whole Debt of the Nation is now reduced to 4 *per Cent.* or under, except about 1,600,000 *l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* and which cannot be redeemed till their Term be expired, therefore, the Rate of Interest can be of no Weight in the present Question. With Regard to the Interest of the Public, I can think of but three other Motives that can induce us to pay off any one of the public Debts, or a Part of any one of the public Debts, rather than a Part of any other: The first I shall take Notice of is, the Amount of the Sum due; for where several Debts are due to several different Persons, natural or political, that Debt which is the largest is certainly the most grievous, and ought first to be paid off, or at least diminished so as to bring it upon a Par with others. The next Motive may be drawn from the Taxes which are mortgaged for paying the Interest; for those Creditors to whom the most burdensome Taxes are mortgaged, ought to be first paid off, in order that we may have it the sooner in our Power to free the Nation from those Taxes: And the third Motive depends upon the Nature of those Companies or Corporations, to whom our present Debts are owing; for a Company that is engaged in Trade, and is enabled to extend their Trade further than they could otherways do, by Means of that Interest which is payable to them from the Government, deserve better to have that Interest continued to them, than a Company, or Sett of Men, who carry on no Trade, or whose Trade can receive no Increase, by means of the Debt due to them by the Public; and, therefore, no Part of the Debt due to the former ought to be paid off, as long as there is any Thing due from the Public to the latter.

Now, Sir, with respect to every one of these Motives, I think, they militate strongly in favour of the Motion now made to you. The Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company is vastly larger than the Debt due to any other Company in
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the Kingdom, and, therefore, not only according to the Rules of Proportion, but according to that Rule which will always, I hope, be the chief Director of our Resolutions, I mean the Interest of the Nation in general, whatever Payments we are able to make ought to be generally applied towards diminishing the Debt due to that Company : Then as to the Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our public Debts, those which are mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company are the most burdensome, as will appear to any Gentleman who examines into that Affair ; and of the three great Companies who are the chief Creditors of the Public, it must be granted, the *South-Sea* Company carries on the least Trade, and is the least capable of extending their Trade, by means of that Interest or Annuity which is due to them from the Public. Thus in every Light we can put it, if we have a proper Regard for the Interest of the Nation in general, we must conclude, that we ought to apply the Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards paying off a Part of the Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company, rather than any other ; and as the Debt due to them is now divided into three different Parts, I think, the next Payment ought to be applied to that Part now called *Old South-Sea Annuities* ; because the Annuities ought to be all paid off, before we pay off any Part of their Trading Stock ; and as the last Payment was made to the *New South-Sea* Annuities, the next ought to be made to the *Old*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



But suppose, Sir, that the Interest of the Nation in general is no way concerned, which Part of the public Debt shall be first paid off ; in that Case we ought to shew a Regard to the Ease and Advantage of the several public Creditors, by making the next Payment to those who will suffer the least by such Payment's being made to them. It is now the good Fortune of this Nation to have its Credit so well established, that all our public Funds sell at an advanced Price ; so that it is a Disadvantage and Loss to every one of the public Creditors to have any Part of the Debt due to him paid off ; therefore, if the Interest of the Nation be quite unconcerned, we ought to direct the Payments to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off ; and of all the public Creditors, the Proprietors of the *South-Sea* Annuities are certainly those that will suffer the least ; because as there is a much larger Sum due to them than to any other Sett of public Creditors, the Loss cannot fall so heavy upon each particular Person ; and as the Fund they are in Possession of does not sell at a Price near so high as either the *Bank* or the *East-India* Stock, consequently the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities cannot

Anno 10. Geo. cannot be such Losers as the Proprietors of *Bank* or *East-India* would be, in case the next Payment were directed to be made to either of them; for a Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities can lose but 12 or 13 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off; whereas a Proprietor of *Bank* Stock would lose above 50 *l.* and a Proprietor of *East-India* Stock would lose near 80 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off. From hence, Sir, it must appear, that if we have any Regard to the Creditors of the Public, we must order the growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund for this current Year to be applied to the paying off so much of the *South-Sea* Debt; and, therefore, I must conclude, that in Justice to the public Creditors, as well as in Justice to the Nation, the Motion now made ought to be agreed to.

The Answer to this, and the Arguments made use of for shewing the Reasonableness of making the next Payment to the *Bank*, were in Substance thus, *viz.*


S I R,

As to the Usefulness of the Sinking-Fund, and the Advantages the Nation may reap from it, I entirely agree with the Hon. Gentleman who made you the Motion: I think it is one of the most useful Funds that was ever established in this Kingdom; I know it is the only Fund by which we or our Posterity can expect to get free from any of those Taxes which now lie so heavy upon our Trade in general, and upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers in particular; but I cannot agree with that Hon. Gentleman in Opinion, That the Disposition of the Sinking-Fund is left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament. The contrary is, in my Opinion, evident from the very Words of those Acts of Parliament by which that Fund was established; for by them it is expressly appropriated to the paying off such of the public Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th of *December*, 1716, so that the only Disposition left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament is, with respect to the Manner and Method of paying off those Debts: The Parliament may direct what Sum shall be paid off at any one Time, and at what Time such Payment shall be made; or it may direct which of those Debts any future Payment shall be applied to; but by the original Institution of that Fund, it was certainly designed not to leave it in the Power of Parliament to apply that sacred Fund to any other Purpose than that of paying off the National Debt contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716; at least so far as any one Parliament can limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments. How far, or in what Case, any future Parliament may or ought to break thro' that Restraint,

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is a Question which, I hope, we shall have no Occasion to discuss in this Session: I am glad to find we have no such Intention at present; for the only Question now before us is, Which of the public Debts contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716, the next Payment ought to be applied to? And in considering that Question, I hope I shall be able to make it appear, that, if we regard the public Good, and that impartial Justice which is due to all the public Creditors, the next Payment ought not to be applied to the *South Sea Stock*, or Annuities.


Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



With respect to the public Good, or the Interest of the Nation in general, it has been granted, Sir, that if any of our Debts bore a higher Rate of Interest than the rest, that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and consequently ought to be the first paid off; and at the same time it has been granted, that there is a Debt of 1,600,000*l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* Is it not then evident that this Debt of 1,600,000*l.* ought to be the first to be paid off? But we are told, this Debt cannot be redeemed till the Expiration of their Term. I know it cannot; and I likewise know, we cannot come at the Redemption of this Mortgage, till after we have paid off the whole of the other Debts due to the *Bank*. Is not this a strong Reason, Sir, for our paying off as fast as possible all the other Debts due to the *Bank*, in order to come at the Redemption of this Mortgage of 1,600,000*l.* which is now the heaviest Mortgage this Nation groans under? And what still adds to the Weight of this Argument is, that by the time we have paid off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, and for which they have only an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* their Term will be expired, so that we can then redeem this heavy Mortgage without further Delay; whereas, if we do not now begin to pay off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, we cannot, even when their Term is expired, have it in our Power to redeem this Mortgage, because, by Agreement, we cannot redeem it till we have paid off all the other Sums due by the Public to that Company. Therefore, if we have any Regard to the public Good, we ought to apply every future Payment to the *Bank* till they are entirely paid off, or at least till they agree to take 4 *per Cent.* for this 1,600,000*l.* as well as for the rest of their Fund, which would be a saving of 32,000*l.* *per Annum* to the Public, and a Saving that would greatly contribute towards enabling us to reduce all our public Debts to 3 *per Cent.* Interest.

Now, Sir, with respect to the other Motives mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, for inducing us to pay off a
Part

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




Part of one Debt rather than a Part of any other, I shall readily admit, that it is more grievous to owe a large Debt than to owe a small Sum; but I cannot admit that, therefore, of two or more Debts the largest ought to be first paid off, or at least diminished, so as to bring it upon a Par with others; for in private Life it is always reckoned better for a Man to owe a large Sum to one Person, than to owe a Sum of equal Value to a great Number of different Persons; and for this Reason we often find Gentlemen of Estates borrowing a large Sum of Money from one Person, in order to pay off a great Number of small Creditors, tho' they seldom or never have, or can obtain that Advantage which the Public at present enjoys, of making partial Payments to that large Creditor. If a private Man owed 1000*l.* to one Man, and 4 or 5000*l.* to ten or a dozen different Persons, tho' he had a Privilege of making partial Payments to his large Creditor; yet, if he could save 500 or 1000*l.* a Year out of his Estate, he would certainly apply that Saving towards discharging his small Debts, rather than towards discharging yearly a Part of the large Debt. In like manner with regard to the Public, it was formerly reckoned better to owe a large Sum to the *South Sea Company*, than to owe the same Sum to a great Number of private Persons; which was one Reason among others, for inducing the Legislature to grant them a Power to take in by Purchase or Subscription, or pay off all the irredeemable and redeemable Debts then due by the Public to a great Multitude of private Persons. This, I say, was then deemed to be a Benefit to the Public, and will certainly appear to be such, as often as the Public has any Proposition to make to its Creditors; so that the Largeness of the *South Sea Debt*, in Comparison with the Debt due to any other Company, should rather be an Argument for making no partial Payments to them till all the other smaller Debts be first paid off.

But, Sir, there is another Advantage which will accrue to the Public from paying off the Whole, or a great Part of the Debt, due to the other Companies, which will appear evident to every Gentleman, who considers, that a Trading Company possessed of an exclusive Privilege, must always come to be a great Disadvantage to the Trade of every Country, where such a Company is established, and continued; for tho' in the Infancy of any particular sort of Trade, it may be necessary to erect a Company for setting it up; yet, when the Trade comes to be sufficiently established, when great Numbers of our own People are well acquainted with it, and willing to carry it on in a private way, the continuing of the Company, or at least the continuing


ruing of their exclusive Privilege, must be a Disadvantage to the Trade of our Country ; because a Company can never carry on a Trade at so cheap a Rate as private Persons can do, and are therefore not so capable of preventing Foreigners from interfering with us in the Trade ; for as they are always at a great Expence, they must have great Profits, and great Profits not only tempt, but enable Foreigners to interfere with us in any Trade. It is not now necessary to shew that the exclusive Privilege enjoy'd by the *Bank* and *East-India* Company is a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation in general : It is sufficient at present to observe, that this exclusive Privilege cannot be taken from either of them, till every Shilling due to them by the Public be paid off ; so that the Expiration of the Term for which that Privilege has been granted signifies nothing, as long as there is any Money due to them ; and surely it would be an Advantage to the Public, to have it in our Power to put an End to that Privilege as soon as the Term expires, in case it should then appear to be a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation ; which Power we cannot acquire but by paying off, in the mean Time, a great Part of the Capital of each. This is an Advantage we cannot acquire by any Payment made to the *South-Sea* Company ; because the exclusive Privilege granted to and enjoy'd by that Company, is a Privilege granted to them for ever ; and therefore the public Good of the Nation is not so much concerned, nor can ever be so much concerned, in the paying off the whole Capital due to them, as it may be in paying off the whole Capital due to either of the other two.

From what I have said, Sir, in relation to Trading Companies with an exclusive Privilege, it must appear, that when the Trade is once generally known, and thoroughly established, if you can redeem and abolish their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of the Annuity or Interest payable to them, you ought as soon as possible to redeem both the one and the other ; because, by laying the Trade open you will increase rather than diminish the Trade of your Country. Indeed, if the Company has an exclusive Privilege which you cannot take from them, even after you have paid off the whole Debt due to them, the paying off such a Debt may be a Disadvantage to your Trade, because you may, by so doing, prevent the Company's being able to push their Trade so far as they might otherwise have done ; and at the same Time all private Adventurers are precluded from engaging in it by the Continuance of the Company's exclusive Privilege ; therefore, it is inconsistent with the public Good to pay off any such Debt, or any Part of

Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
11 1736-7.



such a Debt, as long as there are any other public Debts to be paid off; and does not every one see, that this is a good Argument against making any future Payments to the *South-Sea* Company? For the Interest payable upon their Annuities may contribute as much as the Interest payable upon their Stock, towards enabling them to extend their Trade; because, the only Way by which either can contribute towards enabling them to extend their Trade, is, by the Money's lying for some time in their Hands, before they be obliged to issue it to the Proprietors; and the Interest Money of their Annuities lies as long in the Company's Hands before they be obliged to issue it for paying the half-yearly Annuities grown due to the Annuitants, as the Interest Money of their Stock can do, before they be obliged to issue it for paying the half yearly Dividends grown due to the Proprietors of their Trading Stock.


As for the Taxes mortgaged to the *South Sea* Company, or to any other Company, they can be of no Weight in the present Debate; for whenever we have a Mind to abolish any of our present heavy Taxes, we know, Sir, there is no Company, nor public Creditor in *England*, but will be glad to consent to the abolishing of any such Tax, and to accept of an Annuity payable out of the Sinking-Fund, in Lieu of the Annuity payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax. This we know by a late Experiment in the Case of the *Salt Duty*, which was once by this House resolved to be the most grievous Tax in *England*, and was therefore abolished. In that Case we know, Sir, how readily the *South-Sea* and other Companies agreed to take Annuities payable out of the Sinking-Fund, in Lieu of the Annuities payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax; but so variable are the Sentiments of some Gentlemen, that in *two* Years Time, that very Tax was deemed not near so grievous as a *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, and therefore it was re-established for *three* Years, and granted for supplying the current Service of the Year, in order to prevent our being obliged to lay an additional *Shilling in the Pound* but for *one* Year upon Land; and I think it has since been continued for *seven* Years longer, for the very same Reason and Purpose: Nay I am afraid we are loaded with it for ever; for as it is a Tax that creates a great deal of Power, tho' it produces but little Money, I believe it will always be preferred by a certain Sort of Men to any Tax that may produce a much greater Revenue without propagating any Sort of Power. As for my own Part, I still continue to think it one of the most burdensome and dangerous Taxes we are subject to; and notwithstanding the low Interest paid for the Money due

upon

upon it, I should think, one of the best Uses we could convert the Sinking-Fund to, would be, to apply it towards redeeming and abolishing of this Tax; because if we consider the Expences of collecting it, and add that Expence to the Interest paid for the Money borrowed upon it, we must conclude, the Nation pays a heavy Interest for that Money, besides the Danger our Liberties may be exposed to by continuing a Tax which creates so much Power and produces so small a Revenue, and besides the Danger our Trade may be exposed to by a Tax which enhances the Price of Labour in every Branch both of our Manufacture, Agriculture, and Navigation. Nor would the applying the Sinking-Fund to such an Use be a new Perverting of it; for as this Tax was formerly one of the Taxes appropriated to the Payment of our Debts contracted before *December 25, 1716*, the applying the Sinking Fund towards abolishing it, and then reviving it for supplying the current Service of the Year, was the same Thing as if we had then taken such a Sum from the Sinking-Fund, as would have been sufficient not only for supplying the current Service of the Year, but for redeeming the Tax we had then a Mind to abolish, for the Ease of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers. But as I have at present no Intention to make any Proposition for applying the Sinking-Fund to such a Purpose, I shall insist no longer upon this Subject.

The proper Question now before us I take to be, Sir, Whether the next Payment from the Sinking-Fund ought to be made to the *South-Sea* Company or the *Bank*? And as I set out with saying, that if we shew any Regard to the public Good, or to that impartial Justice which is due to all the public Creditors, we ought not to apply the next Payment to the *South-Sea* Company, I think I have shewn that, with respect to the public Good, none of the Motives mentioned can induce us to apply the next Payment to that Company, but that on the contrary, every one of those Motives are strong Arguments for not making any future Payment to them, till all or most of our other Debts be entirely paid off. Now, Sir, with regard to that impartial Justice which we ought to shew to all our Creditors, I shall grant the Credit of the Nation is now so well established, that all our public Funds sell at an advanced Price, and that therefore it is a Disadvantage to the public Creditors to be paid a Part of what is due to them; but the only Way of preserving the Credit we now have, is to pay off our Debts as fast as possible without contracting any new Debt, and in making such Payments, to shew no Partiality or Favour to one Set of public Creditors more than another. No Man

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*



Anno 16. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



can find Fault with us, or complain of Partiality, on account of our having a Regard to the public Good, and paying off those Creditors first, whose Debts, by reason of any Interest, Privilege, or Circumstance attending them, are most burdensome or inconvenient to the Nation in general; but so far as our Creditors are upon an equal Footing with respect to the public Good, as it is a Disadvantage to every one of them to receive Payment of the whole, or any Part of the Debt due to him, we ought to regulate our Payments in such a Manner as that the Disadvantage may fall upon all, exactly in Proportion to the Share each Man, or every Sett of Men, have in those Debts.

According to this Proportion, Sir, we have already done Injustice to the *South Sea Company*; for to take the Capitals of the *South-Sea, Bank, and East India*, as they stood in the Year 1727, when the great Reduction of public Interest took Place, and to which National Advantage the *South-Sea Company* contributed a great deal more than its Share, we must reckon that every *fourth* Payment at least ought to have been made to the *Bank*, and every *eleventh* or *twelfth* to the *East India Company*; whereas we have already made five several Payments of a *Million* each to the *South Sea Company*, and one of 500,000 *l.* without paying so much as one Shilling of the Capital either of the *Bank* or *East-India Company*; for tho' *one Million* has been paid to the *Bank*, yet Care was taken their Capital should not be thereby diminished, because the very next following Year, a new Sum of 1,250,000 *l.* was borrowed from them, which must be redeemed, as well as every other Shilling due to them, before the Nation can get free of their exclusive Privilege. Can this, Sir, be called impartial Justice, or can it be said we have shewn this partial Favour to the *Bank* and *East-India*, for the Sake of public Good, and because it is for the Interest of the Nation to support these two Companies, and continue them in Possession of that exclusive Privilege they now enjoy, and by which they have for many Years made so great an Advantage? No, Sir; I have shewn that if the public Good be engaged on either Side of the Question, it is on the Side of the *South-Sea Company*, both because the greatest Debt is due to them, and because we cannot redeem their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of their Capital, which we may do with respect to the other two.

But, Sir, we are told we ought to shew a Regard to the private Interest of the public Creditors, by directing all future Payments to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off. With all my

my Heart, Sir, let us shew as much Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors as the public Interest will admit; but do not let us shew a partial Regard to any one of them, or to any Sett of them. We have already shewn a partial Regard to the *Bank* and *East-India* Company; we have already done Injustice to the *South-Sea* Company. This is the chief Reason for their Annuities selling at so low a Price; and from this, which is the Effect of our former Partiality and Injustice, an Argument is now drawn for continuing that Injustice in all Times to come. I say in all Time to come, at least till our Debts be all paid off, which must be a very long time, if we are to form a Judgment of it from our Management for these *twenty* Years past; for if this Argument be now of any Force, it will every Year acquire new Vigour, because the Partiality we shew to our other Funds, will make them increase in their current Value from Year to Year. From hence we may see the Weakness of this Argument, and surely if we are to shew a Favour to any of our Creditors, or a partial Regard to the private Interest of any Sett of them, it ought to be to those who have made the least Advantage by lending their Money to the Government; consequently the *Bank* and *East-India* ought to be the first paid off, because the Proprietors of both these Companies have been for many Years receiving large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade; whereas the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Stock or Annuities have never received so large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade, nor have they received any such Dividend for so long a time.

For this Reason, Sir, it must be granted, that tho' the Proprietors of *Bank* and *East India* should really lose a little more than the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities, the former will be much better able to bear that Loss than we can suppose the latter to be; because the more they have got by additional Dividends, the better able will they be to bear the Loss they may sustain by being paid off. But, Sir, I must upon this Occasion take Notice, that the *South-Sea* Annuities are not at so low a Price in Proportion to our other Funds as some Gentlemen may imagine, nor will the Difference between the Loss they may sustain by having this next Payment applied to them, and the Loss the *Bank* or *East-India* Proprietors might sustain by its being applied to them, be near so great as the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to represent. For *South-Sea* Annuities, in Proportion to their Dividend, are really at a higher Price than *Bank* Stock is at present; because, if 4 per Cent. per Annum, the Dividend of these Annuities, gives 113l. their present Price

Anno 10. Gen.
11.1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736 7. Price 5*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per Cent. per Annum*, the Dividend upon *Bank Stock*, ought to give above 155*l.* which is more than the present Price of *Bank Stock*; and with respect to *East-India Stock*, the present Price of it is not, in Proportion to its Dividend, much above the present Price of *South Sea Annuities*; for if 4 *per Cent. per Annum* give 113*l.* 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, the present *East-India* Dividend, ought to give near 170*l.* so that at 180*l.* the present high Price, it is but 10 *per Cent.* above the Proportion, and this Advance, we may believe, is in a great measure owing to the Certainty the Proprietors have of not being obliged to receive any partial Payments for many Years to come.

Now, Sir, with respect to the Loss either of these Setts of public Creditors may sustain by having the next Payment applied to them, it is certain the *South-Sea* Annuitants will lose the whole Advance Price, that is, every one of them will lose at the Rate of 13*l.* *per Cent.* upon whatever Money he receives as his Share of that partial Payment; but we are not to suppose, that the Proprietors of *East-India Stock* will lose at the Rate of 80*l.* *per Cent.* or that the Proprietors of *Bank Stock* will lose at the Rate of 50*l.* *per Cent.* upon whatever Money any of them shall receive as his Share of this next Payment, if it were to be made to either of them; because, tho' a proportional Part of the Annuity due from the Government will cease in every one of the three Cases, yet, in the Case of the *Bank* and *East-India Company*, the Proprietors have another Sort of Annuity, an additional Dividend, which arises from their Trade; and as the Trade of neither of them cannot either cease or be diminished by this next partial Payment's being made to them, by the Reduction of their Capital, this additional Dividend must of course increase upon the whole remaining Capital, and, consequently, the current Price of the whole remaining Capital must rise a great deal above the present Market-Price.

To illustrate what I have said, Sir, by Figures, as far as the present Opportunity will permit, I shall suppose the Capital of the *South-Sea* Old Annuities not to exceed 10,000,000*l.* the Capital of the *Bank* not to exceed the like Sum, and the Capital of the *East-India Company* not to exceed 3,000,000*l.* I know every one of these Capitals exceed the Sums I have mentioned, but in the present Case the Calculations will be the same, let their Capitals amount to what they will; and, I suppose these round Sums, that my Calculations may be the more easily understood. Now, suppose the next Payment is to be made to *South-Sea* Old Annuities, as the honourable Gentleman has proposed;
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in that Case a Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital will receive 100*l.* *Anno 10. Geo.*
of his Capital, and, consequently, will for the future, with- *II. 1736-7.*
out a new Purchase, stand possessed of 900*l.* Capital only;
so that he will lose the advanced Price, being 13*l.* upon the
100*l.* paid off, no Part of which Loss can be replaced to
him by any Advantage his remaining Capital will receive,
by means of the Payment then made by the Public. Let
me next suppose the Payment now under our Consideration
to be made to the *Bank*: In that Case a Proprietor of
1000*l.* Capital *Bank* Stock will receive 100*l.* consequently
he must have 100*l.* of his Capital annihilated, and will,
therefore, for the future, without a new Purchase, stand pos-
sessed of 900*l.* Capital only; so that he will lose the ad-
vanced Price, being 50*l.* but I shall now shew that a great
Part of this 50*l.* will be replaced to him by an Advantage
his remaining Capital must necessarily receive, by means of
the Payment made by the Public; for as the *Bank* make at
present an additional Dividend of 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per An-*
num, out of the Profits by their Trade, upon their whole
Capital of 10,000,000*l.* as that Capital will then be reduced
to nine Millions, and no Part of the Profits by their Trade
will cease or be diminished, because of the Payment thus
made to them by the Public, their whole Profits which were
formerly divided upon ten Millions Capital, will for the
future come to be divided upon nine Millions Capital only,
which must necessarily increase their future Dividends, and
consequently enhance the Price of every Man's remaining
Stock: As the *Bank* divides at present 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* from
the Profits of their Trade upon the supposed Capital of
10,000,000*l.* we must reckon the net Profits of their
Trade to amount to 150,000*l.* *per Annum*, and as this
150,000*l.* *per Annum* will afterwards come to be divided
upon nine Millions Capital only, the additional Dividend
from the Profits of their Trade will then amount to 1*l.* 13*s.*
4*d.* *per Cent.* instead of 1*l.* 10*s.* therefore the future Divi-
dend of the *Bank*, if this Payment be made to them, must
necessarily be 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and if a Dividend of 5*l.* 10*s.*
makes their Capital sell at 150*l.* *per Cent.* a Dividend of
5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* will make their remaining Capital, after a
Million paid off, sell at 154*l.* 10*s.* and upwards; so that
every Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital, will gain by the ad-
vanced Price of his remaining 900*l.* Capital, very near 41*l.*
and, consequently, we must reckon, that no Proprietor of
Bank Stock will lose more than at the Rate of about 9*l.*
per Cent. by this next public Payment's being made to the
Bank; whereas every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Old Annu-
ties

Anno. 10. Geo. ties will lose at the Rate of 13*l. per Cent.* by its being made
II. 1736-7. to them.

By the same Method of Calculation, Sir, we may find, that if a *Million* were to be paid at *Michaelmas* next to the *East-India* Company, and their Stock supposed not to exceed 3,000,000*l.* the Proprietors would not lose above 20*l. per Cent.* upon the Stock annihilated by such Payment; because, as the whole Profits of their Trade would then come to be divided upon *two Millions* Capital, instead of *three*, every Man's remaining Stock would rise in Proportion to the Increase of the Dividend, which Advantage upon his remaining Stock would atone for the far greatest Part of the Loss upon his annihilated Stock. But, as I do not intend at present to make any Proposition for applying the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to the *East-India* Company, I shall not trouble you with the Particulars of the Calculation. I know it may be said, that as every Payment made by the Public sends a greater Number of Purchasers to Market, the Price of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will certainly rise by such Payments being made to them; but this I have taken no Notice of, because it is an Advantage will accrue equally to the three Companies, or to which either of them the Payment shall be made to; and, therefore, can make little or no Difference with respect to the Loss the Proprietors of either of them may sustain by having a Part of their Capital paid off.

Thus, Sir, it must appear, that if we have a Mind to shew a proper and impartial Regard to the public Creditors, we cannot order the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to be applied towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and if we have a Mind to direct this next Payment to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off, I have shewn that the Proprietors of the *Bank* will suffer the least, and therefore the next Payment ought to be made to them. But if we have a Mind to shew a partial Favour to any one Sett of public Creditors, certainly the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuities deserve it more than any other; for upon Examination it will be found, there are among them more Creditors in Proportion for small Sums, than there are in any of our other public Funds; and as a rich Man is better able to bear a Loss than a poor Man, that Fund which has the greatest Number of poor Men in it deserves surely most of our Compassion, and consequently most of our Favour. To this I shall add another Motive for shewing more Favour to the *South-Sea* - Annuitants, than to any other Sett of public Creditors, which is this: It will, I believe, upon Examination

mination appear, that among the *South-Sea* Annuitants, *Ann 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.* there is a much smaller Number of Foreigners in Proportion, than there is among the Proprietors of any other of our Funds; and I must think, that Fund deserves most Favour from a *British* Parliament, which is most generally possessed by *British* Subjects, or at least it deserves equal Favour, which is all I have Occasion for at present, for shewing that the next Payment ought not to be made to the *South-Sea* Company.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude with taking Notice of a Circumstance relating to the *Bank*, which ought, I think, to be a prevailing Argument for our resolving that the next Payment shall be made to that Company. I mean the Expiration of their Term which now draws pretty near; for upon the *first* of *August* 1743, we may, upon giving proper Notice, pay off all that shall then remain due to that Company, and so put an End to their subsisting as a Corporation, unless they obtain from Parliament a Renewal of their Term, which certainly will not be granted without a very valuable Consideration. While the Debt due to them continues as large as it is at present, they need be under no Uneasiness, were their Term to expire To-morrow; because they know the Parliament cannot pay them off in *two* or *three* Years; and while they are under no Uneasiness it is certain they will not be so fond of renewing, nor will they offer so large a Consideration. For this Reason I think it is absolutely necessary to begin now to pay them off; in order that we may have it in our Power, at the End of their Term, or soon after, to pay off the Whole, in Case we should then find it necessary to put an End to the Corporation, or in Case they should refuse to give such a Consideration for a Renewal as may be then thought just and reasonable.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that it is absolutely inconsistent with the public Good, and with that impartial Justice which is due to all the Creditors of the Public, to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that by applying it towards paying off the Annuitants of that Company, we do an Injustice to those who are best intitled to our Compassion and Favour. On the other hand, I think I have shewn, that if we have any Regard for the public Good, if we have a Mind to distribute Justice impartially to all our Creditors, if we have a Mind to shew a Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors, by applying the next Payment to those who will suffer the least by its being made to them, we ought to resolve, *That the Sum of one Million shall be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming*

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. *the like Sum of the increased Capital of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. Therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will amend his Motion by leaving out the Words, of the South-Sea Company, as is now commonly called Old South-Sea Annuities, and inserting in their stead, these Words, of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.*

To this it was replied in Substance as follows, viz.

SIR,

As to the Power of Parliament over the Sinking-Fund, I must still think it absolute and unlimited, notwithstanding all that has been now or formerly said to the contrary; and I have this Advantage, that I have several joint Resolutions of all the Branches of our Legislature in Favour of my Opinion. I cannot easily imagine the Parliament which established the Sinking-Fund had any Intention to limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments, with respect to the Disposition of the Produce of that Fund: They knew it was an Intention they could not make effectual, and I cannot think the Wisdom of the Nation would propose or form to themselves an Intention which they knew they had no Power to make effectual; but this is not the Question now before us, and therefore I shall not take up your Time with expatiating upon the Subject.


If we could immediately redeem the original Fund of the Bank, which now bears an Interest of 6 per Cent. I must acknowledge, Sir, it would be a very good Argument for our applying this next Payment to that Company: Nay, it would be a good Argument for our borrowing Money at 4 per Cent. sufficient to pay off their whole Capital, in order to come at the Redemption of that Part of it which bears so high an Interest, in case they refused to comply with our Terms; but we know we cannot redeem or pay off that original Fund, till the Expiration of their Term, which has six Years to run from the first of August next; therefore, the high Interest upon that Part of their Capital can be no Reason for applying the present growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards redeeming any other Part of their Fund, which bears the same Interest now payable upon almost all the public Funds. We have at least five Years to think of Means for reducing the Interest payable upon their original Fund; and if at the End of that Term, it should be thought necessary to abolish that Company, or put an End to their exclusive Privilege, it will be then easy, more easy than at present, to find Money at 4 per Cent. for paying off their whole Capital, tho' not a Shilling of it should be paid off before that time; for as the Number of Lenders upon

upon public Securities will be every Year increasing by the Payments made out of the Sinking-Fund, let them be made to whom they will, it will of course become every Year more easy for the Public to borrow Money at 4 *per Cent.* nay, perhaps, even at 3 *per Cent.* than it can be now, or in any preceding Year. On the other hand, if upon the Expiration of that Term, it should be thought proper to continue the *Bank*, and to continue them in the Possession of their present exclusive Privilege, the more Capital they are then possessed of, the more able will they be to pay a large Consideration to the Public, for a new Term; and if they should refuse to comply with any reasonable Terms that may then be proposed by the Public, I am convinced the larger their Capital then is, the more easy will it be to find a new Company of Adventurers ready to accept of the Terms offered by the Public, and willing to advance Money sufficient for paying off and abolishing the old Company; for every one knows, it must always be a great Advantage to a *Banking* Company to have a large Capital, and considerable Sums of ready Money coming in to them weekly from his Majesty's *Exchequer*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

I confess, Sir, I am a little surprized to hear it insinuated, that it would be more advantageous or convenient for the Public, to owe a large Debt to any one Company, than to owe a Debt of equal Value to three or four different Companies. If the whole Debt we now owe were in the Hands of any one Company, it would be in the Power of that Company to distress the Public whenever they had a Mind; whereas, while that Debt is in the Hands of several Companies, if one should resolve to distress, the others would probably resolve to support, and by that Means the Public can never be in Danger of being distressed by either. Likewise, while the Debt continues to be in the Hands of several Companies, and while it continues to be a Disadvantage to each of them to be paid off, as long as the Sinking Fund produces any Thing, it will be in the Power of the Public to keep every one of them in Awe, and in some Manner to prescribe to each, by threatening to apply the Sinking Fund solely to that Company which shall refuse to comply with any reasonable Proposition that may be offered. In private Life, as well as public, it is not so convenient to owe a large Debt to one Person, as to owe a Debt of equal Value, and at the same Interest, to several, provided the Debtor can be assured, that none of his Creditors will demand Payment till he is ready to offer it; for the Reason why Gentlemen of Estates generally borrow a large Sum from one Person, is because a Man of Estate can

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736 7.



borrow a large Sum at a lower Rate of Interest than he can borrow small Sums; or because some one or other of his small Creditors is every Day teasing him for Payment, which keeps him in a constant State of Uneasiness and Trouble; but if a private Man owed 10,000*l.* to ten different Persons, neither of whom, he was sure, would ever ask Payment till he was ready to offer it, he would not surely, in common Prudence, offer to borrow 10,000*l.* at the same Interest from any one Person, in order to pay off these ten different Creditors; and if a Man had several Mortgages upon his Estate, and could make partial Payments, without irritating his Creditor, I believe common Prudence would direct him to apply all his partial Payments towards diminishing the largest Mortgage; because a Creditor for a large Sum, has it always more in his Power to distress his Debtor, than a Creditor for a small Sum can have, unless the Debtor be a Man who has neither Fortune nor Credit. I shall grant it is better for the Public to owe a large Debt to a Company, than to a great and disunited Multitude of private Persons; because to such a Multitude the Public can offer no new Terms, nor can it enter into any Treaty or Transaction with them; whereas a Multitude united in a Company is always governed by the Majority, and is in Effect but one Person, so that Means may always be found for getting them all to agree to any new and reasonable Terms that may be offered. This was a good Reason for the Legislature's enabling the *South Sea* Company to purchase in, or pay off all our redeemable and irredeemable Debts; but this can be no Reason for saying, that it would be better to have the whole public Debts placed in the Hands of one great Company, than to have it placed in the Hands of three or four different Corporations; because the Public may treat with each, and will always be able to treat more upon the Par with each, than if it had only one powerful and numerous Body to deal with.

As for the Disadvantage which an exclusive Privilege may be of to the Trade of the Nation in general, it cannot be of any Weight in the present Debate; because, if at the End of the Term granted to the *Bank* or *East-India* Company, it should be found necessary to abolish the *Bank*, or not to renew the exclusive Privilege of either of the two, it will, I am certain, be in the Power of the Public to borrow as much Money, at a moderate Interest, as will be sufficient for redeeming either the one or the other, tho' not a Shilling should be paid to either of them before the Expiration of their Term; and if it should be thought fit to continue them, and to renew their exclusive Privilege, it would

would be a Disadvantage to both, but especially the *Bank*, *Anno 10. Geo.*
 even with respect to their Trade, to have a great Part of *II. 1736-7.*
 their Capital paid off; in which Case the making of such
 Payments would certainly be an Injury done to the Trade
 of the Nation. But tho' in most Sorts of Trade, an ex-
 clusive Privilege may be of bad Consequence, I am never-
 theless of Opinion, that with respect to the *Banking* Trade,
 and the Trade to the *East-Indies*, neither the one nor the
 other can be carried on with such Success, or in such an ex-
 tensive manner, by private Adventurers, as by a public
 Company with such an exclusive Privilege as our present
 Companies have; and in this Opinion I am supported by
 the Example of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, I believe,
 understand Trade as well as most of their Neighbours, and,
 I may say, I hope, without giving any Offence, that they
 generally shew as disinterested a Regard for the Good of
 their Country, as any Nation now in *Europe*. The Circu-
 lating of *Bank* Bills, or Cash Notes, must certainly increase
 the current Cash of any Country, and must therefore be of
 great Use in Trade; consequently the more extensive and
 the more general such a Circulation is, the better will it
 be for the Inland Trade of that Country. It is true, a
 private Man, or a Sett of private Men, may, by a long
 Series of good Management, gain a very extensive Credit,
 but that Credit can never come to be so extensive, or near
 so general, as the Credit of a rich public Company, that
 has supported itself with Honour for perhaps some Ages;
 because the Credit of a private Man always depends upon
 himself, so that when he dies, his Credit, as to any future
 Circulation, generally dies with him; for it must require
 some time, before those who succeed can revive or regain it;
 whereas a public Company never dies, nor can their Credit
 meet with any such Interruption; and as their Managers
 are always chosen annually by the Company, there is a
 greater Security for its being under good Management, than
 a private *Bank*, whose chief Managers are always appointed
 by the Chance of natural or legal Succession; therefore I
 shall always think it better for a Trading Country to have a
 public *Bank*, than to trust entirely to private *Bankers*. Then
 as to the *East-India* Trade, it is certain that Trade could not
 be carried on by private Adventurers, unless the Nation
 should be at the Expence of supporting the Settlements,
 Forts, and Factories now supported by the Company; and
 even in that Case, the Ships proper for the Trade are so
 large and expensive, and the Cargoes so rich, that I question
 much if it could be carried on by private Men trading
 separately. In short, Sir, we know how our *Banking* and
East-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

East-India Trade have prospered under their present Regulation, but we cannot certainly judge how they would prosper in the Hands of private and separate Adventurers; therefore, I must think, it would be a dangerous Experiment to dissolve the Companies, and I am of Opinion neither of them can subsist without such an exclusive Privilege as they now enjoy. However, we have now no Occasion for determining this Question; for, as I have said, whatever way it may be determined, when the Opportunity offers, it can be of no Weight in the present Debate; at least if it is of any Weight, it must be in favour of the Motion; because if we should once pay off any Part of the Capital of *Bank* or *East-India*, we cannot replace it, but by contracting a new Debt, which I hope we never shall, even tho' we should afterwards resolve to grant the Company a new Term.

With respect to the Trade carried on by our three great Companies, it must be granted, Sir, that the *South-Sea* Company has hitherto been far from carrying on such a Trade as either of the other two; and altho' I am convinced, a Diminution of the Capital of the *Bank* or *East-India* would be a Disadvantage to their Trade, yet I am far from being of Opinion, that the Diminution of the *South-Sea* Capital would be a Disadvantage to any sort of Trade they can be supposed to carry on in any time to come; for their Capital is so large, that tho' the greatest Part of it were paid off, they would, I think, have sufficient remaining for enabling them to push their Trade as far as the Nature of it will admit of. But supposing, that by some extraordinary and unforeseen Accident it should happen otherwise, supposing the *South-Sea* Company should become one of the most flourishing Trading Companies in the World, (which I should be extremely glad to see) where any present Measure is to be taken, I shall always think it much safer to form a Judgment upon the Experience of what is passed; than upon any Conjecture of what may happen in time to come; and if we are now to be directed by the Experience of what is past, I am sure it will be very easy to determine which of the three Capitals we may diminish, without running any risk of injuring the Trade of the Company by such Diminution.

Then, Sir, with respect to the Taxes mortgaged to the several Companies, it seems to be admitted that the Taxes mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company are the most grievous; and if so, it would certainly be much better for the Parliament to have an absolute Power of abolishing all those Taxes, than to have only a conditional Power subject to the Controul of any Company in *England*; for tho' it may be probable

probable that their Consent will always be readily obtained, *Anno 10. Geo.*
 by offering them a Security upon the Sinking-Fund, for an *II. 1736-7.*
 Annuity equal to the yearly Produce of the Tax so to be
 abolished, yet the obtaining of such a Consent is what we
 cannot pretend to be infallibly sure of; and therefore I
 must think it most prudent for us to proceed as fast as possible
 in the Redemption of those Taxes which are allowed to be
 the most burdensome to the Nation in general. As for
 what has been said with regard to the *Salt-Duty*, it can
 have no Relation to the present Question, therefore I shall
 not take much Notice of it; but I must declare I am far
 from thinking it near so burdensome or inconvenient as the
 Hon. Gentleman was pleased to represent, nor did I ever
 think it so grievous as the *Land Tax*. There is not a Man
 in the Kingdom that feels or complains of what he pays
 to the *Salt Tax*, but most of the Land-holders in *England*
 severely feel every Shilling that is laid upon their Land,
 and most of them would complain if they were not con-
 vinced that the Parliament takes every Opportunity to re-
 lieve them. We must remember, that when the *Salt-Duty*
 was abolished, there was then no Competition in Parliament
 between it and the *Land Tax*; if there had, I make no
 Doubt but that both Houses of Parliament would have been
 of the same Opinion they afterwards were, and would then,
 as well as afterwards, have determined that the *Land Tax*
 was by far the most grievous of the two. But however
 grievous or dangerous the *Salt Duty* may be, there can be
 no Occasion for applying the Produce of the Sinking-Fund
 towards its Redemption; because in *seven or eight* Years it
 will of course expire; and if any Attempt should hereafter
 be made for continuing or reviving it, the Hon. Gentleman
 may then give his Reasons against it, when I am persuaded
 they will have great Weight, as they always have with
 every Man that hears him.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that all the Arguments
 which can be drawn from the public Good of the Nation
 in general, plead strongly for your applying the next Pay-
 ment towards redeeming so much of the *South-Sea* Capital,
 and that there is no Weight in any Thing that has been
 said to the contrary. I shall next consider that impartial
 Justice which is due to all our Creditors, and the Regard
 we ought to have for the private Interest of every one.
 As for that Rule of Proportion which has been laid down,
 and according to which it has been said we ought to make
 all our future Payments, I cannot think it would be either
 just or impartial, or that it would shew a proper Regard for
 our Creditors in general; for as every Payment we make
 must

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




must be attended with a Loss to those to whom it is made, we ought to make our Payments in such a Manner as that the Loss may always fall upon the greatest Number of Persons: A Loss that falls upon 3 or 400 Persons may be almost insensible to every one, whereas if the same Loss be made to fall upon 100 Persons only, it will be severely felt by every one, and may in all Probability prove ruinous to a great many. For this Reason we ought to make all or most of our Payments to that Capital which is the largest, till such Time as it be reduced upon a Par, or near upon Par, with some one of the other Capitals; consequently the next Payment, and perhaps several future Payments, ought to be applied to the *South-Sea* Company, because their Capital is by much the largest, and their Proprietors by far the most numerous, and therefore the Loss cannot fall so heavy upon those to whom the Payment is made.

'Tis true, Sir, there are, I believe, among the *South-Sea* Annuitants a great many Proprietors for small Sums, perhaps more in Proportion than in any of our other public Funds; but such Proprietors have all something else to depend on, and therefore are not so much Objects of Compassion as the Hon. Gentlemen would represent. They are generally Persons concerned in some Sort of Trade or Business, and the small Sum of Money that will fall to each Person's Share, out of any Payment to be made by the Public, will, or at least may, be usefully employ'd by them in the Business they are engaged in. The greatest Objects of Compassion are the Proprietors for middling Sums, such as have 1000 *l.* two, or three, in some one of the public Funds, and have no Trade or Business, nor any Thing to depend on for a Subsistence, but the Annuity or Dividends they receive from the Company. By such Proprietors the Loss will be severely felt, because they can make no Use of the Money they receive, but by laying it out again upon the Purchase of Stock or Annuities at a very great Disadvantage, and many of them may perhaps be tempted to waste it in some Sort of Extravagance; but of such Proprietors there are, I believe, in Proportion, as many in our other Funds as in the *South-Sea* Annuities, and therefore the latter deserve no particular Favour upon that Account. As for Foreigners, I shall not take upon me to say which of our public Funds are most generally possessed by them; but I am surprized to hear it so much as insinuated, that we ought to shew any greater Favour to our own Subjects than to those Foreigners who have put such a Confidence in the Honour of this Nation, as to trust us with the whole or the greatest Part of their Fortunes: I hope I shall never see any such

such Doctrine established, because I am of Opinion it would tend both to the Dishonour and Discredit of the Nation, and might be of the most dangerous Consequence, if ever this Nation should again be plunged in a War as expensive as the last. I wish it had not been mentioned; but since it has, I think it one of the strongest Arguments can be made use of for inducing us to agree to the Motion, in order to convince the whole World, that this House will never give the least Countenance to such a Doctrine. I must now, Sir, beg Leave to consider the Calculations that have been made for shewing that the *South-Sea* Annuitants will sustain a greater Loss by the next Payment's being made to them, than the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would sustain, if the next Payment should be applied to them. The Calculations I must confess are ingenious enough, but they are all founded upon two Suppositions, neither of which, I am afraid, will hold. They are all founded upon these two Suppositions, that neither the Trade of the *Bank* or *East-India* Company will be in the least diminished by our paying off a Part of their Capital, and that the remaining Stock will rise in its Value according to the Increase of the future Dividends. As to the first of these Suppositions, I am convinced it will not hold, especially with respect to the *Bank*; for by paying a *Million* to them, we shall make them lose near 800 *l.* a Week, which is now coming in to them weekly from the *Exchequer*, as a Supply for the ready Specie they find it necessary to keep always by them, in order to circulate the Cash Notes or *Bank* Bills they have out; therefore, upon the ceasing of that weekly Supply, they must either diminish the Number of Notes they now have in Circulation, or they must keep a greater Stock of ready Specie by them; by either of which they must necessarily diminish the Profits of their Trade, and consequently this Supposition must appear not to be well founded. Then as to the other Supposition, I do not think there is the least Foundation for it, because we know, the Price of any Sort of Stock depends as much upon the particular Whim or Humour that may happen to prevail, as the Price of any Commodity whatever. It neither depends upon the Dividend to be made, nor upon the Certainty or Probability that the Dividend will be increased or continued. Of this the present Market Prices of our Stocks is a convincing Proof; for if one were to judge from common Sense, or the Reason of Things, it is certain the Price of *Bank* Stock ought to be higher in Proportion to its Dividend than the Price of any other public Fund in *England*, and yet we find it is lower than either *East-India* Stock or *South-Sea* Annui-

Ann 10. *Geo*
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

ties; therefore to suppose that any Stock will rise in Proportion to the Increase of its Dividend, must be a very uncertain and deceitful Foundation for any Calculation. On the contrary, our directing the next Payment to be made to the *Bank* would, I believe, possess the Generality of Mankind with an Opinion, that we were resolved to abolish the Company at the End of their Term, which would of course run the Price of their Stock down to very near Par, and consequently I think it most reasonable to believe, that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would not only lose at the Rate of 50 *l. per Cent.* upon their Stock annihilated, but very near 50 *l. per Cent.* upon all their remaining Stock, in Case we now resolve that the next Payment shall be made to them.

For these Reasons, Sir, and a great many others, which I shall wave troubling you with at present, I am still of Opinion, notwithstanding what has been said by the Hon. Gentlemen on the other Side of the Question, that if we have a Mind to shew a proper Regard to the public Good, and to the private Interest of our public Creditors in general, we ought to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards redeeming the like Sum of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that, considering the great Amount of that Company's Capital, considering how far it exceeds the Capital of any other Company, neither our having applied so many successive Payments towards the reducing of that Capital, nor our applying this next Payment to the same Purpose, can be charged with any Injustice or Partiality; therefore, I am for agreeing to the Motion as it now stands, and, I hope, the House will join with me in Opinion.

After this Debate, the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The Speakers for the Motion were, Sir Robert Walpole, Thomas Winnington, Esq; John Bance, Esq; Samuel H—n, Esq; Sir William Younge, Mr. Alderman Heatcote, and the Lord Sundon; and the Speakers against the Motion were, Sir John Barnard, William Pultney, Esq; Sir William Windham, Sir John Hind Cotton, Sir John Rushout, Sir Thomas Sanderson, the Lord Baltimore, Samuel Sandys, Esq; and the Master of the Rolls.

On Monday the 14th this Resolution was reported to the House, and agreed to without any formed Debate; but upon that Occasion, Sir John Barnard, and some others, spoke to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir John
Barnard.

SIR,

I shall not now oppose our agreeing to the Resolution of the Committee; but the only Argument made use of in
the

the Committee in favour of the Motion, which to me seemed to have any Weight, was, That at the End of the Term last granted to the *Bank*, and which expires in *August* 1743. it would be easy for the Government to raise Money at 4 *per Cent.* sufficient to pay them off, in case it should be thought fit to abolish the Company, or put an End to their exclusive Privilege; or in case the present Company should refuse the Terms offered for renewing their exclusive Privilege. I confess, Sir, this Argument had very little Weight with me; because, in my Opinion, it will be impossible for the Government to raise 10,000,000 *l.* Sterling at once, at 4 *per Cent.* or any other Interest, especially when we have such a powerful and rich Company to oppose it, as the present *Bank* is, who, by the Indulgence that has been of late Years shewed them, are in some Measure become Masters of the public Credit of the Nation, and who will certainly oppose, with all their Might, a Scheme concerted for the Ruin of their Company, and for making every particular Man in it lose at least 50 *l. per Cent.* of what he may then call himself worth: This, I say, appears to me impossible; and if we judge from the Experience of past Times, I am sure we must conclude it will be impossible; but such seems to be the Fatality of some Gentlemen, that when the Experience of what's past ought to persuade us to take any particular Measure for the public Good, they then judge from very improbable Conjectures of what may happen in Time to come, and when probable Conjecture of what may happen ought to prevail with us to take any particular Measure for the public Good, they then determine themselves by the Experience of past Times, tho' the Circumstances are very far from being the same.

This, Sir, is the very Case, with respect to their Method of judging about the future Price of *Bank* Stock. 'Tis true, while a Spirit of Stock-jobbing prevailed in this Kingdom, while that Spirit was encouraged by those who ought to have behaved in a quite different Manner, the Price of Stock very much depended upon what was called the Whim or Humour of *Change-Alley*, which was never governed by Reason, but by Art and fraudulent Practices; but since that Spirit has subsided, and the chief Method of keeping it up has been abolished by Act of Parliament, People now begin to judge reasonably, and, therefore, the Price of Stock now depends very much upon the Dividend made, and the Probability that the same Dividend will be continued, or perhaps increased. For this very Reason *Bank* Stock does now sell, and ought to sell, at a lower Price in Proportion than *South-Sea* Annuities; because Peo-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. ple know that the *Bank's* Term is near expiring, that a large Sum of Money must soon be paid for a Renewal, and that that Sum must be taken from the Capitals they have or may have in *Bank* Stock, or from the future Dividends they may expect from such Capitals. This I was aware of when I made my Calculation; and, therefore, I founded it upon the present low Price of *Bank* Stock, and not upon that Price it ought to bear in Proportion to *South-Sea* Annuities; and by our doing Justice to the other public Creditors, no Man can be induced to believe we will do Injustice to the *Bank*, by paying them off sooner than any of the other public Creditors; for if the *Bank* be willing to pay a just Price for the Continuance of their Company, and if that Continuance be no Detriment to the Public, it would be unjust to make any more than proportional Payments to them; so that by our resolving that the next Payment should be made to the *Bank*, the Proprietors could take no Alarm, unless they either think that the Continuance of their Privilege would be a Detriment to the Public, or are resolved not to pay a proper Consideration for it; in either of which Cases it would be a just Alarm, an Alarm we ought not to prevent; because it would be better the Loss should fall upon them by Degrees, than that it should fall all at once, as in either of these Cases it must do at the End of their present Term. As to the Profits the *Bank* makes, or may make by its Trade, I shall only take Notice, that the Quantity of ready Specie they are obliged to keep by them, depends but very little on the Value of Notes they have out, but upon the Extent of their Credit, and the Circumstances of public Affairs at the Time: A *Bank* newly set up, or of a very small Capital, must keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have out, than a *Bank* of established Credit, or of a larger Capital than their Trade can possibly require, which is the Case of our present *Bank*; and when public Affairs are in a variable and unsettled Condition, every *Bank* ought to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have in Circulation, than when the Sky is clear and every Thing appears serene: Therefore the paying them off a *Million*, I am convinced, would neither diminish their Circulation, nor oblige them to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them, than they do at present, and consequently could no way diminish their Trade.

Thus, Sir, I could shew there is no Weight in any one Argument that has been made use of for preventing our making the next Payment to the *Bank*; but this I did not rise up for, nor should I have taken any Notice of the chief
Argument

Argument made use of, but that I think, if there be any Thing at all in the Argument, it must be of great Weight with respect to what I am to propose; and, therefore, I hope I shall have the Concurrence of all those who thought it a good Argument, and particularly of the Hon. Gentleman who made use of it. Sir, if we are now in such Circumstances as that we may any way expect in 6 Years Time to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, and that in Spite of the most opulent Company in *England*, I am sure we may now begin to think of reducing the Interest payable to the public Creditors, and may begin to take some Measures for that Purpose. I wish some such Proposition had come from the other Side of the House; for some Gentlemen seem to be resolved not to approve of any Proposition or Scheme but what comes from themselves, and, to return the Compliment, their Reasons are so weighty, that they generally prevail. As for my own Part, if my Reasons have any Weight with those that hear me, I am sure I have but seldom been heard by the Majority of this House, ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, and yet I have always raised my Voice as much as I could. This has always made me shy of making any Proposition to the House, or of offering any Scheme, which I thought might tend to the Good of my Country; but the pleasing Prospect the Hon. Gentlemen have given us of the flourishing and happy State of our Country 6 Years hence, emboldens me now to make you a Proposition, because from what they have said, I cannot but expect their Concurrence, and from thence I have good Reason to expect Success.

*Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.*

Tho' my Hopes are not quite so sanguine, tho' I am of Opinion we can never be in such Circumstances as to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, in Spite of the *Bank*, yet, Sir, I am convinced, it is now high Time for us to think of reducing the Interest payable to our public Creditors; and my Reason for thinking so is neither founded upon past Experience, nor upon future Conjecture, but upon our present Circumstances: I mean, Sir, the present high Price of all our public Funds, and in particular the high Price of our public Securities, which bear an Interest only of *three per Cent.* When such Securities are at *five* or *six per Cent.* above Par, it is a certain Proof that the natural Interest of Money, upon public Securities at least, is below *4 per Cent.* that many of the public Creditors would be glad to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* rather than be paid off, and that the Government might borrow some Money, I shall not pretend now to ascertain the Sum, at *3 per Cent.* in order to pay off a Part of those public Creditors,

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. ditors, who should not appear willing to accept of so low an Interest.



I say, Sir, I shall not now pretend to determine what Sum we might be able to borrow at 3 *per Cent.* I believe it would be but small, because, I believe, the *Bank* would refuse to concur with the Government in any such Undertaking, and will always refuse as long as the Interest payable to them is at 4 *per Cent.* For this Reason, among others, I was for our resolving that the next Payment should be made to the *Bank*; because such a Resolution would have enabled us to bring the Interest payable upon the whole *Bank* Capital down to 3 *per Cent.* in two or three Years. If we had ordered a *Million* to be paid to them at *Michaelmas* next, we might, without doing an Injustice, have ordered that no Part of that Payment should have been applied towards such of the Proprietors of the *Bank* as were willing to accept of an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* upon that Part of the Capital which belonged to them; but that the whole should have been applied towards diminishing the Capital of those who were not willing to accept of such an Interest; and for this Purpose the Government might have been empowered to open Books of Subscription for the *Bank* Proprietors to come in and subscribe for that Part of the Capital which belonged to each of them: And further, as an Encouragement for the Proprietors of the *Bank* to come in and subscribe, it might have been ordered that no future Payment should have been applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital so subscribed, as long as there had been any Part of the *Bank* Capital unsubscribed. By this Means, I do not know but we might, even at *Michaelmas* next, have brought the whole Capital of the *Bank*, at least all that Part of it which can be paid off before the End of their Term, down to 3 *per Cent.* In which Case, as no Money could then have been issued from the Sinking-Fund at *Michaelmas* next, we would have had above *two Millions* to have disposed of next Session of Parliament; and with above *two Millions* in ready Money, and what we might then have borrowed, with the Assistance of the *Bank*, at 3 *per Cent.* I do not know but it would have been in our Power, to have brought the whole public Debt to 3 *per Cent.* at the very next *Michaelmas* following; for if the Interest payable to the *Bank* should once be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* it is certain they would then assist us as much as they could, to bring all our other Debts down to the same Rate of Interest; and tho' I am far from thinking we shall in five or six Years be able to borrow 10,000,000 *l.* at once, even at 4 *per Cent.* in Spite of the *Bank*, yet I am convinced that at present,

with

with their Assistance, we might be able to borrow *eight or ten Millions* at once at *3 per Cent.* especially if the Proprietors of our Funds were enabled to subscribe their respective Capitals, with an Assurance that no Part of the Capital so subscribed should be paid off for a certain Term of Years.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

This Proposition, Sir, would certainly have had the greatest and the most useful Effect, if upon these Terms the next Payment had been ordered to be made to the *Bank*; but even suppose we should agree with our Committee, suppose we should resolve that *a Million* be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, as is now commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities, the same Proposition may, I think, be applied to them, and may have a very good Effect, at least I am sure it can be attended with no bad Consequence; for as the delaying to pay off any Part of our public Debts is now a Favour, it is both just and reasonable that Favour should be bestowed upon those who are willing to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* instead of *4.* Therefore my Proposition now is, that in order to see which or how many of the *Old South-Sea* Annuity-holders are willing to accept of *3 per Cent.* for a certain Term of Years, rather than be paid off any Part of their present Capital, the Government, or the Commissioners of the Treasury, should be empowered to open Books of Subscription for such of the *Old South-Sea* Annuity-holders as are willing to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* for *14* Years certain, rather than be paid off any Part of their present Capital at *Michaelmas* next, or at any other Time during that Term; and that it should be ordered, that no Part of the *Million* to be paid at *Michaelmas* next shall be applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital so subscribed, but that the whole shall be divided and applied *pro rata* towards diminishing the Capital of such of the *Old South-Sea* Annuity-holders as shall not subscribe before *Michaelmas* next. If all the *Old South-Sea* Annuity-holders should subscribe, the Consequence will be, that no Part of the *Million* can then be issued from the Sinking-Fund at *Michaelmas* next; in which Case we shall have *two Millions* to dispose of in next Session of Parliament, and with these *two Millions*, we may, I am confident, be able to reduce the Capital of the *Bank* likewise to *3 per Cent.* at the very next *Michaelmas* following; after which we shall have no Difficulty to reduce the *New South-Sea* Annuities and all our other public Funds to the same Rate of Interest.

As a Resolution seems now to be formed, that none of our other Creditors shall have a Shilling paid to them, till all the *South-Sea* Annuities be paid off, I shall shew that it

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. is no very unreasonable Supposition to suppose, that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants would subscribe before *Michaelmas* next; for which Purpose I shall suppose *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities to amount to 25,000,000 *l.* and that neither of them will ever sell for any Price above or under 113 *l. per Cent.* In this Case, if a *Million* should be paid to them yearly, it will amount to 4 *per Cent.* the first Year; so that every one of the Proprietors will have 4 *per Cent.* of his Capital annihilated, which, at 113 *l. per Cent.* is worth about 4 *l. 10 s. 5 d.* and therefore, as he receives only 4 *l.* in Money, he must lose, the very first Year, 10 *s. 5 d.* which Loss, by the yearly Diminution of the Capital, and the yearly Increase of the Sinking-Fund, will increase every Year so fast, that in five or six Years, I reckon, every Proprietor will lose 1 *per Cent.* upon the Capital he is possessed of, by every Payment made by the Public; for which Reason every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities, if he understands his own Interest, would certainly chuse to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years certain, rather than remain subject to the Annihilation of so much of his Capital yearly, and the Trouble of receiving such partial Payments, and of replacing those Payments some way at Interest, or investing them in some Sort of Trade or Business.

I have made the Calculation, Sir, upon *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities taken together, for the sake of Ease and Perspicuity; but it will come out the same, if we make the Calculation upon the two, separately; and, therefore, I think there is a great Probability in supposing that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants will become Subscribers for accepting 3 *per Cent.* upon their Capital, for 14 Years certain, before *Michaelmas* next, if we give them an Opportunity of so doing; because, if any Number of them should subscribe, the Loss will fall extremely heavy upon those who do not, which will of course be a prevailing Argument with the most obstinate. But suppose no one of them does come in to subscribe, it can be attended with no bad Consequence; the Government will then have nothing to do but to issue the *Million* at *Michaelmas* next, and it will be distributed *pro rata* among the *Old South-Sea* Annuities, according to the Direction of Parliament.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must take Notice, that we ought to endeavour, as much as possible, to reduce the Rate of Interest, especially upon the Debt due to the *Bank*, before we come to any Agreement about granting them a new Term; for if we do not, the Reduction of their Interest to 3 *per Cent.* will be looked on, perhaps, as a full Consideration for that new Term; whereas if it should be reduced before

before that time, the Consideration must be paid wholly in ready Money, which will enable us to pay off any Debts that may be still standing out at 4 *per Cent.* *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you a Proposition, which, I am sure, may tend greatly to the Benefit of the Public, and can be attended with no bad Consequence, nor with the least Danger of any bad Consequence; yet, nevertheless, I should not, I believe, have had the Courage to offer it, if the great Hopes given us by some Honourable Gentlemen in the Committee, of our being able to do Wonders 5 or 6 Years hence, had not made me imagine, that I should certainly have their Concurrence. Whether we can now properly take this Affair into Consideration, I do not know; but if it should be thought we cannot, I think we ought to resolve ourselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the National Debt, or into some such Committee, in order to take this or any other Proposition of the same Nature that may then be offered into our Consideration; for surely we ought not to sit here and see 3 *per Cent.* Securities selling at a *Premium*, without endeavouring to take some Advantage of that favourable Conjunction, for lowering the Interest of these National Debts which now bear an Interest of 4 *per Cent.*

Upon this it was said by Sir Robert Walpole, and some others, That public Credit was a Thing of such a ticklish Nature, it was dangerous to meddle with it at any Rate, but much more, to make any Step which might affect it, without the most mature Consideration. That in a very few Years we might, perhaps, be able to reduce the whole, or the greatest Part of the public Debts to an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* but they were afraid it was not yet Time to make any such Attempt. That to make any such Attempt without Success, would certainly be attended with bad Consequences; for as public Credit depended intirely upon the Opinion of the Generality of Mankind, a vain and unsuccessful Attempt to reduce the Interest payable upon any of our public Funds, would be attended at least with this bad Consequence, that it would give many People a mean Opinion of the Wisdom and Prudence of the Government; and no Man would trust, or continue to trust his Fortune in the Hands of those whose Wisdom and Prudence he had no good Opinion of; so that the attempting to reduce the Interest might give a much greater Check to public Credit than some Gentlemen seemed to be aware of, and might put it out of their Power to reduce the Interest payable upon any of the public Funds, for a much longer Time

Sir Robert Walpole.

Anno 10. Geo. than it would have been, if no such unseasonable Attempt
II. 1736-7. had been made.



However, they said, they were not against going into such a Committee as had been proposed; because Gentlemen would then have Time to consider of what they were about; and if any feasible Scheme should be there proposed for reducing the Interest now payable upon any of the public Funds, they should most readily agree to it. Whereupon, the Resolution of the Committee of Supply was agreed to without a Division; and then 'was resolved, That the House would, upon that Day Se'nnight, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the National Debt; after which 'twas ordered, that a State of the National Debt, as it was the *first* of *February* last, should be laid before the House.

Which was accordingly laid before the House on *March* 18, and is as follows;

An

An Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in the Year 1736, and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before December 25, 1716, the said Fund has been applied.

			Dr.	Per Contra.	Cr.
The Exchequer to Cash of S. Fund on Dec. 31, 1735, is	{		137730 13 10	By Money issued towards discharging the National Debt between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736.	
To the Produce of S. Fund between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736, viz.	{				
On the aggregate Fund.	697996	15 9		To the S. S. Comp. in Discharge of so much of their Capital Stock of New Annuities.	1000000 2 1
General Fund.	381616	13 11		To Geo. Lord Middleton, & aliis, for a Debt on the Bankers Annuities, the Money reserved for the Payment of the said Ann. being carried to the S. F. by an Act 13 G.	2439 16 11
S. S. Comp. Fund.	123834	9 9 2	1203447 19 6	To compleat the 1000000 l. granted for the Year 1735.	57984 16 9
				To make good the Deficiencies of Lottery Annuities in 1731, at Christmas 1735.	10043 3 10
				To pay Interest on the Loan on the Salt Duty further continued, 1735.	10000
				To pay the Annuities on 600000 l. at 3 per Cent. granted 1736, due at Christmas 1736.	9000
					1089467 17 6
				Bal. in Cash D. 31, 1736.	251710 15 10
					1341178 13 4

A State of the National Debt, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736.

	Amount of the Na- tional Debt upon Dec. 31, 1735.			Increased between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736.	Paid off within the said Time.	Amount of the Na- tional Debt upon Dec. 31, 1736.				
	l.	s.	d. q.		l.		l.	s.	d. q.	
EXCHEQUER.										
A nnuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the } original Sum contributed and unsubscrib'd to the S. S. C. }	1836275	17	10	3			1836275	17	10	3
Ditto for Lives, with Benefit of Survivorship, being the } original Sum contributed. }	108100	0	0				108100			
Ditto payable on 2 or 3 Lives, being the Sum remaining } after what is fallen in by Deaths. }	127899	8	0	3		1700	126199	8	0	3
Annuities at 9 l. per Cent. per Annum.	161108	6	8				161108	6	8	
Ditto on Lottery 1710.	109290	0	0				109290			
Annuities on the Plate Act 6 Georgii primi Regis.	312000						312000			
Ditto on Nevis and St. Christopher's Debentures at 3 l. p. Ct.	37821	5	1	1			37821	5	1	1
Annuities at 3 l. 10 s. per Cent. for the Year 1731.	400000						400000			
Exchequer Bills on the Victuallers Act Anno 1726.	481400						481400			
Ditto made out for Interest on old Bills exchanged.	2200						2200			
Duties on Salt continued Anno 1734.	950000				500000	160000	790000			
Duties on Salt continued Anno 1735.							500000			
The Land-Tax and Duties on Malt being annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 100000 l. charg'd on the Deductions of 6 d. per Pound.					600000		600000			

By two Acts of Parliament 9 *Will. Regis.* and two other } 3200000
Acts 6 & 10 *Annæ Reginæ.*

On their original Fund at 6 l. per Cent. 1600000

Purchased of the <i>South-Sea Company</i> .	4000000
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Annuities at 4 l. per Cent. charged on the Duty of Coals }
since Lady Day 1719. } 1750000

Ditto charged on the Surplusses of the Funds for Lottery } 1250000
1714.

Ditto for Lottery 1731.

SOUTH-SEA Company.

On their Capital Stock and Annuities of *Georgii primi* }
Regis. }

3200000

1600000

1500000

4000000

1750000

1250000

800000

§ 29302203 5 6 3

3200000

1600000

1500000

4000000

1750000

1250000

800000

10000000	28302203	5	6	3
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47928298 3 3 2 1100000 1161700 47866598 3 3 2

On

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

On Monday, March 21, the House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the National Debt; and the above State of the National Debt, having been referred to the said Committee, as soon as Sir *Charles Turner* had taken the Chair, Sir *John Barnard* stood up and made a Motion, for enabling his Majesty to raise Money either by the Sale of Annuities for Years or Lives, at such Rates as should be prescribed, or by borrowing at an Interest not exceeding 3 per Cent. to be applied towards redeeming of the Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities; and that such of the said Annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective Annuities, should be preferred to all others.

Upon this Motion there were long Debates, so that the Committee did not come to any Resolution that Day; therefore, 'twas resolved, That the House would, upon that Day *Sevensnight*, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the National Debt; and it having been much insisted on, in this Debate, that there was a great Part of the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuities in the Hands of Widows and Orphans, and Persons who were Proprietors for very small Sums, therefore, next Day 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, and the Number of Annuitants who were intitled to any such Stock, not exceeding 1000 *l.* to each Annuitant; and also, 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, holden by any Executors, Administrators, and Trustees, and the Number of such Trusts: Which Accounts were presented to the House by Mr. *John Bristow* on the Friday following; and on Monday the Order of the Day being read, and these Accounts referred to the Committee, the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, when the Debate upon the aforesaid Motion was resumed; in which Sir *John Barnard* spoke in Substance as followeth, *viz.*

S I R,

As some Things I mentioned in the Committee of Supply, gave Rise to the House's resolving itself into this Committee, I think it incumbent upon me to rise up, in order to explain and enforce what I then mentioned but superficially, and to make you such a Proposition as I think may at this Juncture be made effectual, for reducing the Interest payable upon a Part of the National Debts, and for easing the People of a Part of that heavy Load of Taxes they now groan under. In the Committee of Supply

I mentioned only the Application of the *Million*, to be paid at *Michaelmas* next, to such of the *South-Sea* Old Annuity-holders only, as are not willing to accept of an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* for if there are any who are willing to accept of such an Interest, and I am convinced there are a great many, I must think it a very absurd Sort of Conduct in the Public, to make any Payment to them, as long as there is any one public Creditor who will not accept of such a low Interest: However, as this House seems to be of a contrary Opinion, I shall readily submit; but as the House then resolved upon the Committee we are now in, I thought myself obliged as a Member of this House, and as one who sincerely desires to see the Nation freed from its Debt, and the People freed from their perpetual Taxes, I mean such as are made perpetual by Parliament; I say, I thought myself obliged to turn my Thoughts that Way; and from considering our present Circumstances, and the present low Rate of Interest, I am of Opinion, that the Scheme for reducing the Interest of the public Debts may be pushed further than I then proposed or thought on.

Every one knows, Sir, that the Price of all our public Funds is now at a higher Rate than ever it was before, upon any reasonable Foundation: Every one knows, that even those publick Securities, which bear an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* only, now sell at a Premium in *'Change Alley*; and I must be of Opinion, it would be an unpardonable Neglect in us, not to endeavour to take Advantage of that happy Circumstance, for the Benefit of the Public. I am persuaded there are few or none, who are willing to give a Premium for any 3 *per Cent.* Security, but would willingly lend his Money to the Government at the same Interest, if Books of Subscription were opened for that Purpose, with an Assurance that no Part of his Principal should be paid off for 14 Years; and therefore, I think, we ought to have such Books always lying open at the *Exchequer*, or some other convenient Place, for taking in the Subscriptions of those who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay off the sooner such of the public Creditors as are not willing to accept of a lower Interest than *Four*. If this were done, it would convince all our public Creditors, who are now intitled to an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* that the Government is in earnest, and firmly resolved to pay them off as soon as possible; and as the only Contest among the public Creditors now is, which of them shall be the last in being paid off, 'tis more than probable, the far greatest Part of them would come in and subscribe what is due to them respectively, at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* rather than run the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. the Risk of being quickly paid off the whole, or the greatest Part of their Capital, by means of the *Sinking-Fund*, and the Money-Subscriptions at 3 *per Cent*.

That the Rate of Interest upon public Securities has always had, and always will have, a great Influence upon the Rate of Interest between Man and Man, is what, I believe, Sir, no Gentleman will question; for as upon public Securities a Man is always sure of having his Interest regularly paid, and may have his Principal whenever he has a Mind, which are two Advantages he can never be assured of, in lending upon the most undoubted private Security, it is certain the natural Rate of Interest upon public Securities will always be lower than the natural Rate of Interest upon private; therefore the only Method of reducing the latter is, to reduce the former; and when you have reduced both, then, and not till then, you may safely venture to reduce the legal: And that a low Rate of Interest upon private Securities, is of great Advantage to every Nation where it can be brought about, is what can be as little questioned by those who have any Regard to Experience, or to the Nature of Things. But as this depends upon Speculations, and upon Facts which some Gentlemen may not perhaps be acquainted with, I shall beg Leave to enlarge a little upon the Subject.

'Tis certain, Sir, the Strength and Power of a Nation can be increased only by multiplying its Inhabitants, increasing its Trade, or improving its Lands; for Extent of Territory weakens, instead of strengthening a Nation, if that Territory lies desert and thinly inhabited; because the greater Frontier a Nation has to defend, the more they will be exposed to Insults and Incursions, unless every Part of the Frontier be so well stock'd with People, that they are able to defend themselves against any sudden Invasion; and the Frontiers of every Country will always be worst stocked with People; for Mankind always retire from Danger, if they can; which is the Reason for the Heart or Middle Part of every Country's being generally the most populous. As to the multiplying or increasing the Number of Inhabitants in any Country, it must always proceed from the Increase of its Trade, or the Improvement of its Land; for let the People be as prolific as possible, let them be as prolific as ever the Northern Parts of *Europe*, or of this very Island, have appeared to have been, if they cannot find Employment and Subsistence at home, they will wander abroad either in armed Bodies, or as single Adventurers, to seek for that in foreign Countries, which they cannot find in their own. It is therefore highly requisite for every Nation

Nation to take every possible Method for increasing its Trade, and improving its Land; and nothing can tend more to either of these Purposes, than a low Rate of Interest for the Use or Forbearance of the Payment of Money between Man and Man.

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.

With respect to Trade, Sir, it is either foreign or domestic, and both depend in a great Measure upon the low Rate of Interest; for Mankind naturally pursue that which is their greatest Advantage, and but few Men will be either frugal, diligent, or industrious, if they can live otherwise; therefore, if a Man can live indolently upon the Interest of his Money, he will generally follow no Trade or Employment; and if he can make more of his Money by lending it at Interest, than he can make by employing it in Trade or the Improvement of Land, he will always chuse the former. For this Reason the People of a Country, where the Rate of Interest is high, will never carry on any Trade for so small a Profit, as the People of a Country will do where the Interest of Money is low; nor will the Persons engaged in Trade ever be so numerous or so rich in the former, as in the latter. Suppose in this Country, a Man may make 5 or 4 *per Cent.* of his Money, by lending it at Interest upon a certain Security; we cannot, in that Case, suppose that any Man will take the Trouble of carrying on any Trade, by which he cannot make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit: Whereas in *Holland*, where a Man can never get more than 3 and often not above 2 *per Cent.* by lending his Money at Interest upon a certain Security, we must suppose that in that Country, a Man will be glad to engage in any Trade, by which he can make 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; and an additional Advantage is, that in *Holland* a Man who has but 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* Capital must necessarily engage in Trade, because he cannot live upon the legal Interest of his Money; whereas a Man of that Capital in this Country, may live comfortably in most Corners of the Kingdom upon the legal Interest of his Money; so that more Men, and Men of greater Stocks, are necessarily drove into Trade in that Country than in this; and their People will willingly engage in a great many Branches of Traffic, which no Man in this Kingdom will touch at; because he can make as much, or very near as much, by employing his Money in our Funds, as he could expect to make by that Traffic.

This, Sir, gives the *Dutch*, and the *French* too, a great Advantage over this Nation, in all Branches of Trade which must be carried on at a small Profit, such as the *Carrying-Trade*, and the *Fishing-Trade*, but especially the last, which

Ann'd 10. Feb.
II. 1736-7.



I hope some Gentlemen who hear me will take particular Notice of; and I shall add this other Observation, That in those two Trades there are more Ships, and more Seamen employed in Proportion, than in any other; and the Seamen thus employed are more useful for the Defence of their Country, because they are always at Hand upon any sudden Emergency; which I hope every Gentleman will take particular Notice of, who has any Regard to the Naval Power, or the Security of his Country.

All the Branches of foreign Trade, Sir, which any Nation does or can carry on, must consist either in the *Carrying Trade*, the *Fishing-Trade*, or the *exporting* their Manufactures and Produce to foreign Markets, and *importing* those foreign Commodities which they have Use for at home. In the first *Two*, we are under such a Disadvantage, by the high Rate of Interest among us, and the small Profit to be expected by the Trade, that few or none of our People will engage in either; and in Fact we have but very little of either, and would have none at all, if it were not for the many natural Advantages we are blest'd with above any other Country upon the Face of the Globe. And as to our Trade of *importing* and *exporting* our own Commodities, and such foreign Commodities as we have Use for, it depends upon the Cheapness of our Navigation, and proper Laws for its Encouragement. As to the Cheapness of our Navigation, it will always depend upon our People's employing their Money in that Way at a small Profit; so that in this too, our Neighbours have a great Advantage over us; for they will be glad to imploy their Money in that Way, if they can make but 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; whereas we cannot suppose any of our People (except such as venture, or, as they call it, throw away a little Money for the Service of a Friend) will imploy their Money in that Way, at a Profit less than 8 or 10 *per Cent.* so that both Ship-building, Ships and Freight, would be cheaper in our neighbouring Countries than in this, by at least 4 *per Cent.* if it were not for some natural Advantages we are likewise blessed with in this Particular, and the great Supply we now receive from our Colony of *New-England*; but, notwithstanding all these natural Advantages, 4 *per Cent.* Difference is such a great Advantage in Favour of some of our Neighbours, that if it were not for the Navigation Act, and other Laws in Favour of our own Shipping, I am convinced we should see our Ports every Day full of *Dutch* Ships and Seamen; and even as it is, we may observe that the Number of *Hamburg*, *Harborough*, *Danish* and *Swedish* Ships, is every Day increasing in the River *Thames*; and for what I know, in several other Ports of the Kingdom.

But,

But, Sir, I need not insist so much upon the Prejudice a high Rate of Interest does to our Navigation, with respect to our Importation and Exportation; for if our present Rate of Interest, and our present Taxes continue for some Years longer, I am afraid we shall have very little either of Manufactures, or Home Produce, to export; and in that Case our Importation must likewise decrease in Proportion; because we shall not then be able to give either Money, or other valuable Consideration in return. With respect to our Home Manufactures, it is certain the Exportation of them can proceed from nothing but our Merchants being able to sell them cheaper, or at least as cheap in foreign Markets, as any foreign Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness can be sold. Let us then see how the Difference of Interest may affect this Branch of Trade. An *Englishman* will not invest his Money in the Carrying on of any Manufacture, unless he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit; a *Dutch* or a *Frenchman* will gladly invest his Money in the Carrying on of a Manufacture, if he can make 4 or 6 *per Cent.* Profit; therefore, supposing all other Charges equal, a *Dutchman* or *Frenchman* will sell his Manufactures to the Merchant Exporter 4 *per Cent.* cheaper than the *Englishman* will do. Here is an Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market. Again, an *English* Merchant will not employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of our Manufactures, unless he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* of his Money; a *Dutch* or a *French* Merchant will employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of the Manufactures of his Country, if he can thereby make but 4 or 6 *per Cent.* of his Money: Here is an additional Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market; so that all the Manufactures of this Kingdom, by means of the high Rate of Interest, carry with them to every foreign Market, a Load of 8 *per Cent. per Annum*, more than the *Dutch* or *French* Manufactures carry with them to the same Market, without mentioning the Difference of Freight, and several other additional Overloads, that naturally arise from the high Interest of Money in this Kingdom, above what it is among our Neighbours and Rivals.

This single Advantage, Sir, is of itself sufficient to exclude our Manufactures from every Market in the World, where our Rivals can come in Competition with us; but if we consider, what a heavy Load is added to the prime Cost of all our Manufactures, by the Taxes laid upon several Materials necessary for working them up, and by those

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Taxes which are laid upon many of the Necessaries of Life, we may have some Reason to be surprized there is at this Day a *Shilling's* worth of any Sort of Manufacture exported from *Great Britain*; for that we still do export great Quantities of Manufacture, is certain; and because this may be an Argument with some for concluding there is nothing in what I have said, I must beg Leave to consider some of the natural or acquired Advantages we still enjoy.

Before the Peace of *Utrecht*, we had no Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade but the *Dutch*, and over them we have many natural Advantages both as to our Situation, the Goodness of our Ports, and the principal constituent Materials of that Manufacture, all of which they are obliged to furnish themselves with at second Hand. To this I shall add, that when the Woollen Manufacture was first chiefly established in *England*, which was in the long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Interest of Money was pretty much the same in both Countries, and the *Dutch* were engaged in a bloody and dangerous War, and in establishing their Commonwealth and their *East-India* Trade, so that their People had not much Time to think of improving any Sort of Manufacture. By these Means we got ourselves riveted in the Possession of all the principal Marts for Woollen Manufacture both in *Asia* and *Europe*; and that Possession we in good Measure kept, till the Beginning of the last War with *France* and *Spain*, when we were so wise as to prohibit Trade with both. During that long Period, the People in *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even in *France* too, till the Revolution, became so accustomed to the wearing of *English* Cloths and Stuffs, that it was not easy to make them change their Merchant; for a long established Custom in any Country, especially in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, is not easily altered, nor are People apt to go to a new Shop, as long as they meet with tolerable Usage at the old. Thus by getting Possession of the Trade, and keeping that Possession for so long a Time, we acquired an Advantage, which could not easily nor speedily be taken from us; and this acquired Advantage is, I am afraid, the chief Support of our present Exportation: But in a long Course of Time we may entirely lose this Advantage; and we are in the more Danger, because we have now got a Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and of much more dangerous Consequence.

Before our late happy Revolution, Sir, they had but few Manufactures of Woollen Cloth in *France*, and such as they had were of the coarsest Sort; so that they were furnished

nished with all their fine Cloths either from *Holland* or *England*; but after the Revolution we found ourselves, it seems, under a Necessity of prohibiting all Manner of Trade and Intercourse with that Kingdom. This prevented its being in their Power to have any Woollen Manufacture directly from *England*, which laid them under a Necessity, and at the same Time furnished them with the Means, of improving what they had of their own; so that before the second War broke out, they had come some Length in the Manufacture of Woollen Cloths, especially Stuffs or Camblets; and by our prohibiting Trade with *Spain* as well as them, at the Beginning of that War, we furnished them not only with a new Opportunity of improving their Woollen Manufacture, but likewise with an Opportunity of introducing it by Degrees into the Kingdom of *Spain*; and the Peace of *Utrecht* confirmed their Manufacture in the Advantage it had reaped by the War.

Anno 10. Gen.
II. 1736 7.

Ever since that Time, Sir, they have enjoy'd almost an uninterrupted State of Tranquillity; during which time, it must be confessed, they have made the best Use of the Benefits we bestowed upon them; for they have now brought their Woollen Manufacture to such Perfection, that they make superfine Woollen Cloths almost as fine and as good as we can do, and sell them much cheaper; by which Means, they very much interfere with us in *Turkey* as well as *Spain*; in both which Places they as yet meet with some Difficulty, by reason of the Attachment the People in general have to the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but that Attachment will at last wear off, and then it will be out of our Power to preserve any Share of the Trade, unless we can sell all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures as cheap as the *French*, or any other Nation can possibly do.

Now, Sir, with respect to the Rivalship in this Trade between the *French* and us, it is very different from that between us and the *Dutch*. The Situation of the *French* is rather more convenient for that Trade than ours, and their Ports are as good; then as to the Materials, the only Advantage we have over them, consists in our Wool; but they lie so convenient for stealing it away from us, that 'tis hardly possible to prevent it; and as to *Spanish* Wool, which is the chief Material in the Manufacture of all superfine Cloths, they lie more conveniently for having it, and may have it at a cheaper Rate than we can. From all which I must conclude, the chief Advantage we now enjoy in this Manufacture, is the superior Skill, Dexterity, and Numbers of our Workmen, and the old Attachment to the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, something of which

Ann 10. *Gen*.
H. 1736-7.



which still remains in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but the latter will wear off by Degrees, if we cannot sell as cheap as any other Nation, and the *French* Workmen will be every Day improving and increasing. These, Sir, are our Circumstances with respect to the Woollen Manufacture, which is our chief Staple; and in such Circumstances I am sure every Gentleman that hears me, must conclude, it is high Time for us to look about us, and to neglect no Opportunity that may tend towards enabling, and in some Manner obliging, our Merchants and Manufacturers to sell their Goods as cheap as such Goods can be sold by any foreign Nation whatsoever.

Thus, Sir, I have shewn what bad Effects our present high Rate of Interest may have upon our foreign Trade, and our Home Manufactures; and now let me shew the Advantages a Nation may reap from a low Rate of Interest with respect to the Improvement of their Lands, and maintaining a great Number of Inhabitants. For this Purpose, let me observe, that the Riches of a Nation properly consist in the aggregate Total of every Man's Riches in particular; for a Nation, where the Subjects are all or generally rich, will be able to maintain an expensive War much longer than a Nation can do, whose Subjects are all or generally poor; because the Subjects of every Nation, if they are under a good Government, will contribute as much as they can towards a necessary War, and rich Subjects will always be able to contribute more or longer than poor: But then these Riches of particular Men must be such as consist in Lands, Houses, Goods, ready Coin, Bullion or Jewels; they must not be such as consist in large Sums out at Interest among their Fellow-Subjects; for such Riches add nothing to the Riches of the Nation, nor would the Nation be one bit the poorer, if they should declare a Year of *Jubilee* by a public Law: Whatever such Men may be able to contribute towards the public Expence, must diminish the Power of others to contribute; and therefore it is against the Interest of every Nation to have a great Number of such Men, or to encourage the heaping up of such Riches among them.

Then, Sir, as to the Revenue of a Nation, it is to be computed, in the same Manner, from the aggregate Total of every Man's Revenue in particular; but then these particular Revenues must consist in such as come from Land, Trade, or Industry: They must not, for the same Reason, be such as come from Sums of Money lent out at Interest. And, lastly, I shall observe, that an Acre of Land without any Improvement, may not perhaps be sufficient to employ
and

and subsist *one* Man ; whereas the same Acre, with proper Improvements, may perhaps be made able to employ and subsist *two* or *three*. Now, Sir, suppose a Gentleman of 1000 *l.* a Year Land Estate, has in a Course of Years saved 10,000 *l.* Suppose, upon looking over his Estate, he finds, that by laying out this Money in Improvements, he could make his Estate worth at least 1500 *l.* a Year : He would then naturally consider which was the most profitable Way of laying out his Money, whether to lay it out upon these Improvements, or to lay it out on a Purchase of another Estate, or to lend it upon a Mortgage. In this Case, if the Interest of Money were at 5 *per Cent.* he would certainly lay out his Money upon a Purchase or Mortgage, because he would have as much yearly Profit by laying out his Money in either of these Ways, as he could expect by laying it out in Improvements ; and in either of these two Ways he would save himself all that Trouble and Fatigue, which the last would necessarily subject him to. Tho' this Gentleman, by laying out his Money in such a Manner, certainly improves his own Revenue, tho' he has added to the Riches of his Country by his Frugality, yet he adds nothing either to the Riches or the Revenue of his Country, by his Purchase or Mortgage ; nor does he enable or make his Country fit for employing or maintaining any greater Number of Inhabitants. On the other hand, if the natural Interest of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* the Price of Lands would rise very near in Proportion ; in which Case he would certainly lay his Money out in Improvements, because, in this way, he would make near 200 *l.* a Year more of his Money than he could do by Purchase or Mortgage ; and by laying it out in such a Manner, he would not only add to the Riches and Revenue of his Country, as well as to his own, but he would make his Country capable of employing and maintaining a greater Number of Inhabitants than it could do before.

The Case, Sir, will be the same in small Sums as well as large. Suppose a Farmer has taken a 21 Years Lease of a small Tenement, and after stocking his Tenement has 20 *l.* over : Suppose he finds that by laying that 20 *l.* out in improving his Tenement, he may improve its Value 20 *s.* a Year : While Money is at 5 *per Cent.* he will certainly chuse to lend out his Money at Interest, rather than lay it out upon such an Improvement ; but if the Interest of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* only, he would certainly lay it out upon the Improvement ; and by so doing would add to the Revenue of his Landlord, as well as to the Revenue of his Country. This, the Landed Gentlemen that hear me,

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.



*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

me, will, I hope, have a particular Regard to; for from hence they may see how naturally a low Rate of Interest tends to the Improvement of their Estates, as well as raising their Price, and that a high Interest prevents both the one and the other.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn, even to a Demonstration, that the Lowering of Interest must be attended with great Advantages to the Nation in general, and to the Landed Gentlemen in particular; and I have shewn, I hope, likewise to a Demonstration, that if the Interest of Money be continued for any Number of Years at the present Rate in this Kingdom, which is much higher than it is in those Countries which are our greatest and most formidable Rivals, both in Trade and naval Power, it must be attended with the gradual Decay of our Navigation, our foreign Trade, and our Home Manufactures, which will at last bring irretrievable Ruin upon the whole Nation. Whoever is convinced of this, must have a Heart of Stone, he must have no Bowels towards his native Country, if for any selfish End he opposes, if in spite of every selfish View he does not promote any practicable Scheme, that may tend towards bringing the Interest of Money in this Country upon a Par with what it is in our neighbouring Countries, especially in those neighbouring Countries, which are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power. And, I am sure, no Gentleman will say, it is possible to bring down either the natural or the legal Interest of Money between Man and Man, till after we have reduced the Interest payable upon all our public Securities; for by the long and regular Payment of the Interest upon such Securities, and by the growing Provision we have made for paying off the Principal by Degrees, they are got into such Credit, that no Man will lend upon a private Security for the same Interest he can have upon a public; except a very few Persons who have large Sums, which they are willing to lend at the same Interest upon Mortgages of Land only.

I shall not pretend, Sir, it is in our Power, or in the Power of any Nation, to make what Regulations they have a Mind, with Regard to the legal Interest of Money. The natural Interest of Money is always the Standard by which the legal ought to be regulated; and the natural Interest of Money does not depend upon the Regulations of Men, but upon natural and sometimes very accidental Events: But this I will say, that by a prudent and circum-spect Administration of the public Affairs of any Country, such Measures may be taken as must necessarily contribute towards reducing the natural Interest of Money;
and

and when such Measures are observed to have taken Effect, the legal Interest of Money ought then to be reduced ; for the legal ought always to be kept at a Rate equal to, or but a very little above the natural ; because a great deal of Money is in every Country borrowed by the young and extravagant, in order to support their Luxury and Extravagance ; and as such Persons are apt, and generally obliged, to pay a higher Interest for it, than those who borrow, in order to imploy it in Trade, one of the most effectual Ways to prevent their Luxury and Extravagance, (which every Government ought to prevent as much as possible) is, to make it dangerous for Men to endeavour to reap great Profits, by supplying them with the proper Medium for supporting their Luxury and Extravagance.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*



Even in this Country, Sir, if the Supplies of the Year had been duly raised within the Year, and the Sinking-Fund wholly and regularly applied to the Discharge of our public Debts, ever since its first Establishment, I will be bold to say, the Interest upon any public Funds we had remaining, would not now have been above 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, nor would the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, where there was any tolerable Security, have been above 3 ; for the natural Interest of Money must always depend upon the Proportion between the Quantity of Money ready to be lent at Interest, and the Quantity wanted to be borrowed ; so that public Loans of all Kinds, must tend towards enhancing the natural Interest of Money, and public Payments must as necessarily tend towards its Reduction. Therefore, from the present low Rate of Interest upon public Securities, notwithstanding our being now very near as much in Debt as we were at the End of the War, I am sure I may venture to say, the natural Interest upon all Sorts of Securities would have been at or below 3 *per Cent.* if we had paid off the greatest Part of our old without contracting any new Debt : And if we had done so, I am convinced, the Trade of this Kingdom would have been in a much more flourishing State than it is at present, and the Nation much better able to support its Friends or avenge itself of its Enemies.

These, 'tis true Sir, are but melancholy Reflections, however they may serve for making us more circumspect in Time to come, and for making every Man contribute with the greater Alacrity towards whatever Sums may hereafter be thought necessary for the current Supplies, in order that the Sinking-Fund may for the future be applied wholly to discharge the national Debt, and to relieve the People from those heavy Taxes they now groan

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



under ; for either of which Purposes it will be made much more effectual by a Reduction of the Interest payable to the *South Sea* Old and New Annuitants, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* if such a Thing can be brought about without any Langer to public Credit, or Breach of public Faith ; and that this may in all Probability be done, is what I shall now endeavour to demonstrate. That there are in this Kingdom large Sums ready to be lent at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* is evident, from the ready Access the Government has for some Time had, to the Borrowing of Money at that Interest for the yearly Supplies, and upon every new Fund that has been lately established. But this is still more evident from the high Premium now daily given for those public Securities, that bear an Interest only of 3 *per Cent.* Therefore, I think, it is reasonable to believe, that if Books of Subscriptions should be opened, the Money Subscriptions would amount at least to *two Millions*, and the whole *Million* to be paid to the *South Sea* Old Annuitants at *Michaelmas* next, would, I believe, be subscribed into this new Fund ; so that soon after *Michaelmas* next, the Public would have a Fund of *three Millions* in ready Money, to pay off a Part of those Annuities, whose Proprietors should not appear willing to accept of an Interest for 14 Years certain, at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.*

Now, Sir, as there is *one Million* to be paid off at *Michaelmas* next, the Total of the remaining Annuities will amount to about 23,600,000 *l.* and if the whole *three Millions*, raised by Money Subscriptions, together with a *Million* from the Sinking-Fund, were to be applied at the *Michaelmas* following, towards paying off the like Sum of Old and New, *South-Sea* Annuities, which for Calculation's Sake I shall suppose to be *twenty four Millions* full, it would amount to 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per Cent.* That is to say, every Proprietor would have so much *per Cent.* of his Stock annihilated, so that he would lose the whole advanced Price upon that 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Stock so annihilated, which at the present advanced Price, (being 13 *per Cent.*) would be above 2 *l.* *per Cent.* entirely lost ; and if the present advanced Price of Stocks should rise, every Proprietor's Loss, by such a Payment, would rise in Proportion. To avoid this immediate Loss, we may suppose, that some of the present Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities would subscribe their respective Shares in those Annuities, and would be willing to accept of the 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable : Suppose these Subscriptions amounted in the whole but to *three Millions*, this would make the first Loss fall still heavier upon the Obstinate ; because the *four Millions*

Millions in Money would then come to be divided upon *twenty one Millions* Capital, instead of *twenty four Millions* Capital, which would make their Loss, by the Payment of *four Millions* at once, amount to very near 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* But suppose they continued obstinate, let us inquire what they would gain by their Obstinacy. The whole Capital of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities remaining at 4 *per Cent.* after *Michaelmas* some a *Twelvemonth*, would be but *seventeen Millions*, to the Discharge of which we must suppose the Sinking Fund afterwards wholly and regularly applied; in which Case, we must suppose that a Sum of at least 1,300,000 *l.* would be yearly applied to the Discharge and Annihilation of the like Sum of that Capital: Therefore, suppose the advanced Price of those Annuities should rise no higher than it is at present, it will appear by Calculation, that upon the very first Payment, which would be at *Michaelmas* 1739, every one of the Proprietors of this *seventeen Millions* would have above 7 *l. per Cent.* of this Stock annihilated, and would thereby lose 19 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$; at the next *Michaelmas* following, every such Proprietor would have above 8 *per Cent.* of his Stock annihilated, and would consequently lose above 1 *per Cent.* and this Loss will increase yearly, in Proportion as the Sinking-Fund increases, and the Capital to which it is to be applied diminishes, if the advanced Price should continue as high as it is at present; and no Man can reasonably expect the Price of any of our Stocks will fall lower than they are at present, as long as Peace continues, and the Sinking-Fund is regularly applied.

From these Calculations it must appear, Sir, that, if Books were opened for taking in Subscriptions either in Annuities or Money, with a Right of Preference to the former, a Subscription of *two Millions* in Money, and the *three Millions* in Annuities, any Time before next *Michaelmas*, with the Money-Subscriptions that might then be expected from the *Million* to be paid off, would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest of the Annuitants to come in and subscribe their respective Annuities at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, rather than continue them at 4 *per Cent.* subject to the Trouble and Loss of having a Part of their Capital every Year annihilated, by means of Payments from the Sinking-Fund. That *three Millions* of Annuities would be immediately subscribed, I make no Question; because, even suppose Things stand upon their present Footing, every Annuitant must lose above a *half per Cent.* by the yearly Payments to be made; and I am sure the Trouble of replacing their partial Payments is by many thought worth the other *half*

Anno 10. Geo. *per Cent.* at least. Then as to the *two Millions* in Money,
 11.1736-7. I am confident, that is the least Sum that would be sub-



scribed, if there should be Occasion for it; for I am sure the *3 per Cent.* Funds could not bear so high a Premium, if there were not a great deal of Money in the Nation ready to be lent at that Interest; but I am in some Doubt, whether or no there would be Occasion for accepting of any Money-Subscriptions at all; because every Man may, from the general Circumstances of our Affairs, find Reason to believe, and I have particular Reasons to believe, that a great Number of our Annuitants are uneasy in their present Situation, and would be glad to accept of *3 per Cent.* if they were assured of not being obliged to receive any Payment for *14 Years* to come; and if *one Third* of them, or any Number above *one Third*, should readily come in, it would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest to come in and subscribe; because they would lose above *1 per Cent.* yearly by the future Payments to be made from the Sinking-Fund; besides the Trouble they will be annually put to, in receiving and replacing the partial Payments which would be made them from that Fund only; and besides the Danger they would be in, of having the whole soon paid them by a large Money-Subscription.

From what I have said, Sir, and the easy and obvious Calculations I have made, it is evident, that we may in all Probability before *Michaelmas* next, or very soon after, reduce the Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, both New and Old, from *4* to *3 per Cent.* Interest, without any Danger to public Credit, or Breach of public Faith, which would make the Sinking-Fund amount from thenceforth to above *1,400,000 l. per Annum*, to be applied only towards redeeming the Capital of our several trading Companies. This would bring every one of them so much within our Power, that I am convinced we could then get every one of them to accept of *3 per Cent.* Interest upon any reasonable Terms we had a Mind to propose, which would be a new Addition to the Sinking-Fund, of above *170,000 l.* a Year: From which Time the Sinking-Fund would amount to about *1,600,000 l. per Annum*, and then we might venture to annihilate above *one half* of it, by freeing the People from the Taxes upon *Coals, Candles, Soap, Leather,* and such other Taxes as now lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and thereby enhance their Wages in every Part of the Kingdom, but especially in the City of *London*; by which the prime Cost of all our Manufactures is so much enhanced, that it is impossible for our Merchants to sell them in foreign Markets so cheap, as
 Manufactures

Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness are sold by the Merchants, even of those Countries, where the Interest of Money is as high as it is in this.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



The remaining Part of the Sinking-Fund might then, Sir, be applied towards paying off those Annuities and public Debts which now bear an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* only, and after that, towards diminishing the Capitals of our several trading Companies, till the Expiration of the Term of 14 Years to be granted to the Annuitants; at which Time the Sinking-Fund would again amount to above *a Million* yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the Nation entirely from all its public Debts, in a short Time; for if the People should be immediately relieved from Taxes to the nett Amount of 800,000 *l.* or *a Million per Annum*, it would have, I am convinced, such a happy Influence upon all the Branches of our Trade and Manufactures, especially if it should be attended with the Reduction of the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, which it necessarily would, that the nett Produce of every one of our remaining Taxes would increase in proportion to the Increase of our Trade; whereas if our People continue subject to all their present Taxes, and the present high Rate of Interest continues, it is, I think, evident to a Demonstration, that our Trade and Manufactures must yearly decrease, and consequently the Number of our People will be diminished yearly, and the Rents of all our Land Estates will sink gradually, from whence must necessarily ensue a gradual Decrease in the Produce of every one of our present Taxes; and when the People in general come to feel these melancholy Effects, I am afraid, all Regard for public Credit and national Faith will then be swallowed up in the Ruins of the Public, and *Salus Populi est suprema Lex* will become the general and the only Cry.

I am very sensible, Sir, that the Reduction of Interest upon all public Securities, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* will fall heavy upon, and will be grievously felt by those who have but small Capitals, and who have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but that Annuity or Interest they have from our public Funds. I have as great a Compassion for all such Persons as any Gentleman of this House can, or ought to have; for there can hardly be any public Mischief but what must contribute to the Advantage, perhaps to the Subsistence, of some private Men; nor can there be any Measure taken for the public Benefit but what may be attended with a Loss to some private Men. But when we are considering what may tend to the Good of the Nation in general, we must lay aside all Compassion for particular Persons,

Ann 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.


Persons, so far as it happens to be inconsistent with the public Good. The only Regard we ought in such Cases to have, is, not to do a real Injury to any private Person; and surely it cannot be said to be doing an Injury to any of the public Creditors, to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay those off first, who are not willing to accept of such a low Interest as the rest are willing to accept of.

Compassion therefore, Sir, can be of no Weight in the present Question; but if it could, it must fall with its greatest Weight upon that Side where the Sufferers are the most numerous, and the Sufferings the most grievous. By continuing the present Taxes and high Rate of Interest, every Merchant, every Tradesman, every Labourer, in short, every Person in the Kingdom, will suffer severely; and by the Decay of our Trade many will, in every succeeding Year, be utterly undone; whereas, by the Reduction of Interest from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* no Merchant, no Tradesman, no Labourer, as such, will suffer, no Man will be utterly undone: The only great Sufferers will be those who can very well bear it, I mean our overgrown rich Stockholders, most of whom do not near spend their yearly Income from the Funds; and even as to those who have but small Capitals, and have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, no one of them can be utterly undone; for many of them will without Doubt, take their Money and turn it into some Trade or Business, which will be an Advantage to the Nation in general; and those who are grown too old for entering into any Trade or Business, can be exposed to no other Suffering, except that of being obliged to contract their yearly Expence, which they may the more easily do, because upon abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, all the Necessaries, as well as all the Conveniencies of Life must necessarily become a great deal cheaper than they are at present. From whence I must conclude, that by the Reduction of Interest, a few *Thousands* will suffer, or think they suffer, by their not being able to heap up Riches so fast, or to live so luxuriously or conveniently, as they might otherwise have done; but by continuing our Taxes, and the present high Rate of Interest, *Millions* will suffer, and *Hundreds of Thousands* will at last be utterly undone; and from this, which is certainly the true State of the Case, I leave to every Gentleman that hears me, to consider, upon which Side of the Question, our Compassion, even with respect to private Men, ought to fall with its greatest Weight.

But, Sir, that every Sort of Distress may be prevented as much as possible, and at the same Time, that the Public may be

be enabled to take every possible Method to raise Money for reducing the Interest of the public Funds, or paying off those who will not accept of a less Interest than they have at present, I think Books of Subscription should likewise be opened for the Sale of Annuities for Terms of Years to all Sorts of Persons, or for Life to such Persons as are not Foreigners, nor under the Age of 44 or 45, at such Rates as this House shall deem reasonable, supposing the Rate of Interest not to be above 3 *per Cent.* As the Circumstances, Humours, and Inclinations of Mankind are various and very different, there may be some Persons who would chuse to purchase such Annuities, rather than to lend their Money at 3 *per Cent.* therefore the Public would certainly reap some Benefit from this Alternative; and a great many of those Annuitants who have but small Capitals, and are too far advanced in Years, for engaging in any Sort of Trade or Business, would have an Opportunity of increasing, instead of diminishing their present yearly Income.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



I have now, Sir, explained, as fully as I am able, the Scheme I have thought of for an immediate Reduction of Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, and I have given you my Reasons for thinking it practicable; but suppose I should be disappointed; suppose that, upon opening such Books of Subscription as I have mentioned, no Man should come in to subscribe either Stock or Money at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* what Harm can ensue either to the Public or to any private Man? The Annuitants will remain upon the same Footing they were on before this Proposition was mentioned, or the Scheme attempted: They will continue to enjoy their 4 *per Cent.* Interest till the Parliament can pay them off; and if it be an Advantage not to be soon paid off, the Price of their Annuities will rather rise than fall, upon its being made apparent to the World, by an Experiment, that the Parliament has no Way of paying them off but by the regular Application of the *Sinking-Fund*. Then as to the Public, I cannot so much as suggest to myself any Prejudice that can ensue from the total Misgiving of this Scheme; for surely no Man can have the worse Opinion of our Management, on account of our endeavouring to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay off those Debts for which we pay 4; but on the contrary, if we should make no such Attempt, when there is such a Probability of our meeting at least with some Success, it will, in my Opinion, make the whole World conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, which can no Way add to our Credit; and it will make the whole Nation believe,

that

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

that the Interest of the public Creditors in particular has got, by some unjustifiable Means, a greater Influence in this House, than the Interest of the Nation in general: If such an Opinion should prevail, the Consequences might be fatal to the Principal as well as the Interest of our public Debts; for from such an Opinion the People would naturally conclude, that they must for ever be loaded with heavy Taxes, in order that the public Creditors might enjoy a high Interest, and that either the Nation or the public Creditors must be utterly undone. In such a Dilemma it is easy to see which Side the People would chuse; and an enraged People have seldom any great Regard either to public Credit or public Faith.

This is a Consequence, Sir, which I dread to mention, which I dread to think of; but it is a Consequence, which, in my Opinion, is unavoidable, unless some Measures be speedily taken for reducing the Interest, and for easing the People of some of those heavy Taxes of which they have so long in vain complained. There are many of the public Creditors, I know, who seem highly displeased with me, for making any Sort of Proposition towards reducing the Interest payable upon any of the public Funds; but I can with the utmost Sincerity declare, that my turning my Thoughts this Way, proceeded from a Regard for them, as well as from a Regard for my Country; and if the Scheme I have now proposed, or some such a one, be not speedily put in Execution, I am fully convinced they will in a few Years have Reason to wish my Scheme had met with Success, and will then acknowledge their being obliged to me for having endeavoured to prevent their impending Ruin. At present I am very easy about what some of them may say or think; for I shall always direct my Conduct in this House by that which, in my own Conscience, I think just and right, without any Regard to the false Glosses which some People, from selfish Motives, or mistaken Notions, may put upon it. Truth will always at last appear in its full Splendor; and as I am convinced what I have now explained to you, will contribute towards the Good of the Public, and consequently towards the true Interest of the Creditors of the Public, at least of such of them as are Natives of *Great Britain*, and for that Reason must have an Interest in, and may, I hope, be supposed to have a Regard for, every Thing that can contribute to the Happiness of *Great Britain*; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, *That*, &c.

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

S I R,

I am extremely sorry to find myself under a Necessity of opposing the Scheme now laid before you. I am persuaded the honourable Gentleman would neither have thought of it, nor proposed it, if he had not imagined it would contribute both to the Good of the Public, and the Good of the Creditors; but as I think it will tend to the Prejudice of both, I am therefore, for the same Reasons, obliged to oppose it. I wish with all my Heart we were in a Condition to pay off, honourably and fairly, all the Debts due by the Public, and to give the People an immediate Relief from all those Taxes which are appropriated to the Payment of Principal and Interest; but as it is impossible to do this at once, as there is no Way of paying off our Debts, or abolishing our Taxes, but by Degrees, by Means of the Sinking Fund; and as this is a certain Way of paying off, in a few Years, all our Debts, and freeing the People from almost all those Taxes, which have been made perpetual by Parliament, I shall always be fearful of coming into any Scheme which may disturb, and perhaps entirely disappoint that certain and regular Method we are now in, whatever plausible Appearances it may have at first View.

To reduce the Interest payable upon all, or any Part of our public Debts, and thereby to add to the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund, or to enable us to annihilate a Part of it, by abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, is a Project, Sir, which at first View seems mighty alluring. In private Life, a Gentleman who had a large Mortgage upon his Estate, would think himself highly obliged to a Man who should offer to put him in a Way of reducing the Interest payable upon that Mortgage, in order to enable him to live better than he did before, or to pay off the Mortgage, and clear his Estate sooner than he could otherwise do; but if, upon examining this Project, he should find Reason to believe, he might be disappointed as to the raising of a sufficient Sum at a less Interest, and that the Attempt would certainly exasperate all his old Creditors, and excite every one of them to file Bills of Foreclosure against him, by which his Estate might be brought to immediate Sale at a bad Market, and he and his Family brought to utter Perdition; he might, perhaps, thank his Friend for his kind Offer, but surely he would be a Madman, if he should embrace it, or openly attempt to carry the Project into Execution. This I take to be our Case at present; but before I endeavour to shew the Probability, or the Danger of our being disappointed, I shall beg Leave to consider a little what the Hon. Gentleman has said about the Interest of

Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1736-7.

*Alderman
Heatbroke,
Peter Burrel,
Esq;
Mr. Holden,
Sir Charles
Wager,
General
Wade,
Mr. Ogle.
thorpe,
Mr. Knight,*

Ann 10. *Geo.* Money, and the Influence it has upon our Trade, Mánu-
 II. 1736-7. factures, and Navigation, and upon the Improvement of
 our Land Estates.

I shall agree with him, Sir, That in a Country where the Interest of Money is at too high a Rate, there can be little or no Trade, or Improvement of Land; because it is a certain Sign, there is little or no Money in that Country; and without Money no Sort of Trade can be carried on, nor any Land Improvements made: But, I hope, it will likewise be granted, that the Interest of Money may be too low as well as too high; for those who have more Money than they can employ in any Trade or Business, ought to be allowed to make some Profit by lending it; in order to tempt them not to hoard, or to hide their Talents in the Earth, but to lend them to those who can employ them to Advantage in some Sort of Trade or Business; and the Hopes of getting a moderate Interest or Profit for Money, will always be a great Incitement to Men of all Ranks and Conditions, to get and to save as much as they can. What do Men engage in Trade for? What do they toil and fatigue, and save for, during the greatest Part of their Lives, but to provide a comfortable and easy Subsistence and Relief for the Infirmities of old Age? And after they have done so, what do they continue their Toil and their Saving for, but to satisfy their Ambition by establishing and enriching their Families? If they could make little or no Use of their Money after they have got it and saved it, no Man would toil, no Man would carry on any Trade or Manufacture farther than was absolutely necessary for his daily and immediate Subsistence. Therefore to encourage Men to engage in Trade, or to lend their Money to those that will, to encourage Men to get and to save Money, it is absolutely necessary to leave them in a Condition of receiving some Profit or Benefit from their Money after they have got it and saved it; and this Profit must be great or small according to the Circumstances of the Country where they are, and according to the Humour and Inclinations of the People, among whom that Profit is to be settled or regulated.

A very low Rate of Interest for Money, Sir, is so far from being the Origin or first Cause of a flourishing Trade, that a flourishing Trade is always the Cause of a low Rate of Interest; and in every Country, their Trade must have flourished for some considerable Time before the Rate of Interest in that Country can be brought very low. The first Origin of Trade in every Country is owing to a well-regulated Constitution, and a prudent Administration of public Affairs, which Advantages may be very much improved.

proved by concurring Accidents. In this Country, before the Reign of *Henry VII.* tho' our Constitution had a Face of Liberty, yet that Liberty was almost entirely confined to the noble and great Families, under whom most of the Commons lived in a Sort of Bondage or Dependance; so that our Constitution, tho' free, was not very well adapted to the Encouragement of Trade; and the continual Wars we were engaged in from the Conquest till that Time, made the Spirit of the Nation run more upon the Arts of War than of Peace; but that wise King having very much broke the Power and the Influence of our noble Families, and established the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, our Trade began even in his Reign to rear its Head; and the wise and long Reign of *Q. Elizabeth* established what her Father and Grandfather had begun; for in her Reign, which upon this Occasion ought to be particularly remarked, our Trade flourished more, and increased faster, than it ever did in any the like Period before or since, tho' the Interest of Money was then at 10 *per Cent.* at which Rate it continued till the 21st of *James I.* when it was brought down to 8; and at that Rate it continued till after the Restoration, when it was reduced to 6 *per Cent.* from whence 'tis plain the Establishment and Prosperity of Trade do not proceed from a low Rate of Interest, but that a low Rate of Interest proceeds from the Establishment and Prosperity of Trade; and the common Rate of Interest having ever since been upon the Decline, is to me a convincing Proof, that our Trade has been ever since that Time in a flourishing Condition, and increasing daily rather than decreasing.

Anno 10 Geo.
II. 1736 7.

For this Reason, Sir, I must think it a little odd to hear some Gentlemen pretend, our Trade is now, and has been for some Years, in a declining State, and yet at the same Time insist, that within these 10 Years the Interest of Money has sunk from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* for I must observe that this pretended Fall of Interest is greater in Proportion than what happened in that long and for the most Part happy Period of Time, from the 37th of *Henry VIII.* to the 21st of *James I.* the former being *one fourth*, whereas the latter was but *one fifth*. Surely if our Trade had been upon the Decline, our national Stock of ready Money would have diminished in Proportion; and if our Stock of ready Money had been diminished, the certain Consequence would have been, an Increase of the natural Interest of Money. Therefore, either our Trade is in a flourishing Condition, or the natural Interest of Money must be higher than it was 10 Years ago. If our Trade be in a flourishing Condition,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



it would be dangerous, and consequently imprudent, to take any new Measure for rendering it more flourishing, lest that new Measure should have a contrary Effect; and if the natural Interest of Money be higher than it was 10 Years ago, it will be impossible for us to reduce the Interest payable upon any of the public Funds, without Fraud or Compulsion; neither of which we can make use of, without a Breach of National Honour and Parliamentary Faith.


But I am convinced, Sir, our Trade is still in a flourishing Condition, and I am of Opinion a further Reduction of Interest, unless the Circumstances of the Nation should very much alter, will tend towards a thorough Change, rather than Improvement of that Condition. The present Rate of Interest is so low, it can no way injure our Trade; for in this Country, as well as every other, most Men will chearfully engage in and carry on any Branch of Trade, if they can make but 1 or 2 *per Cent.* nett Profit of their Money in that Trade, more than they can make by lending their Money out at Interest. We are not to presume, People put a higher Value upon their Labour and their Trouble in this Country, than they do in *Holland*, because the Rate of Interest is higher here than there; if there is any Difference, it must proceed from the different Nature of the People, and not from the Difference of Interest; and as the Difference of Interest is not above 1 *per Cent.* it can give them no Advantage in Trade, at least not such an Advantage as can be equal to the many Advantages we have in other Respects over them.

I am therefore of Opinion, Sir, that our present Rate of Interest can no Way injure our Trade; but, on the contrary, that it is no more than what seems necessary in this Kingdom, for prompting our People to engage in Trade and to be industrious; because by so doing they may probably get such a Sum of Money as may, by being laid out at Interest, afford them a comfortable Subsistence, when they are old and past their Labour; which is what very few could expect, if the Interest of Money were much lower than it is at present; and if a Man should in his Youth despair of ever being able to provide a comfortable Subsistence for old Age, he would never think of saving, he would think only of getting as much as was necessary for his daily Subsistence, and would never engage either in Labour or Trade further than he found absolutely necessary for that Purpose, according to the frugal or extravagant Manner he chose to live in.

To this I must add another Consideration, for shewing
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that the Interest of Money may be too low, and that is, the great Encouragement which is thereby given to Luxury and Extravagance; for as too high an Interest encourages the Luxury and Extravagance of the Lender, too low an Interest will always encourage the Luxury and Extravagance of those who have either Credit or Pledge upon which they can borrow. Therefore, I must think it is not a very low Interest, but a moderate Interest, that is the Parent both of Industry and Frugality; and what ought to be called a moderate Interest in any Country, must depend upon the Circumstances, the Humours, and the Inclinations of the People.

Anno 16. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



From these Considerations I am of Opinion, that the Lowering of Interest would be hurtful instead of being beneficial to our Trade; and I may, I think, declare my Opinion the more boldly, because, I find, the famous Mr. Locke was of the same Opinion, and was therefore against the Lowering of Interest in his Time, tho' it was then at 6 per Cent. For a Project having been offered, in the Year 1691, for reducing the national Interest, in order to enable the Government to borrow Money at an easier Rate for the Expences of the War, that great Man wrote a Pamphlet against it, which is still extant, and reprinted with his other Works. But as the low Rate of Interest in *Holland* has been much insisted on, and represented as a great Advantage they have over us in Trade, it lays me under a Necessity of considering the Difference between what may be called a moderate Interest in one Country, and that which may be called a moderate Interest in another; which, as I have said, depends not only on the Circumstances, but the Humours and Inclinations of the People.

In *Holland* they have little or no Land, their chief Fund is Money; and as their rich Men have little or no other Riches but Money, there can be few or no Borrowers among them, but such as have a Mind to employ it in Trade; for a rich extravagant Man, whose Riches consist only in Money, can have no Occasion to borrow; as long as his Money lasts, he makes use of it for supplying his Extravagance, and when his Money is gone, he has neither Pledge nor Credit whereon to borrow; therefore no extravagant Men can be Borrowers in *Holland*, and a Man who borrows Money to be employed in Trade, neither can nor will give a high Interest for it. On the other hand, in this Country, our chief Fund is Land, which must always be the Occasion of our having a great Number of Borrowers, who borrow Money only for supplying their own Extravagance, or for attoning for the Extravagance of their Ancestors;

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. Ancestors; for every landed Man who is extravagant, or who succeeds to an extravagant Ancestor, is long a Borrower, and perhaps for large Sums, before he becomes a Seller. From hence we may see, that the natural Interest of Money in this Kingdom must always exceed that in *Holland*, till such Time as the total Value of our Money Estates exceeds the total Value of our Land Estates, as far as the former exceeds the latter in *Holland*. Therefore, from this Difference in our Circumstances, 4 *per Cent.* may be a very moderate Rate of Interest in this Kingdom, and yet 3 *per Cent.* may be an extravagant Rate in *Holland*.

Then, Sir, as to the Humours and Inclinations of the People, it must be granted, that our People neither do, nor can live so penuriously, as the Generality of the People of *Holland* do; therefore a *Dutchman* may live, as he may think, comfortably upon 3 *per Cent.* for his Money, whereas no Man of this Country would propose to live upon such a Sum, unless he could have 4 *per Cent.* for it at least. For this Reason an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* in *Holland* may be sufficient for prompting their People to engage in Trade, and to get and save as much as they can by their Industry, in order to provide for old Age and Infirmities; and yet 4 *per Cent.* may be the least that is necessary for the same Purposes, with respect to the People of this Country. And with regard to those who are apt to borrow, in order to supply their Extravagancies, I have already shewn there can be few or none such in *Holland*; therefore, with them there is in this way no Danger to be apprehended from the Lowness of their Interest; but in this Country, we have in this way a great deal to apprehend, if we should ever reduce our Interest too low. Thus it must appear, that if Lowness of Interest be an Advantage in Trade, it is a natural Advantage the *Dutch* have from the Circumstances of their Country, and from the Nature of their People; and that it is an Advantage we cannot take from them, without doing ourselves an Injury of a worse Consequence in another Way; but for this very Reason we have many Advantages over them, and such as greatly over-balance this one Advantage they have of us. From our Lands we have, or may have, Provisions sufficient for all our Workmen, and almost all the Materials necessary for any Sort of Manufacture, from the first Production of Nature to the utmost Perfection of Art; whereas they have within themselves neither the Materials for any Manufacture, nor Provisions for any of their Workmen, so that both must come dearer to them, by
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at least the Freight, and other Charges of transporting them from one Country to another: And from the Nature of our People, we have likewise an Advantage; for as our People live better, they work with greater Spirit, and more Alacrity than their People can do, and, consequently, must do a great deal of more Work in a Day's Time. Let us, therefore, think of improving those Advantages Nature has given us; for if we neglect them, in order to catch at those which Nature has given to others, we shall lose the Bird in Hand, by endeavouring to catch at that in the Bush.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

As to our Neighbours the *French*, I am surprized to hear it said they have any Advantage over us, with Regard to the Interest of Money. The legal Rate of Interest in that Country is as high as it is in this; and the natural Interest of Money, at least upon their public Securities, is, I am sure, much higher. Nor have they any natural Advantage in Trade over us worth mentioning, except that of the frugal and penurious Temper of their People, especially their Labourers and Manufacturers, for the Freight of a Ship from any Port in *England* to *Spain* or *Turkey*, is very near as cheap as from any Port of *France*, at least the Difference can have no Influence upon a rich Cargo; and if it could, the Expence of carrying their Goods to their Port for Export, is generally much higher in *France* than in *England*, which will more than atone for any Difference there may be in the Freight: And for the same Reason a Quantity of *Spanish* Wool may always come cheaper to the Manufacturer in *England*, than the same Quantity can come to the Manufacturer in *France*. But then, as to the Advantages we have over them, they are innumerable, and the single one of our Wool, is such a one as we may, by proper Care and Diligence, make insurmountable; for the more careful and diligent we are in preventing its Exportation, the greater the Risk of exporting it will be, and the greater the Risk, the higher its Price will be in *France*; so that at last we may raise its Price so high, as to make it impossible for their Manufacturers to work it up with any Advantage.

Now, Sir, with Regard to our Taxes, as I have said before, I wish we could immediately get free of them, but they must all be continued, or our Debts must remain unpaid; the more of them we abolish, before all our Debts are paid, the longer we must remain under those that are not abolished. I do not know but some of the Materials for Manufacture, and some of the Provisions necessary for Life, may, by Means of our Taxes, be rendered dearer than they would otherwise be. However, it cannot be said, that either the *Dutch* or the *French* have in this the Advantage

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736. 7.



vantage of us ; for in both these Countries their Taxes are as numerous and as heavy as they are in this, and in *France*, 'tis certain, the Method of collecting them is much more grievous ; therefore, if Provisions, Wages, or Labour, be dearer in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, it must proceed from there being a greater Plenty of Money in this Country than in either of the other two : This, I believe, is really the Case, with respect to all the Counties near *London* ; and as for our remote Counties, I believe, Provisions, Wages, and Labour, are as cheap in them as in any Part of *France*, and much cheaper than in any Part of the *United Provinces*. From all which, I must conclude, that neither the *Dutch* nor the *French* have any Advantage of us in Trade ; but on the contrary, that we have, upon the Balance, a great Advantage of both ; and from hence, as well as from the present low Rate of Interest, I think I have Reason to believe our Trade is now as extensive as ever it was ; tho' it neither does nor can now increase so fast as it did in its Infancy, nor can the Profits from any Branch of Trade be now so great as when that Channel was first opened. It is not now, indeed, so easy, for a Man to get into a Method of growing rich, or to heap up Riches so fast, by Trade, as it was 50 or a 100 Years ago ; but this proceeds from the Nature and certain Consequences of Things, and not from any Decay of Trade ; yet this is, I believe, the chief Ground of all our Complaints, and the sole Reason most People have for imagining our Trade in general to be upon the Decline.

I hope, Sir, I have now made it appear, that the present low Rate of Interest can have no bad Influence upon our Trade, and that therefore it would be imprudent and dangerous for us to take any extraordinary Measures for reducing it, but that we ought to let Things go in their natural and present Course, till the total Value of our money'd Estates has begun to exceed that of our Lands ; and then I make no Doubt but the Interest of Money, upon all Sorts of Securities, will fall of itself, and without our taking any extraordinary Measures to enforce it. I shall next examine what Effect a Reduction of Interest would have on our Lands ; and here I must observe, our Landed Gentlemen are extremely mistaken, if they think the Price of their Lands will always rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest. If Land sells for 20 Years Purchase when Interest is at 5 *per Cent.* he would find himself very far out in his Calculation, who should imagine that if Interest could be reduced to 1 *per Cent.* he might get 100 Years Purchase for his Land : But suppose he did, what the better would
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he be? For if he sold his Estate, he would then become a money'd Man, and the 100 Years Purchase in Money at 1 *per Cent.* would produce no more than the 20 Years Purchase would have produced when Money was at 5 *per Cent.* Then as to the Improvement of a Land Estate, if Money should become so plenty as to yield but 1 *per Cent.* Interest, the Price of Labour, and all Sorts of Materials, proper or necessary for Improvement, would rise in Proportion; so that any Improvement of an Estate would then cost *five* Times as much as when Money bore an Interest of 5 *per Cent.* from whence we must conclude, that a low Interest of Money can no way contribute to the improving of any Estate; and as no Man would toil, or labour for the Sake of saving any Money, if he could get little or nothing by it after he had saved it, we cannot suppose, that any Gentleman or Farmer would get Hands enow to assist him in any such Improvement; so that the Reducing of Interest too low, would, in my Opinion, rather prevent than encourage Improvements of every Kind.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Thus it appears, Sir, that a further Reduction of Interest, till the Circumstances of the Nation, and the Humours of the People, be very much altered, would neither tend to the Increase of our Trade, nor to the Improvement of our Lands, but might probably contribute to the Ruin of both. And as to the more speedy Payment of our Debts, the Difference is not so great as ought to induce us to run a Risk of disabling ourselves from ever paying any Part of our Debts, in order to pay them off a little sooner; for if we should annihilate no Part of the Sinking-Fund, upon the Reduction of Interest proposed, supposing it to extend to the whole of our Debts, it would be near 22 Years before we could pay off all our Debts, by means of the Sinking-Fund so increased; and as our Affairs stand at present, we can pay them all off in less than 25 Years; so that all we get by bringing so many Families into great Distress, and running the Risk of losing our Trade, is to get rid of our Debts about 3 Years sooner than we could otherwise have done. But if we should annihilate any Part of the Sinking-Fund, if we should annihilate only that Part added to it by the Reduction of Interest, it will be very near 27 Years and a half before we can pay off all our Debts; so that we shall be 2 Years and a half longer in Debt than we need be, if Things stand as they are at present.

I have now considered the public Benefits which, it is pretended, would arise from a Reduction of Interest, and have shewn the great Reason there is for apprehending a

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

quite contrary Effect; but, Sir, if we consider the private Disadvantages and Inconveniencies which must necessarily from thence ensue, they are numerous, and would affect Men of every Rank and Degree. The Landed Gentlemen; and all our noble and great Families, would either soon be undone, or their younger Children, both Sons and Daughters, especially the latter, must be left in a State of Beggary: 5000 *l.* may now be a suitable Fortune for the younger Son or the Daughter of a noble Family; but if Interest should be reduced much lower than it is, it would hardly enable them to keep Company with their elder Brother's Cook or his Coachman; and to charge a Land Estate with a greater Sum to each of the younger Children, would very much encumber the Heir, and might probably ruin the Family. Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Tradesmen, would be in no better Condition; for every Branch of Trade and Business is already overstocked, and the Reduction of Interest would bring such Numbers of new Adventurers into Trade, that they would all be ruined by under-selling and under-working one another: Even those who might have the good Luck to escape the general Shipwreck, and to get a little Money by the utmost Care, Industry, and Penuriousness, could never expect to get so much as would enable them to pass their old Days in Quietness and Security. Our present Sett of Farmers would mostly be turned out of their Farms, and obliged to turn Cottagers; because our Farms, upon the Expiration of the present Leases, would mostly be let to Gentlemen's younger Sons, or Persons of much greater Stock or Fortune than our present Farmers are possessed of. But the most unfortunate of all would be our Widows and Orphans, who now have their Money in the Funds, or upon Land Security, and have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but the Interest payable yearly or half yearly upon that Money: Such Persons could not engage in Trade, or turn their Money to any other Use; because Orphans cannot raise it till they come of Age, and Widows generally have the Interest only settled upon them during their Lives: Nay, they could not so much as take the Benefit of that hard Alternative proposed to be offered, of purchasing Annuities for Term of Years or Life. In short, Sir, it would, in my Opinion, bring such a Deluge of Distress upon all Ranks of People, that the Consequences might be fatal to our present happy Establishment and Constitution; so that if we are not moved with Compassion for the Distresses of others, we ought at least to have a Regard for ourselves and our own Families.

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But in particular, Sir, I must take Notice of the great Prejudice this Scheme would do to the Landlords of Houses, the Shop-keepers, the Tradesmen, and all Persons concerned in the Retail Trade, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties next adjacent. Many of our Stockholders and Annuitants, being rendered unable to live in or near the City of *London*, would, of course, retire to the remote and cheap Counties; by which Means their Houses would be left empty in the Hands of their respective Landlords, and the Butchers, Bakers, Chandlers of all Sorts, Grocers, and other Tradesmen and Shop-keepers they used to deal with, would for ever lose their Custom. Even those Stockholders and Annuitants who might continue in *London*, or near to it, would every one be obliged to contract their Expence, which would be an additional Loss to the Shop-keepers and Tradesmen in *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties adjacent; and this double Loss would likewise considerably affect the Custom these Shop-keepers and Tradesmen have from one another. This Consequence of the Scheme proposed is so obvious, that I must say I am surprized to find it patronized by some of those Gentlemen who have always shewn a particular Regard for the Citizens of *London*. I am sure they do not view it in the same Light I do; for if they did, they would certainly have been so far from patronizing it, that they would have opposed it to the utmost of their Power.

These, Sir, are some of the Dangers, which I think are justly to be apprehended from the Scheme now before us, supposing it should succeed; but I have the Comfort to think it would fail in the Execution, tho' every Branch of the Legislature should agree to it; and I shall beg Leave to give you some of my Reasons for thinking so; after which I shall take the Liberty to shew you some of the bad Consequences such a fruitless Attempt may be attended with. But I must first make an Observation upon the two Ends proposed by the Scheme, which are, that we may the sooner get rid of our Debts, and immediately relieve the People from some of their burdensome Taxes. These two Ends are, I confess, mighty plausible, but the Misfortune is, that they are, as I think, absolutely incompatible. It is impossible to relieve the People from any of the Taxes appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, without prolonging that Payment; and tho' our Taxes are certainly very burdensome, yet Experience has shewn they are not altogether insupportable. In this Case therefore the first Question that occurs is, Whether it be more for the Advantage of the Nation in general to continue our Taxes till the Nation

Anno. 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

be quite free, or very near free from Debt; and then abolish them all at once, which may be done in a small Number of Years, if the Sinking-Fund be duly and regularly applied? Or whether we ought now to abolish some of the Taxes, which we may do without reducing the Interest or ruining any of the public Creditors, and thereby leave the Nation incumbered with a large Debt for a much longer Time? If this were to be a Question, I should, according to my present Sentiments, be for the first Method; because I think it is not only the most advantageous to the Nation, but the most just with respect to our Creditors. I think it is our Business, before all Things, to rid the Nation of Debt; for till then we can never propose to act with such Vigour as we have formerly done, either in assisting our Allies, or avenging ourselves of our Enemies; and I cannot think it absolutely just, with respect to our Creditors, to annihilate any Part of the Sinking-Fund, till they are all paid; because by the express Words of the Law by which it was established, and by many Laws since that Time, it stands appropriated to the Payment of those Debts which were contracted before the Year 1716. This was always my Opinion, and was formerly the Opinion of some Gentlemen in this House, who seem to be great Lovers of the Scheme now before us, and with whom I have generally joined in Opinion ever since I have had the Honour to sit here; but when they change their Opinion, I shall not think myself any way bound to join with them, unless they give me some better Reasons than I have yet heard, for such a Change.

Now, Sir, to come to my Reasons for thinking the Scheme impracticable as well as incompatible. There may, I grant, be some People in this Nation, who are willing to lend their Money at 3 per Cent. that there are such is evident from the Sums that have lately been borrowed at that Interest, and the Premium such Securities are sold at; but I am convinced, we should find ourselves vastly mistaken, if we should expect to borrow *two Millions* or *half a one* at that Interest; for with respect to the Sums lent for the current Supplies, they are lent by such Persons as cannot lie out of their Money for any Term of Years; and with respect to the Premium upon 3 per Cent. public Securities, it proceeds entirely from the small Quantity of such Securities that are or can be in the Market. Those who lend upon such Securities are generally Men of vast Fortunes, and who do not intend to be chopping and changing, so that few or none of them are ever in the Market; therefore a very small Sum of Money brought to Market,

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in order to be laid out upon such Securities, raises their Price above Par: Even such a small Sum as 50,000*l.* brought to Market at any Time, more than sufficient to purchase all that are then to be sold, would raise them to a Premium higher than that they are now sold for; and being once got to a Premium, they must continue at it, because few or none of those who are possessed of such Securities, are ever under a Necessity of Selling. And as for *East-India* Bonds, and such like Securities, they are always bought up by those who do not think proper to let their Wealth be known, or by such as must always have those Securities which they can turn into Money upon an Hour's Warning. From hence we may see, Sir, that none of those who lend Money for the current Supplies, or who become Purchasers of Bonds at 3 *per Cent.* would become Subscribers upon this new Scheme; and if you should open such Books as are proposed, your other Securities at 3 *per Cent.* would soon come to sell under Par; because many of the present Proprietors would chuse to sell out of the Old, in order to become Subscribers to the New, on account of their being made irredeemable for 14 Years; which would bring such a Glut of the Old to Market, as would certainly bring them under Par; and this would of course put a Stop to any Man's coming to subscribe for any new Security at that Interest.

There may likewise be some few of the overgrown rich Annuitants, especially such as live at a Distance from *London*, who would rather accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, than be at the Trouble of receiving yearly, or every 2 Years, a partial Payment, and replacing that Payment in Stock or Annuities; but the Number of such Persons is so small, that I am convinced their Subscriptions would not amount to *half a Million*, and much less to *three Millions*. I am afraid the Hopes Gentlemen have of great Subscriptions in Money and Annuities, are founded chiefly upon a wrong Supposition. From the Premium given for our 3 *per Cent.* they suppose the natural Interest of Money is now at 3 *per Cent.* but that this is a Mistake, is, I think, evident from the Price of all our other Funds; for if the natural Interest of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought to sell at 133 and *one Third*; Bank Stock at 183 and *one Third*; and *East India* at 200 *l. per Cent.* which is very far from being the Case.

But, Sir, if the natural Interest of Money lent upon Pledges of Jewels or Plate, or upon good and undoubted Mortgages of Land, were at 3 *per Cent.* we are not from
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Anno 10. *Gen.*
II. 1736-7.

Anno 10. Geo
II. 1736-7.



thence to infer, that the natural Interest of Money upon all Sorts of public Securities, especially Annuities, could be no higher. Our Annuitants are far from being in as good a Condition as a Pledge of Jewels or Plate, or a Mortgage of Lands. If War or any other Accident should raise the natural Interest of Money, a Pledge or Mortgage could insist upon Payment, or a higher Interest, otherwise he would bring his Bill of Foreclosure, and have the Pledge or the mortgaged Lands sold, by which Means he would certainly recover his Principal and all Arrears of Interest, and would then get a higher Interest for it from some other Borrower. On the other hand, let the natural Interest of Money rise as high as it will, an Annuitant can neither insist upon Payment, nor can he bring a Bill of Foreclosure against the Public; if he wanted his Money, he could recover it no way but by Sale at the Market Price, which would certainly, in that Case, be much below Par; nay, perhaps he might find it impossible to meet with a Purchaser, and then he could have no other Resource, but to take his 3 *per Cent.* while the Government remained in a Condition to pay him; for even as to the Payment of his Annuity, he has no such absolute Certainty as a Pledge or Mortgage. For which Reason, if Money were now commonly lent upon Pledges or Mortgages at 3 *per Cent.* we could hardly expect Subscriptions for Annuities at 3; and, I must think it a little extravagant to expect any such, especially for such a large Sum; when 'tis well known, that the common Rate of Interest upon Pledges or Mortgages is 5 *per Cent.* and the lowest 4.

For these Reasons, Sir, I must be of Opinion, that however plausible this Scheme may appear in Speculation, it will be found impracticable in the Execution; and the more so, because, it is to be expected, all the money'd Men in the Kingdom will join in Measures for preventing its taking Effect. And now, Sir, with regard to the Consequences of our being disappointed in such an Attempt, they are various, and may be fatal. I shall begin with one which, I think, will be certain, whether the Scheme takes Effect or not. The very Attempt will make all Foreigners, especially the *Dutch*, draw their Money out of our Funds as fast as they can; for the chief Reason any Foreigner has for trusting his Money in our Funds, is, because he makes a greater Profit of it here than he can do in his own Country, upon any Security equally certain and good. It has been allowed, the *Dutch* may make 3 *per Cent.* of their Money at Home; and if we examine into the Loss they are at by the partial Payments made upon our Funds,
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and the Expences they are at for Commission, Postage of *Anno 10. Geo.*
 Letters, and other Incident Charges, we shall find they do *II. 1736-7.*
 not now make much above 3 *per Cent.* of their Money; so that if we should reduce 1 *per Cent.* of the Interest now
 paid them, they would not then make much above $2\frac{1}{2}$; for which Reason I think it is most justly to be apprehended, they would all at once draw their Money out of our Funds; and what a Shock the drawing of so much ready Cash out of the Kingdom at once must give to our public Credit, to our Trade both Foreign and Domestic, and to the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, I shall leave to Gentlemen to consider; only I must acquaint them, it is generally computed the *Dutch* have above *ten Millions* Sterling in our several Funds.

The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question pretend, the World will be apt to conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, if we should not endeavour to take Advantage of the present advanced Price of 3 *per Cent.* Securities; But I have shewn the Premium upon such Securities is by much too narrow a Foundation for us to build any Hopes on, of reducing all our Annuitants to 3 *per Cent.* and if we should fail in the Attempt, I am sure the World will have better Reason to suspect the Wisdom of our Conduct, or the Honesty of our Intentions. A Man who never attempts but what appears by the Event to be within his Reach, is certainly a wiser Man, tho' not perhaps a Man of so much Courage, as he who aims at extraordinary Heights, and falls headlong from the Precipice. By making such an Attempt, and failing in that Attempt, we may very probably be like those vapourish Ladies, who fancying themselves ill, swallow Draughts and Bolus's, till they have actually thrown themselves into a Distemper much worse than the imaginary.

Then, Sir, as to the Prejudice which may accrue to private Men, I am surprized to hear it said, that no such Thing can be apprehended; for, in my Opinion, it is inevitable, whether we succeed or not. If we succeed, the Annuitants will certainly lose 5 *s. in the Pound*, of their present Revenue; but it seems this Loss is to be made good to them by abolishing some of our Taxes. Are Gentlemen serious when they talk so? What would any Annuitant say to a Man who should tell him, Sir, we must take 5 *s. in the Pound* from your present Revenue, but in lieu of that, you shall have Candles *an Half penny or a Penny in the Pound* cheaper than usual? Would not any Man take this as a Banter? Suppose again, which I think by much the most probable, that we should not succeed; such an Attempt
 would

Anno 10. Geo. would certainly diminish public Credit: It would make
 II. 1736-7. many, both Natives and Foreigners, resolve not to trust
 their Money longer in our Funds. It would make them
 begin to think of employing their Money somewhere else,
 in order that they might take the Benefit of selling out,
 before the Price should be diminished by the Reduction of
 Interest. This would of course lessen the advanced Price
 of every one of our Funds; and would not this be a Pre-
 judice to every one of the present Proprietors, especially
 to such of them as have lately purchased? I do not now
 argue from Supposition only; I argue, Sir, from certain
 Fact, from present Experience: Do not we see that all our
 public Funds have fallen in their Price since this Affair was
 first brought before us? And if an immediate Fall of Stocks
 has been the Effect of its being mentioned, what Conse-
 quence can we expect from its being agreed to?

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the
 great Endeavours that have been used, both within Doors
 and without, to raise our Compassion, by representing the
 deplorable State of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers,
 and that the Reduction of Interest will enable us to give
 them an immediate Relief. For my Part, I cannot think
 their State near so deplorable as it has been represented;
 for we have no heavy Taxes upon any of the Necessa-
 ries of Life: All our heavy Taxes are laid upon the Luxu-
 ries of Life; and cannot therefore affect a poor Trade-
 man who has a Mind to live frugally, and not to indulge
 himself or his Family in the Use of Things, that are not
 absolutely necessary for their Subsistence; and the few small
 Taxes we have upon some of the Necessaries, or rather
 Conveniencies of Life, are such as our People have been
 long accustomed to, and not so heavy, nor collected in a
 Manner so grievous, as such Taxes are in *France* or *Hol-
 land*. But supposing it were otherwise, I have shewn, that
 by a Reduction of Interest we could not abolish any of our
 present Taxes without subjecting the Nation to a greater
 and more dangerous Inconvenience, I mean the putting off
 for a longer Term the entire Discharge of the national
 Debt; and if by a Reduction of Interest our Trade should
 be diminished, which may probably, as I have already
 shewn, be the Consequence, especially in and about the
 City of *London*, then many of our poor Labourers and
 Manufacturers would be ruined, instead of being relieved,
 by a Reduction of Interest; consequently all the Com-
 passion that can be pleaded in the present Case, must ope-
 rate strongly against a Reduction, and in Favour of the
 many.

many poor Widows and Orphans, who certainly would be irretrievably undone by the great Reduction proposed.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

I must confess, Sir, I cannot well comprehend the Meaning of that Distinction, usually made upon this Occasion, between the Public and the Creditors of the Public. By the Public I always mean the collective Body of the People of this Nation; and as our Creditors are a Part of our own People, as those Foreigners who have trusted their Fortunes to our Faith, will, I hope, be always looked on as such, and treated in the same Manner with our native Creditors, therefore I shall always look upon the Creditors of the Public to be a Part of the Public, and shall always think, no Injury can be done to them, without injuring the Public: I believe they cannot so much as be subjected to any Inconvenience, but what will at last prove to be an Inconvenience to the Public as well as to them; and, I hope, it will be granted, that the taking *one fourth* Part of their Revenue from them, would at least be a great Inconvenience; in my Opinion, it would be a great Injury to every one of them. We have had lately great Complaints of the Inequality of the Land Tax, and of the Injustice done to the Land-holders, by subjecting them to that Burden for so many Years together; for which Reason one of those Taxes, which most certainly and most generally affect the Poor, was lately revived, in order to free the Land-holders from *a Shilling in the Pound* for *one Year* only. The prevailing Doctrine then was, and it is but a few Years since, to impose such Taxes as might fall equally upon all; but now, it seems, we are to lay a Tax of *five Shillings in the Pound* upon that Part of our People, who have the Misfortune of being Creditors to the Public, in order to free the Nation from some of those small Taxes it now pays, and has paid for many Years.

From all which, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Proposition now before us will be of the most dangerous Consequence to our Trade, to our Landholders, to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to our People in general; that it can be attended with no considerable public Advantage, and that it will be a great Injustice done to our public Creditors; therefore, I shall think myself fully justified in giving my Negative to the Question.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

S I R,

I shall not suppose, that any of the Gentlemen who seem to be against this Question, are conscious of their being in the wrong; but, I must say, that with respect to some Arguments they have made use of, they treat us as those Peo-


Sir J. Barnard, Sir J. Jekyl, Mr. W. Montague, Mr. Howe, Mr. Gore, ple Mr. Sandys,

Anno. 10 Geo. II 1736-7. ple generally do, who are conscious of their having the wrong Side of the Question. They state the Case quite different from what it is, and then triumph in the Arguments or Authorities they bring against it. By this Means Mr. *Locke* has been brought into the present Debate, and brought in too as a Favourer of an Opinion against which he has expressly declared. Immediately after the Revolution, our Government began to borrow large Sums of Money for supporting the Expence of the War, which they found they could not procure but at a very high Interest. This gave Foundation for a Project, in the Year 1691, for reducing the legal Rate of Interest at once, from 6 to 4 *per Cent* in order, as it was vainly imagined, to enable the Government to borrow Money for the public Service at a cheaper Rate than what they found they could otherwise do. As the natural Interest of Money was then greatly increased above what it had been for some Years before, by the large Sums borrowed for public Service, every Man of Sense saw that this Project would prove abortive, and that it would very much disturb, if not entirely ruin, the Trade of the Nation; and Mr. *Locke*, among others, not only opposed, but wrote against it.

Is there now, Sir, any Question before us for reducing the legal Interest of Money? Is there any Thing in the Proposition that seems to have the least Tendency that Way? No, Sir; the only Question now before us is, Whether or no the Public shall endeavour to take Advantage of the low Rate to which the natural, not the legal, Interest of Money has fallen? And one of the Arguments made use of in favour of this Question, is, That it would tend to the bringing the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, in this Nation, down to a Par with what it is in those Countries, which are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power. Then, and not till then, it has been said you may safely venture to bring down the legal; and it has been said, I think demonstrated, that the bringing down the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, would be an Advantage to our Trade and Manufactures, and a certain Cause of great Improvements in our Land Estates. Mr. *Locke* is expressly of this Opinion. His Words in that very Treatise are, *All the Danger lies in this, That our Trade shall suffer, if your being behind-hand has made the natural Use so high, that your Tradesman cannot live upon his Labour, but that your rich Neighbours will so undersell you, that the Return you make will not amount to pay the Use, and afford a Livelihood. There is, says he, no Way to recover from this, but by a general Frugality and Industry; or by be-*
ing

ing Masters of the Trade of some Commodity, which the World must have from you at your Rate, because it cannot be otherwise supplied. These are his Words, Sir; and I appeal to every Man, whether he can think it Frugality in the Public to pay 4 *per Cent.* when they can have Money at 3? Whether the giving a Man 4 *per Cent.* when he can live upon, and would be obliged to take 3, can make him more frugal, or promote a general Frugality? And whether the enabling a great Number, even of your meaner Sort of Subjects, to live idly upon the Interest of their Money, can be a proper Method for introducing or restoring a general Industry?

Anno 10. Geo.
11 1736 7.



Fear, Sir, may be extravagant and ridiculous, as well as Courage, and such I should think that Fear to be which should prevent a Man from borrowing, or attempting to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for clearing himself of a Mortgage at 4; especially when he is certain, that should he be disappointed in the Attempt, his old Mortgagee would be glad to continue his Money upon the Mortgage at 4, because he could not have so high an Interest, or so good Security, any where else. If a Man had 20 Mortgages upon his Estate of 1000*l.* each, at 4 *per Cent.* and a Gentleman should offer to lend him 1000*l.* at 3, could he in Prudence refuse it? Would not common Prudence direct him to make use of that Offer, for reducing every one of his old Mortgages to 3 *per Cent.* and applying it at last to the redeeming of him who should appear the most stubborn? Could there be any Danger in this, if he were certain that none of his Mortgagees, or not above one of them, could employ his Money to a better Use upon any Security equally certain? This, Sir, is our Case at present. The Reduction of Interest may, perhaps, force some People into Trade, or to lend upon private Security; but I am certain there is now a much greater Sum ready to be lent at 3 *per Cent.* than would be sufficient for replacing all that could be that Way drawn out of our public Funds; because no extraordinary Profits can be made by any Trade, and a very small Sum would bring the Rate of Interest upon any certain private Security down to 3 *per Cent.* And we have this further Security for encouraging us to try the Experiment, that, should I be mistaken in my Opinion, all our present Creditors would be glad to continue their Money in our Funds at 4 *per Cent.* as we may with the greatest Certainty conclude from the advanced Price of all our Funds.

If I did not know, Sir, how much the Generality of Mankind are blinded by what they think their private In-


Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7

terest, if I did not know how often they are by private Interest misled in their Judgments about what they take to be the public Interest, I should be surprized to hear it questioned, that the lower the Interest of Money is in any Country, the more their Trade will thrive, the more their Lands will be improved. It is a Maxim so long established, and so generally acknowledged, that I cannot think there is much Occasion for adding to what has been said upon that Subject; but that no Man may be misled, I must beg Leave to answer, in as brief a Manner as I can, what has been said in support of the contrary Opinion. Low Interest, I shall grant, is not the Cause, but the Effect of a flourishing Trade; and the Trade of a Country may prosper and increase, tho' their Rate of Interest be high, with respect to what it is in this Kingdom at present, providing their Rate of Interest be no higher than it is in those Countries which are their Rivals in Trade; but this I will say, that the Trade of no Country can thrive or continue, if the natural Interest of Money among them be higher than it is in those Countries which are their Rivals, unless those Rivals forcibly expel their Trade by some ridiculous public Measures. The Trade of *Flanders* was once in the most flourishing State of any in *Europe*, and then the natural Rate of Interest was certainly lower among them, than it was in this Kingdom; but the Sovereign of that Country began at last to lay such heavy Taxes upon their Manufactures and People, a Rock we should take Care not to split on, that many of their rich Merchants and most skilful Manufacturers came over and settled in *England*, which gave the first Rise to the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom. This Advantage was greatly improved indeed, by the wise Conduct of *Henry VII.* *Henry VIII.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, especially the latter, and was at last fully established by the ridiculous Conduct of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*; so that our Trade owes its Origin, not so much to the Beauty of our Constitution, or the Wisdom of our Conduct, as to the ridiculous and oppressive Measures of our Neighbours; for it is always with Regret, that Merchants or Traders leave their own Country; indeed when they are forced to it, they will certainly retire to that Country, where they are surest of being free from that Oppression or Uneasiness, which made them fly from their native Land; and our Happiness at that Time was, to have a peaceable Country, and a wise Administration, which made them chuse to take Refuge here, rather than in any neighbouring Country.

This, Sir, would of course have brought down the natural

tural Interest of Money in this Kingdom, long before the End of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; but in the mean Time our People began to trade to the *East-Indies*, and to make Settlements in the *West-Indies*; by both which the Profits were so great, that vast Numbers were tempted to engage in the Trade, and to borrow Money at any Rate, to be employ'd in those Branches of Trade, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other Trading Parts of *Europe*; so that, tho' the Interest of Money here was then high, in respect to what it is at present, yet it could not then be called high, because it was no higher than it was among our Rivals in Trade, and could not, therefore, lay our People under a Disadvantage in carrying on any Branch of Trade or Manufacture.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Thus, Sir, we may see, that a great Prosperity of Trade may be the Cause of keeping up for some Time the Rate of Interest; because there is then a great Demand for Money at Interest, in order to be employ'd in Trade; and for the same Reason, the Declension of Trade may, for some Time, be the Cause of sinking or lowering the Rate of Interest; because, when the Trade of any Country, by Accident or bad Measures, is laid under such Disadvantages, that their Merchants and Tradesmen cannot carry it on to a reasonable Advantage, no Man borrows Money to trade with; but, on the contrary, those Merchants and Tradesmen, who have got any sufficient Sum to live on, draw their Money out of Trade, in order to lend it at Interest, or to employ it in the Purchase of Land; which lowers the natural Interest of Money, by increasing the Demand for lending, and lessening the Demand for borrowings; and it likewise raises the Price of Land, by augmenting the Demand for Purchases. But these two Effects have very different Consequences; for in the first Case, the Stock of ready Money in the Country being every Day increasing by the Prosperity of Trade, the natural Interest of Money will soon begin to fall, and will at last come to be extremely low; whereas, in the last Case, the Decay of their Trade and Manufactures will certainly at last turn the Balance of Trade against them, and from that Time their Stock of ready Money will begin to decay insensibly, the natural Rate of Interest will rise by Degrees, the Rents of their Estates, and Price of their Lands will fall, the Numbers of their People will diminish daily, either by their going Abroad, or starving at Home; and unless they change their Measures, there will at last come to be little or no Money left among them; nothing will remain but Barter and Paper Credit, and the Nation will in the End be certainly undone.

From

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.

From hence it appears, that the natural Rate of Interest, considered by itself only, is a very bad Rule for judging of the Trade of a Country; because, like a consumptive Person, a Nation may look well to all outward Appearance, the natural Interest of Money may be lower than ever it was, and may continue so for some Time, and yet that Nation may be in a galloping Consumption, which I wish may not be our Case at present.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that the View of getting a high Interest, or any Interest, for Money, is what makes a poor Man labour and fatigue more than is necessary for his daily Subsistence. What makes a Labourer, or a Journeyman do so, is the Hopes of getting and saving as much as may set himself up as a Master; then he gets and saves Money, in order to enable him to extend his Trade, and to carry it on with the more Ease; he never thinks of lending his Money at Interest, until he has got more than he can employ in his Trade, or as much as may maintain him without any Care or Trouble; and in both Cases, he is forced to take what Interest he can get for it. Then as to our Merchants and Shopkeepers, who generally begin with a little Money, they engage in Trade generally because they cannot live upon what Interest they can get for their Money, or at least cannot live as they would desire; and as their Stock increases, they increase their Trade; they never think of lending Money at Interest, till they have got more than they can employ in Trade, or as much as may maintain them in an idle and indolent Way, and then they, as well as others, are obliged to take what Interest they can get.

But suppose, Sir, the getting of a high Interest for Money, and subsisting upon that Interest in their old Age, was the only Motive for People labouring, or engaging in Trade, are there any Bounds to be set to Peoples Hopes? Do not we know that every Man hopes to get more by any Trade or Project than he generally meets with, often more than he can reasonably expect? And shall we say that a Man in his Youth, when Hopes are most sanguine, may expect to get 3000 *l.* or 300 *l.* but cannot expect to get 4000 *l.* or 400 *l.* and will therefore despair of being ever able to get what he may think a comfortable Support for old Age? This is so much contrary to the Nature of Mankind, that 'tis in vain to think of building any Argument upon it. On the contrary, as every Man must get a larger Sum before he can retire to live upon the Interest of his Money, when Interest is low, than when it is high, every Man will labour with the more Ardour and Affiduity, and
Numbers

Numbers of People must be bred up to Trade, and must engage in it, when Interest is low, who would be bred up, or would chuse to live like Drones in the Society, upon the Interest of their Money, if the common Rate of Interest were high; and the greater Stock of Money a Man has to trade with, the less Profit he may sell at, and consequently the more able will he be to undersell Foreigners, and to improve the Trade of his Country. To this we must add, that a rich Merchant or Tradesman may retire much sooner from Business, in order to live upon the Interest of his Money, when Interest is high, than he can do when Interest is low; for I must observe, it is seldom or never Necessary but Choice, that makes a rich Man retire from Business: No Man can grow rich by the mere Labour of his Hands, at least not so rich as to be able to live upon the Interest of his Money; a Man must be a Merchant or Master Tradesman, before he can get so much Money, let Interest be as high as it will; and as such Business is carried on by the Labour of the Head only, the common Infirmities of old Age never render a Man incapable of carrying it on; quite otherwise, by his Knowledge and Experience he probably becomes more capable than he was when young and healthful. Therefore we must conclude, that a high Interest for Money not only prevents the youthful Rich from engaging in Trade, but makes the wealthy Old leave it off, both which must be hurtful to the Trade of any Country.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.*

To tell us, Sir, that the *Dutch* being by Nature more penurious than our People, therefore a less Interest may encourage their People to labour, and engage in Trade, is certainly mistaking the Effect for the Cause; for one of the principal Causes of the Penuriousness as well as Industry of their People, is the Lowness of their Interest. Mankind are by Nature generally the same; a *Dutchman*, by his Make, or Constitution, has nothing can make him more penurious than an *Englishman*. It is by Laws and Customs, the Humours and Inclinations of a People are formed, and it is the Business of every wise Nation to invent or adopt such Laws and Customs as may propagate Virtue, Industry, and Frugality among the People. The penurious Nature of the *Dutch* is therefore an Argument in Favour of what is proposed, instead of being an Argument against it; and the Circumstances of that Country, with respect to the Proportion between their Money and Land Estates, will appear to be an Argument of the same Sort. I shall admit we have a much greater Demand for borrowing Money at Interest upon Land Estates, than they have in

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



in *Holland* ; but is it not therefore our Business to take all possible Methods to diminish that Demand, or increase the Demand for lending Money upon such Securities ? If we can reduce the Interest payable upon the public Funds, we shall be able to abolish some of the Taxes which eat up the Landed Gentleman's Estate, by increasing the Expence of his Family ; or we shall be able to pay off our Debts sooner ; if we take the former of these Methods, we shall diminish the Demand for borrowing Money upon such Securities ; if we take the latter, we shall more quickly increase the Demand for lending Money upon such Securities ; and as soon as the Proportion between these two Demands comes to be the same in this Country with what it is now, or may then be, in *Holland*, will not our Circumstances be in that Respect the same ?


Now, Sir, with respect to Extravagance ; 'tis true, the Extravagance of some few Men may be increased, or longer supported, in a Country where Interest is low ; but in such a Country there cannot be such a Number of extravagant Men in Proportion, as in a Country where Interest is high, because Extravagance generally proceeds from an idle Education ; and as there cannot be such a Number of Persons bred up to Idleness, in the former, as in the latter, therefore we may depend on it, the Extravagant will be much less numerous, and consequently more despised, in the one, than in the other ; and the Contempt these People meet with, will be a much more effectual Curb upon their Extravagance, than the highest Rate of Interest could be ; from whence, I think, 'tis certain, the Reducing of Interest is one of the most effectual Methods for restraining the Luxury and Extravagance of the People in general ; and my Argument is confirmed by Experience, for in Countries where the Interest of Money is high, their People generally live either in the utmost Penury and Want, or in the Height of Luxury and Extravagance.

The only tolerable Plea, Sir, for that Distinction, which Gentlemen have been pleased to make between a too high and a too low Interest, is, that if Men cannot get what the Gentlemen have been pleased to call a moderate Interest for their Money, they will lock it up in Chests, or hide it in the Earth. This is an Argument which has often been made use of, but in my Opinion without any Foundation ; for in peaceable Times we know that no private Man will keep his Money by him, but will rather lodge it in some Bank or Banker's Hands without any Interest ; because in such Hands it is secured against Pilferers, Thieves, and Robbers, which it cannot be in his own Habitation.

Indeed,


Indeed, in Times of Civil War, many Men may perhaps hide their Money in the Earth, because it cannot then be secure, either in the House of any private Man or public Bank; but such an extraordinary Case can be of no Weight in the present Debate; and if much larger Sums should be lodged in the Hands of any Banker than he had use for in Circulation, he would certainly lend it at 1 *per Cent.* nay at a $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* if he could no way turn it securely to any better Account; either of which is lower than the natural Interest of Money ever yet fell to in any Country. However, for Argument's Sake, I shall suppose Money become so plenty in a Country, that none of their own People will give any Thing for the Use of it: In this Case, 'tis certain, their Bankers would fall upon some way of lending it to Foreigners, which would be an annual Advantage to the Nation; and if even this were found to be impossible, if every Man had as much Money at Command as he had use for in his Trade or Business, what Harm could ensue to the Nation, if all the rest of their Money were locked up, and the Owners obliged to pay Warehouse Room for it, as they do for any other useless and unvendible Commodity.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



From what I have said, Sir, I think I may justly conclude, there is no such Thing as a too low natural Interest of Money; and therefore, with respect to the natural Interest of Money in general, there can be no such Thing as a moderate Rate. It is a Term to be made use of only when we talk of the common Interest in different Countries, or of the Interest paid by different private Men; and as that Man who has Money at the most moderate, that is to say, the lowest Rate of Interest, is the happiest and most thriving Man, so that Country where the common Interest is at the most moderate, or lowest Rate, is the happiest and most thriving Country. Therefore, every Nation ought to endeavour as much as possible to bring down the common Rate, I mean the natural, not the legal Rate of Interest, among them, in order, as Mr. Locke has well observed, *That their rich Neighbours may not be able to undersell them;* which they certainly can and will do, if they can borrow Money at a less Interest; as was, I think, fully demonstrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate; and the Supposition he then made, that a Man will always expect to make by any Trade double what he pays, or may have, by way of Interest for the Money employ'd in that Trade, was so far from being extravagant, that I rather think it was too modest; for in carrying on any Trade or Business in Partnership, where one contributes only his Skill and Industry, and the other the whole Stock necessary for

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



carrying it on, there is nothing more common than an Agreement to divide the Profits between them, tho' he who furnishes the Stock generally runs the whole Risk ; therefore I think it is but reasonable, that a Man who borrows Money at Interest for carrying on any Trade or Business by his sole Skill and Industry, should have as great a Share of the Profits as he who lends his Money without running any Risk ; for in such Cases, the Lender has always the Borrower's Obligation, and sometimes a Pledge, or some other collateral Assurance, for securing the Repayment of the Money with a certain Profit, come of the Trade what will. And if a Man employs his own Money as well as his Skill and Industry, he will certainly expect, besides the common Rate of Interest for his Money, as great a Reward at least for his Skill and Industry, as he who has no Money could expect ; for we always find that the richer a Man is, the greater Value he puts upon his Skill and Industry. From which Considerations I must conclude, that 8 *per Cent. per Annum* is the least Overcharge we can reckon upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market, above those of the same Kind and Goodness, which are carried thither from *Holland*, or even from *France*.

With respect to the latter, 'tis true, Sir, the legal Interest is there as high as in this Country, but the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, is, by the best Information I can have, at a much lower Rate. In *France* they have the bad or the good Fortune not to have much public Credit. Their public Funds are below Par, even reckoning the Interest at 5 *per Cent.* and the Government can never borrow at that Rate ; but if I am rightly informed, there is great Plenty of Money to be lent upon private Credit, and even upon personal Security ; inasmuch that the Brokers or Scriveners in that Country are continually employ'd by the Lenders to seek out for the Borrowers, the Consequence of which is, that a Merchant or Manufacturer may there borrow Money for a long Term below the legal Interest, and upon his personal Security, or perhaps getting another to join with him, and Bills are often discounted at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.* both which are a great Advantage to the Trade of that Kingdom, especially the former, because it encourages Merchants and Manufacturers to launch out upon any Project of Trade, much beyond their own proper Stock of ready Money. In this Country it is quite otherwise. Our public Credit is much better than our private ; for if we except the Discounting of Bills, which is transacted between Merchant and Merchant, or between a Merchant and his Banker, there

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there is hardly any private Credit, properly speaking, in the Nation: I say, properly speaking, because when a Mortgage or Pledge is given, there is properly no Credit given to the Borrower. We have hardly any such Thing, especially here about *London*, as Money lent for a long Term upon personal Security at 5 *per Cent.* and even most Bills, I am afraid, are discounted at a Premium much above that Rate. I believe I may appeal to all the Brokers and Scriveners about *London*, if they are ever applied to by any Lender of Money, to find them out a Person who will borrow their Money upon personal Security at the legal Interest. This makes it impossible for any Man to launch out upon the most hopeful Project farther than his own Stock of ready Money will reach; because, if he should by good Luck find a Friend to lend him Money at the Beginning, that Friend may die, or may have Occasion for the Money, before he can spare it from the Trade he has undertaken; in which Case he must be entirely ruined, unless he can meet with such another Friend, which 'tis ten to one if he does.

Anno 10 Geo.
II. 1736 7.

By this we may see the great Advantage the *French* have over us, by means of the low natural Rate of Interest, and great Plenty of private Credit in that Country. 'Tis true, the Advantage this way is not, I believe, equal in *France* to what it is in *Holland*; but in *France* it is, I reckon, equal to 4 *per Cent. per Annum* at least, which is sufficient to destroy every Branch of our Trade in which they can rival us. And as to the Conveniency of their Ports, I am surprized to hear it said we can carry on any Trade in the *Mediterranean*, so cheap or so easily, as the *French* can do at their Ports of *Marseilles* and *Toulon*; or that we can carry on a Trade with *Portugal*, or any Part of *Spain* without the *Streights*, so cheap as the *French* can do from their Ports on the *Bay of Biscay*. Then as to our own Wool, I wish with all my Heart we could render the Exportation of it impracticable; but, I believe, the only effectual Way of doing so is, to enable our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at Home, and sell it so wrought up in foreign Markets, as cheap as such Manufactures can be sold by any of our Neighbours; for if we should once lose the Sale of such Manufactures at foreign Markets, we cannot make use of all our Wool in working up Manufactures for Home Consumpt; and if we cannot work it all up at Home, it will, like *Spanish* Gold and Silver, find its way out, in spite of the severest Laws, and the greatest Care we can take for preventing it. Our Laws will then serve only for running down the Price upon the Farmer; for as he must sell, if he cannot find a Buyer at Home, he must take what Price he

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



can get from the smuggling Exporter, who in that Case will be sure to make the Farmer pay for the Risk he runs in Exporting.


Now, Sir, as to Taxes, I shall grant, the Taxes both in *France* and *Holland* are extremely heavy, but I doubt much if they are so heavy upon, or so inconvenient to Trade, in either of these Countries as in this. I know it is generally thought the *Dutch* have great Taxes upon Trade, and heavy Excises; but, properly speaking, they have neither the one nor the other. Their Taxes are all upon the Consumpt, and are generally raised, not at the Time of Importation, but upon their being carried to Market and sold for Retail or Consumption in the Country; for as every Province, and every City or Town, is a Sort of Sovereignty within itself, and raises, as well as imposes, most of the Taxes and Duties paid by the People, Goods, upon Importation, pay but very small Duties or rather Fees; the high Duties are all paid upon their being brought into any of their Cities or Villages for Retail or Consumption; and the Nature of their Country makes it easy for them to raise those Duties without sending Officers into every Retailer's Shop, or subjecting their People to what we call the Laws of Excise. I need not descend further into Particulars; it will be easy from what I have said, to see that the Taxes in *Holland* cannot be so troublesome or expensive to the Merchant-Importer, or to the Retailer, as the Taxes in this Country; and if we examine into the Taxes imposed by their several little Sovereignities, we shall find, great Care has been taken not to impose any Tax which may enhance the Price of their Manufactures. In *France* again they are subject to great Inconveniencies, with respect to Smuggling, as well as we; but except their *Taille*, I do not know that they have any Tax so troublesome to the People as our Excises are. Their *Taille*, indeed, is suited to the Nature of their Monarchy, it is arbitrary; but then their Gentlemen are not subject to it, nor have they any Land Tax, but in Time of War, and even then it is but *two Shillings in the Pound*. As for their other Taxes, there are, I believe, none of them, except that upon Salt, so high as the like Taxes in this Country; nor have they so many of them: They have no Tax upon Light, Heat, or Air; I mean, they have no Tax upon Candles, upon Firing, or upon Windows, so far as I have ever heard; nor have they any Tax upon Soap, because they know it is a Material necessary for every Sort of Manufacture. Even upon Wine they have no Tax, unless it be brought into some City for Sale; and therefore, in Villages and Country Places, their People may drink

drink the best of *French* Wines as cheap as our People can drink common Beer; and small Wines they may have almost as cheap as our People can have small Beer. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

But, Sir, without taking any Notice of such Particulars, we may be assured, that the People of this Kingdom are more heavily taxed, than the People of *France*, only by comparing the total Amount of the public Revenues in *France* with the total Amount of the public Revenues here at Home. In *France*, the total yearly Amount of the public Revenue is computed to be about *two hundred Millions* of *Livres*, which is but a little more than *nine Millions Sterling*; and let any Man look back upon the annual Resolutions of our Committee of Supply, and add to that the real Produce of the Civil List Revenue, and the Produce of that Revenue which is appropriated to pay the Interest and Principal of our Debts, he will find, that in *Britain* alone, I may say in *England* alone, we have for many Years raised above *six Millions* yearly, and often above *seven*; which is above *two Thirds* of what is raised in *France* yearly; and, I am sure, no Man will say, that in the whole Kingdom of *France*, there is but *one Third* more People than in *England* alone. From hence, Sir, proceeds the Dearness of Labour, and of Provisions in *England*; it is not from our having a greater Plenty of ready Money; for if ready Money were more plentiful in this Country, than in *France*, the natural Interest of Money would be lower here than it is there.

When I consider these Things, Sir, and when I compare the present State of the Trade of *Europe* with what it was *forty* Years ago, I am really astonished to hear it pretended, that the Trade of this Nation is in as flourishing a Condition as ever it was. *Forty* Years ago, we had no Rival in the *East India* Trade but the *Dutch*; now there is hardly a Nation in *Europe* but interferes with us in that Trade: Then, the *French* had little or no Trade in *Turkey*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, nor exported any Woollen Manufactures to either; now, they greatly interfere with us in every one of them, and export to each, great Quantities of Woollen Manufactures. Then, we had no Rivals in the Sugar Trade; now, the *French* not only interfere with us, but, I am afraid, have out-done us: Is not every Country in *Europe* now setting up Manufactures of all Kinds; and, consequently, can we say it is possible for us now to find such a Sale for our Manufactures as we found at that Time? In short, Sir, if it were not for our Colonies and Plantations in the *West-Indies*, and the Exports we are enabled to make by their Means, I am convinced, the general Balance of Trade would

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



be entirely against us ; and if that should ever come to be our Case, as we have no Mines of Gold or Silver, we should soon have very little of either of these Metals amongst us ; the Consequence of which would be, a Stagnation of all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture, and the Departure of most of our Mechanics and Tradesmen.

It is with Regret, Sir, I have taken so much Notice of our Circumstances, and the melancholy Consequences they may be attended with ; but some People are so apt to ascribe every Thing that has happened, or may happen, to the Luxury, Extravagance, and Idleness of our People, that I thought myself obliged, in Justice to my Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects, to shew that, if any notable Misfortune does happen to us, it will not proceed from their Luxury, Extravagance, or Idleness, but from the Difficulties they are exposed to, by Means of the Interest of Money's being higher, and the Taxes heavier, in this Country, than in those which are our Rivals in Trade and naval Power ; and as I have done it with the sole View of shewing the proper and the only Methods for extricating ourselves out of those Difficulties, I hope every Man who has a true Regard for his Country will excuse me.

That the Lowering of Interest raises the Price, and encourages the Improvement of Lands, is a Maxim so generally received, and was so clearly demonstrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate, that I am almost ashamed to add any Thing farther upon the Subject ; but, Sir, I must beg Leave to answer some of the Objections made against it. As to the Price of Lands, it must necessarily fall or rise, very near in Proportion as the Interest of Money rises or falls ; because, if a Man can make a great deal more annual Profit by purchasing Lands, than by lending Money, every Man will purchase, no Man will lend ; which must of course raise the Price of Lands, as well as the natural Interest of Money, till they come near upon a Par with one another. And surely the Raising the Value of a Man's Estate must add to his Riches ; for no Man sells in order to employ his Money at Interest, unless upon a sudden Rise of the natural Interest of Money, as happened to be the Case, immediately after the Revolution, occasioned by the great Sums then borrowed at a high Interest by the Public. What makes a Man sell, is generally to pay off a Mortgage, or in order to divide his Estate among his Children ; in either of which Cases he has a great Advantage by the Rise of the common Price of Lands. A Man who has 10,000 *l.* Mortgage upon 1000 *l.* a Year Estate, must sell a Moiety of his Estate to pay off
that

that Mortgage, when Interest is at 5 *per Cent.* and Lands *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.* sell at 20 Years Purchase; but if Interest should fall to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* and Lands should of Consequence come to sell at 40 Years Purchase, which I am told is now the common Price in some Parts of *Italy*, the Landed Gentleman might then clear his Estate of the Mortgage, by the Sale of *one Fourth* Part of it. And if a Man sells his Estate to divide it, I shall suppose, among four Children; surely a Son in Trade with 10,000 *l.* or a Daughter with 10,000 *l.* and married to a Merchant, may push any Trade further, and consequently be more beneficial to themselves as well as to their Country, than if they had but 5000 *l.* each. Nay, if it be necessary, that Gentlemen in *England* must always be called, or deserve the Name of idle Men, as they are called in *Holland*, such a Gentleman will have the same Revenue out of 10,000 *l.* when Interest is at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* as he could have in the same idle Way from 5000 *l.* at 5 *per Cent.* Interest,

As to the Improvement of Land, the only Objection that has been made to it, is, that the Price of Labour and Materials, fit for Improvement, will rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest; but this, Sir, will not hold; for the Price of nothing that can be imported will rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest; the only Reason why the Price of Land rises in that Proportion, being, because they cannot be imported. As to Labour, whenever its Price begins to rise, Workmen and Labourers of all Kinds will flock in upon you from Countries where Labour is cheap; and as to all Sorts of Materials and Provisions, since they may be imported from other Countries, your Home Produce can never sell for more than such Commodities can be imported and sold for; unless you should prohibit, or load with Duties, the Importation of those Materials or Provisions, which are necessary for the Improvement of your Lands, or the Subsistence of your Poor, which no Nation, surely, will ever be mad enough to do.

After having heard such established Maxims in Trade controverted, I hardly believed the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question would have admitted any Thing in this Debate; but, I find, Sir, they do admit, that by the Reduction proposed, the Nation may get rid of Debt *three Years* sooner, or may abolish some of our most heavy Taxes, and yet get entirely rid of Debt almost as soon. However, they have endeavoured to vilify this Advantage as much as possible, and, therefore, I must give you the Trouble to hear it stated in its true Light. In order to do this, I must observe, that every Tax laid upon any Commodity,

Anno. 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.

dity, raises the Price of that Commodity a great deal higher than the Value of the Tax laid upon it; because the Merchant or Retailer must be paid for the Risk and Interest of that Money which he pays for the Tax, as well as of that Money which he pays for the prime Cost of the Commodity: And I must likewise observe, that the Expences of collecting every Tax are all paid by the People; so that upon all our Customs and Excises in general, I may compute, the People pay about *one Third* more than the nett Produce brought in to the Public. Now as the Interest now paid yearly upon all our public Debts, and the Sinking Fund together, amount to above *three Millions* yearly, I must reckon, that towards raising this nett Sum, the People pay yearly *four Millions*; so that if by reducing the Interest upon all our public Funds to *3 per Cent.* and continuing all our Taxes till the Whole be paid off, the Nation do get entirely rid of Debt *three Years* sooner than we can do if the Interest be continued at *four*, our People will save the Value of this Annuity for *three Years*; and as an Annuity of *four Millions* for *three Years* at *4 per Cent.* Compound Interest, amounts to *12,486,400 l.* we must reckon, that by this Reduction, the People of this Nation will save that whole Sum; a Saving which, I hope, will not appear inconsiderable, however trifling the *three Years* Difference, as to the Time of getting entirely rid of our Debts may appear.

But suppose, Sir, that upon the Reduction of Interest, we should abolish Taxes equal in yearly Amount to that annual Saving. As the Amount or yearly Produce of the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles* comes nearest to this Saving, I shall suppose them to be abolished. These two Taxes produced in the Year ending at *Midsummer* last, about *365000 l.* nett; so that, including the Expences of Management, I reckon there was about *400,000 l.* raised upon the People; and as the advanced Price upon both these Commodities is reckoned near double the Value of the Tax laid upon them, I am sure, I may reckon, the People pay at least *600,000 l.* a Year, on Account of these two Taxes; which is an Annuity they are to get free from by this Reduction *25 Years* sooner than they can do, if Interest be continued at *4 per Cent.* But an Annuity of *600,000 l.* a Year for *25 Years*, at *4 per Cent.* Compound Interest, amounts to *24,987,540 l.* In this Case, as the Nation will continue in Debt *two Years and a half* longer than if Things should continue upon their present Footing, we must deduct from this Sum the Annuity which the People are to pay for that Time; which Annuity will consist of the present Sinking Fund, being about
1,150,000 l.

1,150,000*l.* and the Interest upon our present Debt at 3 *per Cent.* being about 1,440,000*l.* supposing our Debts to amount to 48 *Millions.* These two Sums added together make 2,590,000*l.* to which add a Third more, and it makes above 3,450,000*l.* which is the Annuity the People are to pay for *two Years and a half* longer than they would otherwise do; therefore, as I have said, this Annuity for that Time at 3 *per Cent.* Compound Interest, being near 8,730,000*l.* must be deducted from 24,987,540*l.* and the remaining Sum, which is above 16,250,000*l.* is the Sum our People will save by a Reduction of Interest, and immediately abolishing the Taxes upon *Soap and Candles*; and this Saving will, I hope, be looked on as a sufficient Atonement for our continuing *two Years and a half* longer in Debt.

Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736-7.



I beg Pardon, Sir, for making so much use of Calculation, but upon this Subject it is impossible to argue without Figures, and as there is nothing mysterious or uncommon in the Calculations I have made use of, I hope Gentlemen will forgive me; for from these Calculations the Advantage the Nation will reap from the Reduction only, is made manifest beyond Contradiction: And now I shall examine the pretended Disadvantages. In the first Place, we are told, our Noble Families and Landed Gentlemen must ruin their Estates, in order to provide for their younger Children; as if it were absolutely necessary the younger Children of all Landed Gentlemen should be bred up to Idleness, in order to live like fine Gentlemen and Ladies upon the Interest of their Money. Sir, this is so far from being necessary, that we certainly ought to prevent it, if possible; and the only Way of preventing it is, to lower the common Rate of Interest: The younger Son of the best Nobleman in the Kingdom may make as good a Figure, and I am sure may be much more serviceable to his Country, by being bred up a Merchant, than by being bred up to follow Plays and Operas in Town, or Fox-hounds and Horse-matches in the Country. But, suppose that every Landed Gentleman should be obliged to give his younger Children greater Fortunes; if he is frugal, and has a Mind to provide for them by a narrow Way of Living, he will save a great deal more yearly in the Expence of his Family, by the Abolishing of some of our most heavy Taxes, by which he will be enabled to give them greater Fortunes. If he has a Mind to leave them a Mortgage upon his Estate, a proportionable Addition to their Fortunes will be no additional Burden upon his Estate; for as the total Value of his Estate must increase in Proportion, and the yearly Value likewise may proba-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

bly be much improved, a Mortgage of 20,000*l.* for younger Childrens Portions, when Interest is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and the Price of Lands raised to above 33 Years Purchase, will be no greater Burden upon an Estate, as to the total Value, than 12,000*l.* is, now that Interest is at 5 *per Cent.* and the Price of Lands at 20 Years Purchase; and as to the Interest Money, surely 600*l.* a Year, the Interest of 20,000*l.* at 3 *per Cent.* can be no greater Charge upon the improved Rent of an Estate, than 600*l.* a Year, the Interest of 12,000*l.* at 5 *per Cent.* upon the present Rent of the same Estate, without any Improvement.

To pretend, Sir, that all Branches of Trade are, or can be overstock'd, is a very great Mistake, and a very dangerous Mistake, if it should ever obtain so much Credit as to influence the publick Measures of a Country; for no Sort of Trade or Business relating to the Exports of a Country can be overstocked; but on the contrary, the more there are of every such Trade or Business, the cheaper the Commodities they manufacture or deal in will be sold in foreign Markets; and the cheaper they are sold, the more of them will be sold, the more certainly will you prevent Foreigners from interfering with you in the Trade; which will always be a Benefit to the Nation in general, tho' not so advantageous to the particular Persons concerned. I shall suppose, for Example's Sake only, that the original Materials of a Hat sold beyond Seas for a *Guinea*, do not cost above 7 *s.* and that the other 14 *s.* are divided between the Workmen for their Labour; the Master-Manufacturer for his Profit, and his Trouble in employing those Workmen; and the Merchant-Exporter, for his Profit, and Trouble in exporting: If you should, by increasing the Number of Workmen and Dealers in this Way, bring the Workmen to work for a 4th Part less Wages, and the Master-Manufacturer, and Merchant-Exporter, to deal for a 4th Part less Profit, that Hat would then be sold in a foreign Market for 17 *s.* 6 *d.* and if by selling so cheap you shall engross the Market, you would probably sell *two* Hats for every *one* you now sell; so that for every *Guinea* now returned to the Nation, there would then be 35 *s.* returned, and double the Workmen employed; with this additional Advantage, that you would much more certainly preserve that Trade than you can do at present. Thus it appears that the Workmen and Dealers in any such Branch of Trade can never be too numerous, and therefore, the Trade can never be overstocked, unless we suppose it possible that one Nation might have more of such Dealers and Workmen than would be sufficient to serve the whole World. 'Tis true, all those Pro-
fessions


essions and Branches of Trade not any Way concerned in Export, may be overstocked; but even with respect to them, the more there are the better, and the cheaper our People will be served; and when they are very much overstock'd, those who cannot live by the Business they were bred to, will seek for Employment in some other Way, and few or none of the rising Generation will be bred to that Sort of Business; therefore the Public has very little Concern about the Overstocking of any Branch of Trade; their Care ought to be to force as many of their People into Trade as possible, and then, like a good General of an Army, to take special Care that their Enemies or Rivals shall gain no accidental or artful Advantage of them, in any Branch of Trade, in which they are or may be employed.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

As to Farming, I believe, there is no great Danger that many of our Gentlemens Sons would betake themselves to that Sort of Business, let us reduce Interest to what we will; but if they should, it would not surely be a Disadvantage to our Landholders to have rich Tenants, or to have more Bidders for the Leases of their Farms. The richer the Tenants are, the more able will they be to improve their Farms, and the more punctually will the Rent be paid; and the more Bidders there are, the more easily may the Landlord raise his Rent; so that this is one of the strongest Arguments for shewing that a low Interest will naturally improve the yearly Value of our Land Estates. Then as to the Widows and Orphans concerned in our Funds, and who have nothing else to depend on for a Subsistence; a Widow or Orphan who has 500*l.* Annuity Stock, will after the Reduction have 15*l.* a Year, and I cannot think any Person that has 15*l.* a Year certain, without Labour or Toil, can be reckoned an Object of Compassion, because there are many Places in *England* where a single Person may live comfortably upon such an Income. But suppose 1000*l.* Stock, which is double the Income, if we examine the Lists before us, we shall find many of the Persons in those Lists have something else to trust to; and if there were none such, the Number of them can bear no Proportion to the *Millions* of Poor that will be relieved by abolishing any one of our heavy Taxes, nor ought it to be of any Weight in our Deliberations upon an Affair in which the Preservation of our Trade is so essentially concerned.

Lastly, Sir, I must take Notice of the great Disadvantage, which, 'tis pretended, would accrue to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties adjacent, by a Reduction of the Interest payable upon the public Funds. If this Reduction should happen to be general upon all our Funds,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



it would amount to about 400,000*l.* a Year; let us see now how this would affect the Trade of the Retailers, Farmers, Gardeners, and Tradesmen, in and about the City of *London*. First we must observe, there is at least one 4th Part of our Funds belongs to Persons who reside abroad; so that we must deduct at least 100,000*l.* from this 400,000*l.* and then there will remain but 300,000*l.* Next we must observe, that a great Part, by far, I believe, the greatest Part of our Funds belong to Persons who do not spend $\frac{1}{2}$, some not $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Revenue they have from those Funds; and some Part of them belongs to Persons who reside for the whole or greatest Part of the Year in distant Counties; so that upon the whole, I believe, I may reckon there is not above $\frac{1}{3}$ Part of this 300,000*l.* actually spent yearly in or about *London*; therefore the most we can reckon is, that, by this Reduction, the Inhabitants in and about *London* will lose the taking of 100,000*l.* a Year, which they now take yearly from our Stockholders for Wares purchased out of their Shops, Farms, or Gardens, or for Work done; but as many of the Wares purchased in their Shops either come from abroad, or from the distant Counties of *Britain*, therefore, I am sure, we may reckon the Inhabitants in and about *London* will not lose of real Profit or Wages above 50,000*l.* a Year. And as every Man, who retrenches his Expence, begins with that which is the most superfluous, we may presume this Loss will fall chiefly upon our Plays, Operas, Concerts, and Masquerades; in which Case, the industrious and useful Part of the Inhabitants will suffer little or no Diminution in their present Custom or Business.

This, Sir, is the Charge; and now let me turn to the other Side of the Account, according as it will stand by the Proposition my worthy Friend has made to us. He proposes, that if this Reduction takes Place, the Duties upon *Candles*, *Soap*, *Coals* and *Leather* should be taken off, I shall suppose only the two first taken off; because these two alone will, I am sure, do much more than balance the Account. I have already shewn that the People of *England* pay at least 600,000*l.* a Year for *Soap* and *Candles*, more than they would pay if there were no such Duties; therefore the taking off these Duties will be a yearly Profit of 600,000*l.* a Year to the whole People of *England*; and as the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, Borough of *Southwark*, and Counties adjacent, consume more *Soap* and *Candles* than all the rest of the Kingdom, or at least pay more than half of the yearly Produce of the Duties, we must reckon that the taking off of these two Duties will be a yearly Saving, and consequently a yearly Profit, of
300,000*l.*

300,000 *l.* to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, as an Atonement for the 50,000 *l.* a Year they are to lose by the Reduction of Interest, and thereby lessening the yearly Revenue, and consequently the Expence of our Stockholders. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

But, Sir, as this Saving may at first View appear a little extraordinary, I must trouble you with another Computation, to shew that it is far from being imaginary. Let me suppose then, that in *London, Westminster, Southwark,* and the Counties adjacent, there is but a *Million* of People; 300,000 *l.* a Year divided among a *Million* of Persons comes to 6 *s.* a Year to every Person, for his Share of what is paid on Account of the Duties on Soap and Candles; so that a Man who has six Persons in his Family, by this Computation, is presumed to pay but 36 *s.* a Year on Account of these two Duties; and considering that for every Pound of Candles he buys, there is 2 *d.* laid out on Account of the Duty; and for every Pound of Soap he buys, or is bought on his Account, there is at least 2 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ laid out on Account of the Duty; I believe this Computation will not appear extravagant; for it is supposing him to consume but 10 or 12 Dozen of Candles, and 6 or 7 Dozen of Soap, which I think is the least we can suppose to be consumed by our Shopkeepers and Trademen, one with another, in their Shops, Kitchens, Chambers, and Working Houses. From hence it is evident, that the Inhabitants in and about the City of *London* would gain 250,000 *l.* a Year clear Profit by the Proposition now before us; and if to this we should add the yearly Saving, and consequently yearly Profit, that would accrue to them, by abolishing the Duties upon Coals and Leather, I am amazed how any Citizen of *London*, not deeply concerned in Stocks, can disapprove of such a Proposition; I am sure the honourable Gentleman who made it, deserves their Thanks in the most public and the most grateful Manner.

The two Ends proposed by this Scheme are, 'tis true, Sir, either to enable us to pay our Debts off sooner than we can otherwise do, or to give an immediate Relief to our People, by abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes; but these two Ends are proposed separately, or rather disjunctively, and not jointly, as the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question have represented; and that it will not be incompatible but necessarily effectual for one or t'other of these Ends, according as we shall chuse, the Gentlemen themselves have acknowledged. When we have approved of the Scheme, in so far as it relates to the Reduction of Interest, it is then Time enough to chuse which of these

Ends

Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736-7.



Ends we shall apply the Saving to; but I cannot help now declaring my Opinion, that we ought to apply that Saving and something more, to the immediate Abolishing of some of our Taxes; not only, because the People will gain more by an immediate Relief from some of our most heavy Taxes, than they can gain by a total Discharge of our Debts 3 or 4 Years sooner or later, but because it is become absolutely necessary, if we have a Mind to preserve our Trade, to abolish some of our Taxes, as well as to reduce the natural Interest of Money.

I have always been, Sir, and still am against applying the Sinking-Fund, or any Part of it, to the current Service; because I think such an Application directly contrary to the Intention of its Establishment, as well as inconsistent with that Justice which is due to our public Creditors. The ultimate End and Intention of its Establishment was, to free the People from some of those Taxes they were then subject to, and which were mortgaged for the Payment of those Debts contracted before *December 25, 1716*, and the only Means of doing this was by paying off by degrees the Debts, for which those Taxes were mortgaged; but when you have paid off those Debts, you have it certainly in your Power, either to apply the Saving made by such Payment, to increase, for the future, the Sinking-Fund, or you may apply that Saving to the ultimate End and Intention of the Establishment of that Fund, I mean, the Freeing of the People from some Tax or other, whose yearly Produce does not exceed the Amount of the Saving you have made by such Payment. That this was the Opinion of Parliament appears from the almost unanimous Resolution with respect to abolishing the Salt Duty; for I do not remember that any Gentleman then insisted upon the Creditors having an indefeasible Right, not only to the Sinking-Fund as it then stood, but to all the Savings which might grow by the Payments made to the public Creditors; and that none of those Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our public Debts could be taken off or abolished by Parliament, as long as there was a *Shilling* due of any of those Debts, for which the Taxes were mortgaged.

But suppose, Sir, this had been then, or at any Time since, my Opinion, I am sure I have lately found very good Reasons for changing it; for I am now fully convinced, the Sinking-Fund will never be duly and regularly applied, either to the Payment of those Debts contracted before the Year 1716, or to the Abolishing of any of the Taxes mortgaged for that Purpose: I am now by Experience fully convinced, it is a Fund which Ministers in all
Time


Time coming will be nibbling at; and I do not think I have any great Reason to expect, that Parliaments will be less complaisant to Ministers in Time to come, than they have been in Time past. For this Reason, Sir, I am so far from desiring to see the Sinking-Fund increased, that if any other possible Method can be contrived for paying our Debts honourably and fairly, I shall be for having it entirely abolished; because, I am afraid, it may hereafter prove a Fund for running the Nation into needless Expences, oftner than it will prove a Fund for discharging any Part of our Debt, or freeing the People from any of the heavy Taxes they now groan under. And as I think the turning of a great Part of our Debts into Annuities for Life or Years, or the Sale of such Annuities, and applying the Purchase Money towards paying off our Debts as far as it will go, is the only Way of paying off our Debts honourably and fairly, and at the same Time annihilating the whole or a great Part of the Sinking-Fund; therefore, I most heartily join with my worthy Friend in that Part of his Scheme which relates to the opening Books of Subscription for the Sale of Annuities, upon the Terms he proposes; because these Annuities will cease of course; and as soon as a sufficient Number of them are sold, we may then order it so, that the Taxes shall cease of course, and in Proportion as the Annuities shall cease or determine: Whereas, if we continue upon the present Footing, I am afraid the Doctrine lately broached will prevail, that the Nation ought always to be kept under its present Load of Debts, and the People under their present Load of Taxes; and that the Sinking-Fund will be generally diverted towards the Current Service, or towards discharging some Debt lately contracted, in order to gain the false and empty Applause for future Ministers, that they have not laid any unnecessary Loads upon the People, or subjected them to any new and unheard-of Taxes.

As for the Practicability of the Scheme, I believe, Sir, That will sufficiently appear, by setting the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question right, in a Mistake they have committed, with respect to the present natural Rate of Interest upon public Securities. They have told us, that if the present Rate of Interest upon such Securities were at 3 per Cent. our Annuities at 4 per Cent. ought to sell at 133 $\frac{1}{3}$. Bank Stock at 183 $\frac{1}{3}$, and East-India at 200 l. per Cent. This Calculation, I suppose, they take from this Proportion, that if 3 per Cent. gives 100 l. 4 per Cent. the present Dividend on 4 per Cent. Annuities, ought to give 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ and so for the rest in Proportion to their respective Dividends;

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




Dividends : But does not every Gentleman see the Error in this Method of Calculation? However, to make this Error manifest, I must observe, that the Price of every one of our Stocks at Par, is the Price of an Annuity to continue till the Principal be repaid; because the Public stands obliged to pay them 100 *l.* in Money, for every 100 *l.* Stock they stand possessed of: But as to the advanced Price upon any of our Stocks, it is the Price of an Annuity to continue for a certain or uncertain Term of Years à *Fond perdu*, as the *French* call it; that is, upon the Ceasing of the Annuity the Principal is to be entirely lost; because, let that advanced Price rise as high as it will, the Public stands obliged to pay them no more than 100 *l.* in Money, for every 100 *l.* Stock they stand possessed of.

Now, Sir, with respect to our Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* does not every one suppose we shall be able in 6 Years to reduce them to 3 *per Cent.* but supposing it should be 10 Years, then if the natural Interest of Money be no lower than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought not to sell for above 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* because in that Case, an Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, can be worth no more, nor can it sell for any more than 100 *l.* And an Annuity of 1 *per Cent.* for 10 Years, at the End of which Time the Principal is to be sunk, as well as the Annuity to cease, is in present Value, at the same Rate of Interest, worth no more, nor can sell it for any more than 8 $\frac{1}{2}$; so that according to the present Price of our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities, (the natural Interest of Money must be under 3 *per Cent.* because they sell for 113 *l.* *per Cent.* which is 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* higher than they could sell for, if the natural Interest of Money were not under 3 *per Cent.*

Then as to the *Bank*, 'tis well known they divide but 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* that their Term expires in 6 Years, and that their Annuity cannot continue any longer than that Time; because if proper Measures be taken, they may be paid off in that Time, and if their Term of Banking be continued any longer, they ought to pay a valuable Consideration for it; from whence we must reckon, that their Stock, if the natural Interest of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* ought not to sell for above 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 114 *per Cent.* at most, which is 100 *l.* for the Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 14 for an Annuity of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* for 6 Years, the Principal to be then sunk. And lastly, as to *East-India* Stock, as they are now established a Company for ever, and their exclusive Privilege to continue till the Year 1769, and as they divide 6 *per Cent.* 2 *per Cent.* whereof is from the Profits of their Trade, suppose
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the natural Interest of Money no lower than 3 *per Cent.* their Stock ought not to sell for above 149 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* which is 100 *l.* for the 3 *per Cent.* to continue till the Principal be repaid, 8 and some more than $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* for the 1 *per Cent.* Annuity, which 'tis supposed the Government must as yet pay for 10 Years, and near 41 *per Cent.* for an Annuity of 2 *per Cent.* to continue for 32 Years, being the Residue of the Term of their exclusive Privilege, at the End of which the Dividend of 2 *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade will probably cease; and the principal Money now paid for the Annuity proceeding from those Profits will be entirely sunk; so that supposing the natural Interest of Money at 3 *per Cent.* the Premium upon *Bank Stock*, according to the Price it now sells for, is above 37 *per Cent.* and the Premium upon *East-India Stock*, is above 30 *per Cent.* both which are much higher than the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* Securities, and is occasioned, I believe, by People's being generally of Opinion, that the exclusive Privilege will be continued to each of the Companies respectively, perhaps for many Generations, without their being ever obliged to pay a full and adequate Consideration to the Public for the Renewal of their Term.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



From hence it must appear, that the natural Rate of Interest upon all public Securities is under 3 *per Cent.* and to insinuate, that the Creditors of the Public are in a worse Condition than any Pledgee or Mortgagee, is really something very extraordinary, when all Mankind appear so evidently to be of a contrary Opinion; for tho' a War should happen, it will, I hope, rather lower than raise the natural Interest of Money, because, I hope, our Government will never again fall into that dangerous and deluding Method of borrowing Money for the Expences of the War, but will yearly raise as much as may be necessary for supporting the Expences of the War, and answering the whole annual public Expence. And to pretend, that the Scheme may be rendered impracticable, by a Combination among our rich money'd Men, is still more extraordinary; for a Conspiracy for distressing the Public, in order to prevent us from being able to relieve the People from any of their Taxes, whatever it may reckoned by our Lawyers, would, I am sure, be reckoned by the People a Sort of High Treason against the State, and would consequently make the People think themselves justified in any Measures, they might think proper to take, for relieving themselves from their Taxes in the speediest and most effectual Manner; therefore, I hope, no public Creditor, nor any money'd Man in the Kingdom,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1726 7.



will be so rash and imprudent, as to enter into any such Combination or Conspiracy.

After what I had said, Sir, I believe the Arguments made use of for shewing the Impracticability of the Scheme, will entirely vanish; and the Dangers we are threatened with, either from its succeeding or not succeeding, will, upon Examination, appear as little substantial. That the Success of the Scheme, or even the Attempt, will make Foreigners, especially the *Dutch*, draw out their Money all at once, is a Misfortune we have been threatned with upon all intended Reductions; and I am convinced we shall now find those Threats as ill-grounded as ever they were found upon any former Occasion. With respect to Foreigners, Sir, particularly the *Dutch*, there are two insurmountable Obstacles, which will prevent their drawing away their Money; one of which is, that it is impossible for them to find Purchasers at any Thing near the Value, if any great Number of them should resolve to sell; and the other is, that it is impossible for them to get 3 *per Cent.* for their Money any where else, upon any Security equally good; for the highest Interest at present in their own Country is but 3 *per Cent.* and the lowest in many Cases under 2; so that *one Million Sterling* only brought from *England* to be lent in *Holland*, would very probably run the natural Interest of Money down to 2, or perhaps to 1 *per Cent.* And as to our own People, some of them might probably draw out their Money, in order to lend it on Mortgages at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* on good personal Security at 4, or on indifferent personal Security at 5; which is one of the great Advantages to be expected from the Scheme; but the Sum to be drawn out for these Purposes could have no great Influence upon our public Securities; because the drawing out of any great Sum would bring the natural Interest of Money upon private Securities below the natural Interest upon public; which can never happen as long the Generality of Mankind have a much better Opinion of the latter, than they have of the former. And as to the present Fall of Stocks, we know it proceeds from the Practices in *'Change-Alley*, where, we know, some People have been mighty industrious. I wish they had not been so: I wish their Behaviour at this Time may never be made use of as an Argument against all our public Creditors in general; for when the Behaviour of some becomes a public Nuisance, it may be made use of against the whole Body; as was lately the Case, with respect to the Distillers and Retailers of Spirituous Liquors.

I shall grant, Sir, the Reduction of Interest might very probably diminish the advanced Price upon our Funds; but

I am convinced it would not bring them under Par, nor any Thing near to it; nay, I do not know but the Benefit of not being obliged to receive any Part of their Principal, nor to have their Interest lessened for 14 Years to come, would raise the Price of all our Annuities above what they now sell for; I think I have good Reason to believe it would. However, the advanced Price is what the Public neither has, nor ought to have any Concern about; for to say we ought not to do or attempt any Thing that may tend to diminish the advanced Price our Stocks sell for, would be an Argument against ever paying them any Part of their Principal, as well as against reducing the Interest now payable to them; and now it is made use of against attempting to reduce their Interest, I hope it will have just as much Weight, and no more, than if it had been made use of for our coming to a Resolution never to pay a Shilling more of the Principal of any of our Debts, but to turn the Sinking-Fund to some other Use yearly, and continue to pay the same Annuity we now pay for ever: Which Resolution many Persons without Doors would be glad of, tho' I am certain no Gentleman within these Walls would ever agree to it.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



There is, therefore, Sir, no Danger to be apprehended, either from the Success or Disappointment of the Scheme. To attempt it, is not climbing up a Precipice; it is only attempting to do that which we are in Duty bound to attempt, as often as there is the least Prospect of Success; and at present we shall most certainly meet with some. This the declared Enemies of the Scheme are sufficiently aware of; they would not have been so industrious in their Opposition, if they had not known it would certainly meet with great Success; and I am surprized to hear it said, the present loud and general Complaints are nothing but Vapours: Every Man in the Kingdom, who has not great and superfluous Sums coming in yearly from our Funds, or from some Post or Pension, is fully sensible of the National Distemper we are under; and I am sure no State Physician in the Kingdom can prescribe a better, or at least a more honourable Remedy, than that now in our Offer; if we do not apply it, I shall despair of ever seeing a Remedy applied, till we change both our Physicians and Nurses.

Has any Man said, has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Loss an Annuitant or Stockholder is to sustain by the Reduction, will be made good to him by abolishing the Duty upon Candles? This is treating the Subject more ludicrously than it deserves, or ought to be treated; but I will say, it is better for every Annuitant and Stockholder to take

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




that which is the natural Interest of Money in his Country, than to run the Risk of being soon deemed an Usurer, whereby he may come to lose both Principal and Interest. The Reducing of the Interest payable upon public Securities to that, which we find to be the natural Interest upon such Securities, or paying those off who are not willing to take that Interest, is not laying any Tax upon our public Creditors; but the continuing to pay them 4 *per Cent.* when the natural Interest of Money is under 3, is really making them a Present of 400,000 *L. Sterling* a Year; and I am sure the Public is in no Condition to make, nor can they pretend Merit enough to deserve, such a considerable Present. To pretend therefore, that the Reduction proposed would be laying a Tax of 5 *s. in the Pound* upon them, must appear to be a very great Mistake; and to say, that in the present Case, there is no Distinction to be made between the public Creditors and the Public, because they are a Part of our own People, must appear to be as great a Mistake, if we consider, that in all Cases, where the private Advantage of any Sett of our own People comes to be inconsistent with the Good of the Public, a Distinction not only then may, but must be made, between that Sett of our own People, and the Public; and in all such Cases, I hope the Good of the Public will, I am sure it ought to be preferred. Is not this the Case now before us? It is for the private Advantage of our public Creditors, to receive from the Public yearly a Present of 400,000 *L.* but I am sure it is inconsistent with the Good of the Public to continue making them any such Present.

But of all the Arguments that have been make Use of against this Reduction, I think the hardest and most extraordinary is, to say, that because our People have long paid, and been accustomed to the paying of heavy Taxes, therefore there can be no Compassion in relieving them from any of those Taxes. This, I say, I must think very hard as well as extraordinary; and I am sure it is as extraordinary to say, we have no Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life. For my Part, I do not know any one Necessary of Life, upon which we have not some Tax or another, except Water; and we can put no Ingredient, I know of, into Water, in order to make it palatable and chearful, without paying a Tax. We pay a Tax for Air, and for the Light and Heat of the Sun in the Day Time, by Means of our Tax upon Windows; and for Light and Heat in the Night Time, by Means of our Duties upon Coals and Candles; we pay a Tax upon Bread, Meat, Roots, and Herbs, of all Kinds, by Means of our Salt-Duty; we pay a Tax upon

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Small Beer, by Means of the Malt Tax, and a heavy additional Tax upon strong Beer, by Way of Excise; nay we cannot have any clean Thing to put upon our Backs, either of Woollen or Linnen, without paying a Tax, by Means of the Duty upon Soap: And tho' most of these Taxes may seem to be small and easy to a rich Stockholder, who has Thousands a Year coming in, yet to a poor Labourer or Manufacturer, who has not perhaps above 8*d.* or 1*s.* a Day, and himself and Family to maintain out of it, every one of them must seem grievous, and always will be severely felt: till he can prevail with his Master, on account of these Taxes, to raise his Wages; and then, by the Loss of Employment, he is brought into a worse Condition than he was before. Therefore, from the great Distress many such poor Families are in, and the infinite Multitude there are of such in the Kingdom, Compassion may be strongly pleaded in Favour of the Reduction, and can, in my Opinion, have little or no Weight on the other Side of the Scale: for Gentlemen may talk what they will about Orphans, Widows, and other Ladies, but I believe the Reduction will bring few or none of them into pitiful Circumstances; it will only oblige some of them to betake themselves to Business instead of living idly, or to retire to the Country instead of living at *London*; and for this very Reason I am for the Reduction, because I love to see People employed; and as I am a Country Gentleman, and love the Company of the Ladies, I desire to have a few more of them in the Country with us.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



I do not remember, Sir, any one Argument made use of against the Reduction, but what I have now either fully answered, or shewn to be an Argument in its Favour; and I hope what I have said upon this Subject will have the greater Weight, because every one that knows me, knows I have a very considerable Share in the public Funds, and that therefore it is as much my immediate Interest to oppose a Reduction, as it can be the immediate Interest of most Men in the Kingdom; but I shall always consider my future Interest as well as my immediate Interest; and I hope I shall always be so wise as to prefer the public Interest to both. I would not perhaps have been at so much Pains to shew my Zeal in Favour of the Question, if it had not been for the contrary Behaviour of some, who are in the same Circumstances with me; but when I observed some Practices made use of without Doors against the Question, which I do not think altogether justifiable, I thought it incumbent upon me to declare my Approbation of the Question in the most remarkable Manner; in order to convince Posterity,

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



as much as lies in my Power, that such Practices ought not to be imputed to the public Creditors in general; and I wish the Time may never come, when the public Creditors will have Reason to thank me for the Record I have left in their Favour.'

Thus we have given the Substance of what was said in the two Days Debate upon the Motion made by Sir *John Barnard* for some Gentlemen in the 1st Day's Debate, who seemed to speak against the Motion, having declared, they thought the Motion of such Consequence, that they could not freely give their Opinion upon it without further Time to consider of it, therefore the further Consideration of the Affair was put off till that Day Sevensnight, as before mentioned; and towards the End of the Debate, the second Day, *Thomas Winnington* Esq; stood up, and made a short Speech, as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

Mr. Winning-
ton.

'Whether a further Reduction of Interest, natural or legal, may tend to the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Nation in general, or whether the natural Interest of Money, lent on public Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* are Questions I shall not at present give you the Trouble of enquiring into; but if both be resolved in the Affirmative, which every Gentleman must do, who is for agreeing to what is now proposed, I can see no Reason for our confining our Resolution, or the Scheme depending thereon, to *South Sea* Annuities only. For if a further Reduction of Interest must prove a Benefit to the Nation in general, we ought to extend that Benefit as far as we can suppose it will go; and if the natural Interest of Money upon public Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* it is not, in my Opinion, to be questioned, but the other Creditors of the Public will be as ready to accept of 3 *per Cent.* irredeemable for 14 Years, as the *South-Sea* Annuitants.—For this Reason, Sir, if we come to a Resolution for enabling his Majesty to open Books of Subscription, it ought, I think, to be general; it ought to comprehend all the other public Creditors, as well as the *South Sea* Annuitants. But, Sir, there is another very strong Reason for making our Resolution general, which is, that a particular Resolution with respect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants only, will, in my Opinion, be partial, and consequently unjust, consider it in what View we please, for that Resolution must be advantageous, or it must be disadvantageous to the *South-Sea* Annuitants: If we look upon it as a Resolution that may be advantageous to them, it will be shewing a Partiality in their Favour, and will consequently be doing an Injustice to the rest of our Creditors; on the
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other hand, if we look on it as a Resolution that may be *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*
 disadvantageous for them, it will then be shewing a Partiality to our other Creditors, and will consequently be a Piece of Injustice done towards the *South Sea* Annuitants.—
 From these Considerations, Sir, I think, if we come to any Resolution or Resolutions for redeeming any of our public Funds, and for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for that Purpose, we ought to come to a Resolution, to redeem all the public Funds redeemable by Law, that now carry an Interest at 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, and then we may come to another Resolution for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for that Purpose.—
 These, Sir, are my Sentiments with respect to the Affair now under our Consideration; and if the House seems to approve of them, I shall then rise up and move for such Resolutions, as, I think, we ought to come to, agreeable to these Sentiments.’

To this it was answered by Sir *John Barnard* and others, in Substance as follows, *viz.*

S I R,

‘ There are two Methods of defeating any Scheme or Proposition offered to this House, both of which have been often practised with Success. One is the plain, blunt Way of putting a Negative upon it at once; and the other, which has likewise been practised in former Parliaments, is what we may call a Sort of Parliamentary Play, which is, by making such Improvements upon it as must necessarily render it abortive. I am far from thinking the Hon. Gentleman has any such Intention with respect to the Improvement he has now offered, but there is an old and a true Proverb, *Grasp at all, lose all.* We have been told by several Gentlemen in this Debate, that the Scheme, as first proposed, would certainly prove impracticable in the Execution; and if there was the least Foundation for such Apprehensions, surely that Foundation must be very much widened, and rendered at the same Time more solid, by the Improvement that has been now offered. Our *South Sea* Annuities both old and new amount to about 24 *Millions* only; all our redeemable Funds bearing an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* amount to above 44 *Millions*; and will any Gentleman say, but that it may be easy for the Government to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 24 *Millions*, as are not willing to accept of that Interest, and yet it may be found very difficult for them to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 44 *Millions* as may not be willing to accept of the Interest?

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Anno. 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.

If you resolve, Sir, to apply all the Money you can borrow at 3 *per Cent.* only to the redeeming of such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as will not accept of that Interest, all the Annuitants may be of Opinion, you can borrow as much Money as will be sufficient for that Purpose, which will of course make all or most of them subscribe their Annuities at that Interest; so that you will have no Occasion for applying any, or but very little of the Money you borrow, towards redeeming any of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, and may therefore apply almost the whole Money you borrow, towards redeeming the Proprietors of your other Funds, who will not accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon any Terms you please to offer; whereas if you make that Resolution general, if you resolve to apply the Money you can borrow at 3 *per Cent.* towards redeeming the Proprietors of all your Funds, which now bear an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* who will not accept of 3; not only the Proprietors of your other Funds, but even most of the *South-Sea* Annuitants may be of Opinion, it will not be in your Power to borrow so much Money at 3 *per Cent.* as will be near sufficient for that Purpose; and thus the Fear of being redeemed, being confined to a very few, you can expect but few Subscriptions in Stock or Annuities at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* Thus it appears evident, in my Opinion, that the farther you extend your Scheme, the less Benefit you can expect from it; the more you confine it, the more general and the more certain will your Success be.—However, Sir, as it has been made appear in this Debate, that all our Funds are at an Interest below 3 *per Cent.* as our 3 *per Cent.* public Securities now bear a Premium in 'Change-Alley; and as the Intention of the Scheme at first was only to afford an Opportunity to those who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* of having a public Security for their Money at Par, instead of being obliged to pay a Premium for it in 'Change Alley, and to afford an Opportunity to such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as are willing to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, instead of having 4, and being subjected to the Trouble and Loss of receiving and replacing so much of their Capital yearly, or every other Year; the small Success of the Scheme can be of no Prejudice to the Nation; but on the contrary, the least Success that can be supposed, will be a Benefit; for if but a *Million* in Stock and Money should be subscribed, the Nation will thereby save 10,000*l.* a Year; therefore rather than not have the Assistance of the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Proposition, and of his Friends, I shall be for agreeing to the Improvement he has been pleased to propose; but I hope the Hon. Gentleman
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and his Friends will remember, that the Scheme thus amended becomes properly their own Scheme, and that they will not afterwards endeavour to put a Negative upon the Scheme they have thus made their own.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

The Scheme, even as thus amended, Sir, may turn out to be of signal Advantage to the Nation ; but if that be true which has been hinted in this Debate, by some of those Gentlemen who opposed the first Motion, I must confess, the Amendment would be dangerous. It has been insinuated, that all the public Creditors will join in concerting Measures for defeating the Scheme, that is to say, they will join in concerting Measures for distressing their Country, in order that they may extort a higher Interest from her, than she would otherwise be obliged to pay. This, Sir, is, 'tis true, a Practice too frequent among petty, private Usurpers ; but I hope none of the Creditors of the Public will ever deserve such a Name ; for if it were possible to suppose them devoid of all Love for their Country, their own Interest must suggest a contrary Behaviour : Their own Prosperity depends upon the Prosperity of their Country ; even the Security of their Principal, as well as Interest, depends upon the Prosperity of their Debtor, which can seldom or ever be the Case of private Borrowers and Lenders ; therefore we cannot suppose the Creditors of the Public will ever join unanimously in concerting any such Measures. But if any such Thing were to be dreaded, they will surely join more unanimously against the Scheme as thus amended, than it can be supposed they would have done against the Scheme as first proposed. When a Nation has been offended by several of her Neighbours, if she declares War against them all at once, she will certainly unite them altogether against her, and may probably involve herself in Ruin, instead of obtaining that Reparation which she might easily have obtained, if she had attacked them one after another. The Case is the same : If we resolve to reduce only a Part of our public Funds to a lower Interest, the Proprietors of the other Funds not being in the same Circumstances, will never join with them in the same Measures ; but if we resolve to reduce them all at once, it brings them all into the same Circumstances, and will, consequently, make them all join in the same Measures. This, I say, Sir, would be the Case, if it could be supposed the Creditors of the Public would ever join in any Measures for distressing their Country : In that Case we ought to look on them as public Enemies, and then we ought in good Policy to take all possible Care not to unite them, by attacking them all at once ; but I shall never look upon the public Creditors as public Enemies, nor shall I ever look upon an

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Endeavour to borrow Money at a low Interest as an Attack, even upon that Part of them who are by means of that Money to be paid off. Quite otherwise, I shall always look upon the public Creditors as public Friends; therefore, I must suppose they will join in Measures for rendering effectual a Scheme calculated for giving an Ease to their Country, and that the more general the Intention of that Scheme is, the more generally, and the more unanimously, they will contribute towards its Success. This, we ought in Charity to suppose, with regard to the public Creditors in general, whatever may be the Behaviour of some few of them; and upon this Supposition, I can apprehend no Danger from the Improvement, or rather Enlargement, proposed.

With regard to the Justice and Impartiality of the Scheme as first proposed, I am surprized, Sir, to hear it questioned by any Gentleman who considers the public Good, in the different Circumstances of our several public Creditors. It would, in my Opinion, be of great Advantage to all the *South-Sea* Annuitants. An Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, irredeemable for 14 Years, is a Situation which, I am sure, is highly preferable to their present; but this is an Advantage we ought not, for the Sake of public Good, to grant to any of the other public Creditors, if we can avoid it; it is an Advantage the *South-Sea* Annuitants deserve more than the Generality of our other Creditors; and it is an Advantage which can breed no Confusion among those Annuitants; whereas the granting it to any other Set of public Creditors might breed great Confusion among them. As to the public Good, we must consider, that most of our other Creditors enjoy great exclusive Privileges in Trade, by Means of the Debt due to them; and as it may, in a few Years, be found necessary for the public Good, to destroy, or put an End to those exclusive Privileges, therefore we ought not, for the Sake of public Good, to grant them an irredeemable Term of 14 Years, if we can possibly avoid it; which we may do, if all the *South-Sea* Annuitants should agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and great Sums in ready Money should likewise be subscribed at that Interest. From hence every Man must see a good Reason for not granting this Advantage to the other public Creditors in general; but with respect to the *Bank* in particular, it would be Madness and very great Partiality to grant it to them; because their Term expires in 6 Years, so that it would be granting them a Continuance of their Term for 8 Years, which is worth above 800,000*l.* in present Money, and that for no particular Consideration at all; for the Reduction of Interest from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* is a Consideration granted by the other Creditors, as well

as by them, tho' none of the other Creditors are to receive any such Advantage. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

Then, Sir, as to the particular Circumstances of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, every one knows they enjoy no Advantage or Profit from the Money they have lent to the Public, but merely that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Public; whereas the Proprietors of our three great Companies have all along enjoyed, and do still enjoy, the Advantage of an exclusive Trade, by which all of them have made, and two of them do still make a large annual Profit, besides that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Public; therefore, if any new Advantage is to be granted to any of our public Creditors, which ought not to be granted to all, if it can be avoided, surely the *South Sea* Annuitants have the best Title to that new Advantage. And suppose one Half of the *South-Sea* Annuitants should agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and the other Half should not, and that the Subscriptions should amount to no more than 2 or 3 *Millions*; in that Case it would be impossible for the Public to pay off at once, all the Annuitants so standing out; the only Thing that could be done, would be to pay them their 4 *per Cent.* yearly, and to apply the Sinking-Fund towards them only till they should all be paid off: With respect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, this might be easily done, by dividing them into four Classes, two of old and new Annuities at 3 *per Cent.* or if you please you might make but one of both these, and two of old and new Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* in which Case all future Payments might be applied to the two latter, without breeding any Confusion, or causing any Disputes: But, suppose this to be the Case of the Stockholders of our Trading Companies; it would breed great Confusion among them, with regard to the Method of dividing the future Profits of their Trade, and it would cause great Disputes; for the Proprietors of Stock at 3 *per Cent.* might insist, they had a Right to a greater Share of the Profits of their Trade, than those at 4 *per Cent.* especially if it be true that the Annuity paid to these Companies by the Public, enables them to increase their Trade; and even after the 4 *per Cents.* were all paid off, they might insist on their Share of the Profits by Trade, as long as the Company continued; in the same Manner as the present Proprietors of *East India* Stock might insist upon having their Profits by Trade divided among them, proportionably to their respective Shares, then the Debt due to them by the Public should be all immediately paid off.

From these Observations, Sir, it will appear, that the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Favour designed by the Scheme, as first offered, to be shewn particularly to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, proceeds from a Regard for the public Good, from a Regard for their superior Merit, and from a proper Caution not to breed any Confusion, or Dispute among our other public Creditors; and can any Gentleman say, that a Favour founded upon such substantial Reasons, is either partial or unjust? Therefore, if we suppose the Scheme advantageous for the *South-Sea* Annuitants, we cannot accuse it of any Partiality or Injustice; and we cannot suppose it disadvantageous to any such Annuitant, because, if he does not like the Terms proposed, he may continue in the same Condition he is in at present; he may continue to enjoy his 4 *per Cent.* till his Capital be paid off, and I hope no Annuitant expects to enjoy it any longer, or imagines it is doing Injustice to him, to put the Public in a Way of paying him off sooner.

After what I have said, Sir, it may be supposed, that I am against agreeing to the Amendment or Enlargement proposed; and if I were, it would not be without good Reasons; for it is certainly inconsistent with the public Good to grant a Term of 14 Years irredeemable to any of our Trading Companies, if we could any way avoid it; and, I am sure, it is inconsistent with the public Good, to make a Present to the *Bank* of above 800,000 *l.* which will be the Case, if we grant them a Prolongation of their Term for eight Years without any Consideration; and lastly, I cannot think it very consistent with the public Good to run the Risk of breeding a Confusion and Dispute among any of our public Creditors: But as my Hopes of Success depend entirely upon the hearty Concurrence of the honourable Gentleman and his Friends, I am for agreeing to what he has been pleased to propose; because the first two Disadvantages must, I find, be submitted to, and the last will, I hope, be prevented, by each of our Companies coming to a Resolution in their respective general Courts to accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Terms offered, by which all Confusion and Dispute among their Proprietors will be prevented; therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will again rise up, and move for such Resolutions as may be agreeable to what he has proposed'.

Thus much was said upon this new Topick, and there being no Occasion for any Reply, the following Resolutions were moved for, and agreed to, viz.

Resolved, " That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all the public Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Interest of 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, be redeemed according to the respective Provisoos or Clauses of Redemption contained

contained in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpose, or *Anno 10. Geo.*
(with Consent of the Proprietors) be converted into an Interest or Annuity not exceeding 3 per Cent. per Annum not
 redeemable till after 14 Years." *11. 1736-7.*

" That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that his Majesty be enabled to borrow from any Person or Persons, Bodies politic or corporate, any Sum or Sums of Money at an Interest not exceeding 3 per Cent. to be applied towards redeeming the national Debt."

On *Wednesday, March 30*, these Resolutions were reported by *Sir Charles Turner* to the House; and the first Resolution being read a second Time, and a new Debate arising, a Motion was made for adjourning the further Consideration of the said Report till *Thursday, April 14*, but upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Then an Amendment to the Resolution was proposed by *General Wade*, and seconded by *Walter Plumer, Esq;* viz. *General* That instead of the Words, not exceeding 3 per Cent. per *Wade,* Annum, the Words, not exceeding 3 and a half per Annum *Walter Plu-* should be inserted. Upon which *Mr. Samuel Sandys, Esq;* mer, *Esq;* took Notice, That the Amendment proposed was such a one *Mr. Sandys.* as could not be made upon a Report; because it was for a larger Sum annually than what they had agreed to in the Committee; and that therefore if they had a Mind to allow a higher Interest than 3 per Cent. they must recommit the the Resolution. Whereupon *Mr. Plumer* said, That, as an *Mr. Plumer.* honourable Gentleman near him (meaning *Thomas Gore, Esq;* had before taken Notice, the Affairs depending in that House had, he found, occasioned so much Gaming in *Change Alley*, that if the Amendment he had seconded, could not be agreed to upon the Report, he would be against recommitting; because he was for having the Affair determined some way or other with as great Expedition as possible, in order to put a Stop to that infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing.

Nevertheless, a Motion was made for recommitting; but upon the Question's being put, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Negative by 220 to 157.

After which, both the Resolutions were agreed to, and *Sir John Barnard, Mr. Wortley,* and the Master of the Rolls, *Sir John* were ordered to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Reso- *Barnard,* lutions so agreed to. *Sir Joseph*

The chief Speakers in these Debates in the Committee *Jekyl,* and upon the Report, for the Reduction, were, *Sir John Mr. Wortley* *Barnard,* the Master of the Rolls, *Edward Wortley Montague, Montague,* *Esq;* *John Howe, Esq;* *Thomas Gore, Esq;* *Samuel Sandys, Mr. Howe,* *Esq;* &c. And the chief Speakers against the Reduction *Mr. Gore,* were *Mr. Sandys,*

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Mr. Alderman
Heathcote,
Mr. Burrel,
Mr. Holden,
Sir Charles
Wager,
General
Wade,
Mr. Ogle-
thorpe,
Mr. Knight,
Sir Robert
Walpole.

were Mr. Alderman Heathcote, Peter Burrel, Esq; Samuel Holden, Esq; Sir Charles Wager, General Wade, James Oglethorpe, Esq; Robert Knight, Esq; &c. and Sir Robert Walpole, who spoke not so much against the Reduction, as against its being then a proper Time for undertaking such a Scheme.

As soon as this Bill was ordered to be brought in, Sir John Barnard stood up, and after making a short Speech, moved, " That that House would, as soon as the Interest of all the national redeemable Debt should be reduced to 3 l. per Cent. per Annum, take off some of the heavy Taxes, which oppresses the Poor and the Manufacturers."

Upon this Motion there ensued a Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as follows, viz.

S I R,

' As the Increase, or rather the Revival of our Trade, is one of the chief Ends intended by the Resolutions we have now agreed to, and as the Prosperity of Trade depends as much upon the low Rate of Wages as upon the low Rate of Interest, I shall beg Leave to make you a Motion for another Resolution, which I take to be a natural Consequence of the two Resolutions we have now agreed to; but before I make you the Motion I intend, I shall take the Liberty to make some Observations upon the Nature of Trade in general; and in the first Place, I must observe, that natural Commodities, however valuable, by which I mean such as are produced without any great Art or Industry of the People, are never of any great Service to a Country, because they maintain no great Number of Subjects, nor enrich many Individuals. The Gold and Silver of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Settlements in *America* are Commodities of great Value; but as they are produced by the Labour of Slaves, and enrich only the King and a few great Lords, they have rather diminished than increased the Power and the Riches of both those Kingdoms; the Reason of which is, because they maintain no great Number of industrious Subjects, in which the Power of a Country consists; and the Riches that belong entirely to the King, or to a few great Men, are generally wasted in Luxury and Extravagance, or employ'd in ambitious Projects, which no way tend to the public Good of the Country. This prevents the Increase of natural born Subjects, and render such as they have lazy, idle, and extravagant; so that those very Riches, which are brought in by the Labour of their Slaves, they are every Year obliged to send out, for purchasing the Necessaries of Life,


Life, or such Things as are proper for supporting their
Luxury.

Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1736-7.

From hence we may see, Sir, that the only Commodities proper for increasing or supporting the Power and the Riches of a Country, are those which are produced by the Art and Industry of the Inhabitants. The Production or Manufacture, and Sale or Exchange, of such Commodities is that only which can properly be called Trade; and of such Commodities no Country can have any great Quantity, unless they can sell them cheaper than any of their Neighbours can sell Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness. Now as the original Materials of all such Commodities are to be got by the People of all Countries, at pretty near the same Price, the Difference between the Price of such Commodities when worked up in one Country, and the Price of them when worked up in another, must always depend upon the Price of Labour; that is to say, the Wages given to Workmen and Servants; for no such Commodities can be sold so cheap by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are high, as Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness may be sold by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are low; but in all Countries the Price of Labour, or the Wages given to Workmen and Servants, must depend upon the Price of those Provisions which are necessary for their convenient Support; I say, Sir, their convenient Support, for even the poorest Workman must and will have some of the Conveniences of Life; and that Country where the usual Price of Labour can afford the Labourers most of the Conveniences of Life, will always at last come to have the greatest Number of Workmen, in all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture. A Glut of Business, or a Scarcity of Workmen, may sometimes occasion the Wages of Workmen and Servants to be higher in one Country than another; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life be equal in both, the Workmen will by Degrees leave the Country where Wages are low, and repair to that Country where Wages are high; by which Means the Price of Labour in both Countries will at last be brought upon a Par: This will always be the Case where the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life is the same in both Countries; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, by Accident or bad Measures, become dearer in one Country than in another, and continue so for some Time, in that Country where such Necessaries and Conveniences are dearest, the Price of Labour must rise, or their Workmen and Servants will all leave them; for tho'
the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




the Desire to live in their native Country may keep them at Home for some Time, and may make them chuse to live much more sparingly by their Labour at Home, than they could do by the same Labour in another Country, yet some will be every Year deserting, and the more that have deserted, the greater Encouragement will those that remain have to desert ; so that the Desertion must necessarily and inevitably at last become general.

This, I say, Sir, will certainly be the Event, if the Price of Labour, or the Wages of Workmen, are not raised in Proportion as the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life rises in any Country ; and if the Price of Labour be raised higher in one Country than it is in another, we may easily see what will be the necessary Consequence. As the Price of the original Materials of all Sorts of Commodities produced by the Art and Industry of the People, is pretty much the same in all Countries, those Commodities may be sold cheaper by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is cheap, than they can be by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is dear ; the necessary Consequence of which must be, that the former, by underselling, will first beat the latter out of all foreign Markets, and at last even out of their own home Market ; for tho' a Country may by severe Laws and high Penalties, for some Time, prevent the Importation of those foreign Commodities which are of the same Nature with their own, yet the Execution of such Laws will at last become so grievous to the People, that it must either be neglected, or the Laws repealed ; because the People can never be persuaded it is a Crime to buy at the cheapest Hand, nor can they bear to see their Fellow-Countrymen punished for what they think no Crime : They neither will nor can enquire into the Causes of the Dearthness of such Commodities in their own Country, but will think it proceeds from the Covetousness of those concerned in the Trade ; therefore such Laws always have produced, and always will at last produce Murmurings and Insurrections among the People ; so that the Government at last will be obliged, for the Sake of Quiet, to let the People buy where they best can ; and this Liberty will put a full Stop to any Manufactures that may then be remaining among them.—There are many other Considerations, Sir, which contribute towards rendering Trade more flourishing in one Country than another ; such as a happy Constitution of Government, and good Laws and Customs for securing the Liberty and Property of the Subject ; a Regard and Esteem shewn by the Laws for Merchants and Tradesmen ; a low Rate of the natural Interest of Money ; and many others :

Others: But this I will say, that of two Countries alike in all other Circumstances, the Trade of that Country will flourish most where the Price of Labour is cheapest, and where they may have the original Materials of those Commodities which are produced by the Art and Industry of the People, at the cheapest Rate. Nay, if there be a Rivalship between them, as to the Production of any such Commodity, we may depend on it the former will at last beat the other entirely out of the Business. From hence we may see, how ruinous it must be to the Trade of any Country, to lay Taxes upon any Provisions that are necessary for the convenient Support of their Labourers, Manufacturers, or Tradesmen; or upon any of the original Materials of those Commodities which are produced by the Art and Industry of their People: From hence we must see that the Trade of any such Country must necessarily at last be undone, if their Neighbours be in any Sort of Condition to take Advantage of the Slip they have made: And from hence we must see, how necessary it is for us to take the most effectual and the most immediate Measures for relieving our People from those Taxes which lie heavy, not only upon almost all Sorts of Provisions, but upon almost all Sorts of Materials. We may make Laws against Smuggling, we may make Laws against exporting our Wool, we may make Laws against inveigling our Workmen into foreign Countries: These are but quackish Remedies; if we have a Mind to work a thorough Cure, we must remove the Cause, which certainly proceeds from our many heavy Taxes; for none of our Workmen would go to foreign Countries, if they could live more conveniently by their Labour in this, than they could in any other; none of our Wool would be exported, if it could be wrought up in this Country cheaper than in any other, especially, if by our Treaties we took Care to have a free Entry for our Manufactures into every Country; and no foreign Manufacture would be imported upon us, if the prime Cost were higher than the same Sort of Manufacture could be bought for, here at Home.

I know, Sir, it has been said our Taxes are no way insupportable, nor heavier in this Country than they are in *Holland* or *France*; but if those Gentlemen would compare the Taxes and the Methods of raising them in this Country, with the Taxes and Methods of raising them either in *France* or *Holland*, or any other Country of *Europe*, they will find that the Taxes in this Country are more burdensome upon Trade, and the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Country of *Europe*: Infomuch that, if it were not for the natural Advantage we enjoy by means of our Situation, and the many flourishing Plantations we have in the *West-Indies*, and for that artificial Advantage which has been handed down to us from our wise Ancestors, and which, I hope, we shall take Care to preserve, I mean the superior Excellence of our Constitution, Laws, and Customs; I say, if it were not for these Advantages, I am convinced our Trade would already have been entirely lost. These Advantages, especially our Plantations, and the great Exports and Imports we make to and from them, have hitherto preserved our Trade and our Manufactures; but our Plantations will at last fall upon Ways and Means to furnish themselves with foreign Manufactures, or with such as are worked up among themselves, if they find they can do it at a much cheaper Rate than they can have any such from us; and with respect to our Imports from thence, such as Sugars, Rum, Tobacco, Skins, and the like, we may continue for many Years to supply our Home Market with such Commodities from our own Plantations, by means of prohibitory Laws and high Duties upon foreign Commodities of the same Kind; but if our present high Rate of Interest and high Duties continue, and if the *French* continue to improve their Plantations for Years to come, as fast as they have done for these twenty Years past, I am afraid it may soon be put out of our Power to supply any foreign Market with any even of those Commodities; and if all foreign Markets should be shut up against us, both with respect to our Home Manufactures and with respect to the Produce of our Plantations, our Luxury must either greatly diminish, or we should soon have no Occasion to be afraid of Foreigners drawing our Money away from us, by the Sale of their Property in our Funds; for if they could sell that Property for any Price, which is much to be questioned, they would find no Money in the Kingdom to draw out of it, they would be obliged to take and export our Corn, Cattle, Tin, Lead, or Wool, in lieu of the Property they had so disposed of.

That the Dearness of Provisions, and consequently of Labour, in this Kingdom, does not proceed from Money being more plenty in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, is evident, Sir, from the natural Rate of Interest between Man and Man being higher in this Country than in either of the other two; and the Dearness of Provisions and Labour, in and about *London*, does not so much proceed from a greater Plenty of Money in and about *London*, as from their Taxes being more numerous, and more heavy, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; for all Taxes are more strictly raised

raised in and about *London* than in any other Part of the Kingdom; and the Inhabitants in and about *London*, even those of the poorest Sort, are subject to two most grievous Taxes, which almost every other Part of the Kingdom is free from: I mean the Tax upon Coals, and upon Ale-Houses by Virtue of the Pot-Act, both which fall extremely heavy upon the poor Labourer and Manufacturer, and must necessarily make both Provisions and Labour much dearer in and about *London*, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; therefore, I hope, these two Taxes will be among the first to be taken off: For I must think the Manufacturers and Labourers in and about *London*, if they are not put upon an equal Footing with their foreign Neighbours, ought at least to be put upon an equal Footing with their domestic Neighbours, especially considering that they will be the greatest Sufferers by the Reduction of the Interest payable upon our public Funds. But there is another strong Reason for making Labour as cheap as possible in and about *London*, because there are many Sorts of Manufactures which cannot so conveniently be carried on in any Part of the Kingdom as in or near *London*, and all Ships which carry out a Cargo consisting of a great Variety of Sorts of Goods, properly sorted for the foreign Market to which they are bound, must take their Cargo and Departure generally from *London*; so that a great Part of our foreign Trade, as long as we have any, must always depend upon our Exports from the Port of *London*; and many of our homeward bound Ships must come to unload the whole, or a Part of their Cargo at *London*, before they can return to the Port from whence they set out: For which Reason we ought, if possible, to render the Price of Provisions, and consequently the Price of Labour, as cheap at *London* as it is in any Part of this Kingdom, or in any trading Country in *Europe*; at least, I am sure, we ought neither to impose nor continue any Tax which must necessarily enhance the Price both of the one and the other.

After having thus shewn the necessary and the fatal Consequences of Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, or upon the original Materials proper for any Manufacture, I am convinced every Gentleman that hears me will be of Opinion, that as soon as the Interest payable upon our public Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* we ought to annihilate some Part of the Sinking-Fund, by abolishing some of the heavy Taxes that oppress our poor Labourers and Manufacturers; for that we have some such cannot I think be questioned, after what his present Majesty was pleased to recommend to us from the Throne but a few Years since. And in order

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

to convince all those without Doors that this is our real Intention, we ought, I think, immediately to come to some such Resolution; because it will not only contribute towards the Success of the Scheme we have just now agreed to, but it will likewise contribute towards preventing some of our Workmen from going Abroad, who are now perhaps making Preparations for that Purpose, and towards prevailing with some Masters of Manufactures to continue in their Business, who are now perhaps, through Despair, resolving to give it up. When our money'd Men and other Stockholders see a solemn Resolution of Parliament for abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, and when they consider the great Benefit that may accrue therefrom to our Trade, and the great Relief it will afford to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, if they have the least Regard for their Country, they will certainly contribute with the more Alacrity towards the Success of a Scheme, from which so many public Benefits may be reasonably expected; and even the most selfish Stockholders will find in such a Resolution this Comfort, that if their Revenue be diminished by the Reduction of Interest, their Loss will be in some Measure compensated by the Diminution of their Expence, which will be the necessary Consequence of abolishing any of our heavy Taxes, not only with regard to those Commodities which are discharged of the Tax, but with regard to all other Sorts of Commodities; for a Tax upon any one of the Necessaries of Life must enhance the Price, not only of all the other Necessaries of Life, but likewise of all those Things that are proper either for the Conveniency or the Luxury of Life. Therefore, the abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes must necessarily lessen the future Expence of every Family in the Kingdom, especially about *London*, where all Taxes are most strictly raised, and most severely felt; and consequently a Resolution for that Purpose must naturally tend towards making every Man contribute, with the more Alacrity, to the Success of the Scheme we have now agreed to.

Such a Resolution, Sir, will not only contribute to the Success of the Scheme without Doors, but it will likewise contribute greatly to its Success within Doors; for I must confess, I should myself be very indifferent about its Success, either within Doors or without, if I did not think that the abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes would be the necessary Consequence of the reducing the Interest payable upon the public Funds: If the People were to receive no Benefit by such Reduction, if I thought the only Advantage to be reaped thereby, would be the Increase of the Sinking-Fund,

Fund, I should be very little anxious about the Success of the Scheme; because I am now fully convinced, That Fund will never be religiously and regularly applied to the Uses for which it was intended; but will always serve as a Fund for leading the Nation into expensive and unnecessary Projects or Measures; and may hereafter be made use of for rendering successful the most wicked Purposes an ambitious Prince or a guilty Minister can invent or contrive. For this Reason, I am sure there are many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, who will be much more sanguine for the passing of the Bill now ordered to be brought in, than they would otherwise be, if they are assured that the Reduction of Interest will be attended with a Diminution of Taxes; and nothing can contribute more towards giving Gentlemen such an Assurance, than a previous Resolution of this House, that as soon as the Interest is reduced, some of our most burdensome Taxes will be abolished; therefore, whatever Gentlemen may pretend, whatever their outward Professions may be, I shall not easily believe they are really and in their Hearts for passing the Bill we have ordered to be brought in, if they are against the Motion I am now to make.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



In the Debate, Sir, upon the Resolution of the Committee, it was, I think, made fully appear, that a Reduction of Interest would be a great Advantage to the Nation in general; and as these Resolutions have been agreed to by the House, I must conclude the Majority are of the same Opinion; yet such is the Selfishness of some Men without Doors, who are great Stockholders, and who consequently will be great Losers by what has been agreed to within Doors, that they will not be, or will pretend they are not convinced of what I think is evident at first View. They not only endeavour to convince themselves, but they endeavour to convince others, that the Nation will be no way benefited by what we have resolved on, but that on the contrary most Tradesmen and Artificers will be Losers; and the chief, nay the only Argument they make use of, or indeed can make use of, is, That we have no Design to abolish any of the Taxes, but only to increase the Sinking-Fund; Thus, say they to Tradesmen and Artificers, you will be no Gainers by this Scheme, because you must pay the same Taxes you did before; and as our Revenue is to be lessened, we must contract our Expence, we cannot lay out so much Money with you as we did before, so that you will be Losers, instead of being Gainers by the Reduction of Interest. This, Sir, is their Argument, and by means of this Argument they may raise up a Spirit of Discontent among the People;

Ann 10. *Geo.*
II. 1736-7.



People; for it is not easy to persuade the Generality of Mankind of the Advantages they may reap by the Reduction of Interest, unless they be made to feel some immediate Advantage by the abolishing of Taxes; therefore to evade this Argument, and to obviate the pernicious Designs of such selfish Men, we ought now to come to a Resolution, that as soon as the Reduction of Interest takes Place, some of the most heavy Taxes shall certainly be taken off. It will then be easy for any Man, who is a Friend to the Scheme, or to his Country, to shew to every Tradesman, Shopkeeper, and Labourer, that he must necessarily be a Gainer by the Reduction of Interest; and this will of course reconcile great Numbers of People to the intended Reduction of Interest, and to his Majesty's Government; at least it will put it out of the Power of those who, from selfish Views, are Enemies to both, to raise any popular Discontent against either the one or the other.

From this Observation, Sir, I must beg Leave to say, that no Man, who is a real Friend to the Scheme, and to his Majesty and his Government, can, in my Opinion, be against our agreeing to such a Resolution as I have mentioned; for, however much the Affections and good Opinion of the Populace may be despised by some Men, and tho' I do not think a Popularity should be courted by unjustifiable Means, or by mean and imprudent Compliances, yet I think the Love of the People in general is what every Government, and every private Man, ought to endeavour to obtain, and therefore, when we see the People misled, or attempted to be misled, we ought to take all possible Measures to undeceive them, or to prevent their being deceived by selfish and designing Men. However, Sir, when I say this, I would not have it thought, that I look upon the Revilings or the Applauses of a mercenary Mob, a Mob headed by Clerks of the *Treasury* and other such mercenary Creatures, to be any Testimony either of the Hatred, or the Affections of the People; for such Creatures I must always look on as Enemies to the People, and shall always be proud of meriting their Resentment.

I think, Sir, I need not add any thing further for shewing the Reasonableness and the Necessity of the Resolution I have mentioned; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, to resolve, That this House will, as soon, &c. (as before mentioned.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, *viz.*

S I R,


I shall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Motion, that Taxes upon the Necessaries or
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Conveniencies of Life must increase the Price of Labour, and that it would be a great Advantage to the Trade of this Country, and a great Relief to the People, if we could abolish some of our most heavy Taxes; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; and much less can I agree with him, that it is either proper or necessary for us to come to any immediate Resolution, to abolish some of our most heavy Taxes, as soon as the Interest of all the national redeemable Debt shall be reduced to 3 *per Cent. per Annum*. I wish the Hon. Gentleman had been at some more Pains to shew us how the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; for these are Facts which, I think, deserve some Proof, and if any such Thing had been attempted, some Methods might have been found for shewing wherein he was mistaken; for to a simple Averment of a Fact, without one Proof or one Argument for enforcing the Belief of it, no Answer can be made but a contrary Averment; and in this, with respect to *France* at least, I am sure I may be justified; for all their Taxes are not only imposed but raised in an arbitrary Manner, and as most of their Taxes are farmed by Merchants and Dealers, their People are not only loaded with the Tax, but oppressed with a Monopoly, which those Farmers have generally the Address to get into their own Hands, by means of the Privileges they enjoy, as Farmers of that particular Branch of the Revenue. In *Holland*, indeed, the peculiar Nature of their Country makes it more easy for them to raise their Taxes, than it is possible for us to raise any Tax we can impose; but in the main their Taxes are much heavier upon the Necessaries of Life, and consequently more burdensome to Trade, than they are in any Part of this Country, not excepting the City of *London* itself; where the Taxes, I shall grant, are more strictly raised, and are more numerous, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but this does not proceed from any Partiality towards the rest of the Kingdom: It proceeds from the Nature of Things, which renders it impossible to raise the Taxes so strictly, or to impose so many, in any other Part of the Kingdom, as in *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and this Disadvantage is fully made good to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, by its being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



the Center, as it were, of all the Trade and public Business within the *British* Dominions.

With regard to *France* and *Holland* therefore, I must think, Sir, and it has been the general Opinion, that the Subjects of each are more loaded and more oppressed with Taxes and Excises, than the People of this Kingdom; and with regard to any other Country of *Europe*, they may not perhaps have so many or so large Taxes as we have, because their People in general are not near so rich; but in each of them their Taxes are more heavy, in proportion to their Riches, than in this Country, and their Method of raising Taxes is more arbitrary and more oppressive; from whence I must conclude, our Taxes can give no Country in *Europe* an Advantage over us in Trade, nor can the Price of Labour, or the Wages of their Servants or Workmen, be cheaper than it is here; at least, if it is, that Cheapness must proceed from their not having so great a Plenty of Money, or from their Workmen and Servants being more frugal and industrious, by which they are enabled to live upon less Wages. Nevertheless, I shall grant, the abolishing of some of our most heavy Taxes would be a great Benefit to the Nation, and a great Encouragement to our Trade, because it would give us a great additional Advantage in Trade, over every one of our Neighbours; therefore I wish with all my Heart it could be done, but in our present Circumstances I do not think it possible, or at least not consistent with the present and future Happiness of the Nation; for our Government must be supported, and not only the Interest of our public Debts must be regularly paid, but a Part of the Principal must be yearly discharged, in order that we may at last get free of our Debt as well as of most of our Taxes. If we abolish any of our Taxes before our Debts are paid off, we must remain longer in Debt, and consequently must remain longer under those Taxes that are left unabolished; so that the only Difference is, whether we shall remain under two Taxes of equal Value for 20 Years, or under one of these Taxes only for 40 Years? Which is a Question that in my Opinion is very doubtful, and requires a very mature Consideration. However, suppose I were to admit that some of our Taxes ought to be taken off, as soon as the Interest payable upon our public Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* suppose I were to admit that it would be better for the Nation to remain 40 Years under a Tax of 100,000 *l.* yearly, than to remain but 20 Years under two Taxes of 100,000 *l.* yearly each; yet I cannot admit that it is either necessary or proper for
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this House, upon the present Occasion, to come to any such Resolution as has been proposed.


Anno 10. Geo:

II. 1736-7.

Every one knows, Sir, and the Gentleman who moved you this Question is very sensible, that no Parliament has any Power or Authority over a future Parliament, nor can the Resolution of one Session be a Tye or Obligation upon any succeeding Session. The Event which the Resolution proposed relates to, is an Event which cannot possibly happen during this Session: It is impossible to suppose that during this Session the Interest upon all our public Funds can be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* therefore our resolving what shall be done when that Event happens, is undertaking for a future Session, which we have no Power over, nor can pretend to prescribe to. For this Reason, if the Intention of the Resolution be to encourage our public Creditors to come in and subscribe their respective Debts at 3 *per Cent.* I must beg leave to say it is in some measure a sort of fraudulent Intention, because it is offering them a Consideration which we have no Power to offer; it is making them a Promise which we cannot fulfil, nor oblige any succeeding Session to fulfil; and I hope this House will always be so careful of its Honour, as never to come to any Resolution or Determination, that may bear the least Imputation of being any way fraudulent or deceitful.

But suppose, Sir, we had a Power to resolve or determine what shall be done by any future Session, yet upon the present Occasion we ought to avoid coming to any such Resolution or Determination, as what is now proposed; because it will be looked on as a sort of threatening. It is a sort of public Declaration that the Nation shall never be freed from any of its Taxes, till the public Creditors agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for the Money due to them, but that it shall be freed from some of its most heavy Taxes, as soon as they agree to accept of that Interest. By such a Declaration, what an unlucky Circumstance shall we put all our Creditors in! They must give up a fourth Part of their Revenue, which many of them can very ill spare, they must accept of a lower Interest for their Money than any other Man in the Kingdom has, or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the People in general; for upon their Refusal every Man in the Kingdom would look upon them as the Cause of all the Taxes he pays, and every unfortunate Man would look upon them as the Authors of his Misery. Nor does it signify any thing to say, that those who do not chuse to accept of, or cannot live upon 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, may sell out and employ their Money where they best can; for if many of them should

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




resolve to sell out, it would soon bring the Price of every one of our Funds below Par, and then they would be reduced to the hard Necessity of losing a Part of their Capital, or of taking such an Interest as the Public should be pleased to give them. After such a public Declaration therefore, most of those who are now the Creditors of the Public, must necessarily remain so, and if they do, they must either accept of 3 *per Cent.* or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the whole Nation, which is a Circumstance no wise Man would chuse; and for this Reason I must look upon the Resolution proposed, as a sort of threatening and frightening our Creditors into the accepting of 3 *per Cent.* which is a sort of Treatment I shall never, for any Consideration, agree to.

This, Sir, is a Method of treating our public Creditors, which I hope we shall never have the least Occasion for; and in order to prevent the Nation's being of Opinion that they can never be freed from Taxes, unless the Interest upon all our public Funds be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and consequently to prevent any public Creditor from incurring the Resentment of the People for refusing to accept of that Interest, I must beg Leave to put you in Mind, that tho' the Interest of our public Funds be never reduced below what it is at present, yet if our Taxes be continued, and the Sinking-Fund regularly applied, the People may be freed from all their Taxes, except such as are necessary for the current Service, in about 24 Years, supposing our Debts to be 48 Millions, and the annual Amount of the Sinking-Fund to be 1,200,000 *l.* And that if it should be thought for the Benefit of the Nation to abolish some of our heavy Taxes, before our Debts be wholly paid off, we may now do it without any Reduction of Interest, and yet leave a very considerable Sinking-Fund remaining for the Payment of a Part of our Debts yearly: Nay, all the Advantage we can expect by the great Reduction proposed, is only an Addition of about 400,000 *l.* a Year to the Sinking-Fund, and that Addition we shall acquire in less than 8 Years, without any Reduction of Interest, or threatening our public Creditors with the public Resentment; so that in less than 8 Years Time we shall be in as good a Condition for abolishing Taxes, and may abolish as many of them, without any such Reduction, as we can do at present, supposing such a Reduction were already brought about: From all which I must conclude, that, with respect to the abolishing of Taxes, it is no Matter of any great Moment to the People, whether the Reduction takes Place or not.

I shall readily grant, Sir, that the Reducing of the Interest

rest upon our Funds from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* would be a considerable Saving to the Public; but to pretend that the abolishing of Taxes equal in Value to that Reduction, would be a Compensation to the public Creditors for the Loss of one fourth Part of their yearly Revenue, is what I am not a little surprized at; for the abolishing of the Duties upon Candles and Soap would amount almost to the full Value of what we could save by the Reduction; and to pretend that the saving of 1*d.* a Pound upon Candles, and Three-halfpence a Pound upon Soap, would be a Compensation to a Man who loses 100*l.* a Year or more by the Reduction, is something very extraordinary. But suppose I should admit that the Saving in one Way would be a Compensation for the Loss in the other, that Compensation is what we have no Power to promise, and therefore we ought not to propose it as an Inducement for any of our Creditors to accept of 3 *per Cent.* nor ought we by any Resolution to give them Hopes of its being a Compensation they will certainly meet with; for I am sure, in private Life, it would not be reckoned very honourable for a Man to promise, or so much as insinuate, a Reward or Compensation, which he had no Power to give; and as in all our Proceedings we have been, so I hope we always shall be as jealous of our Honour, as any private Man can or ought to be.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



For this Reason, Sir, we ought not to make any such Promise, or propose any such Compensation, even tho' the People without Doors were so far mistaken about the Power of Parliament, as to imagine the Resolutions of one Session were binding upon every succeeding Session; but as the People without Doors are fully apprized of the Extent of our Power, as it is generally known without Doors, as well as within, that no Resolution of this Session, can lay an indispensable Obligation upon any future Session therefore we cannot expect that the Resolution now proposed, or any such Resolution, can any way contribute to the Revival of our Trade, the Success of the Scheme now before us, or the rendering the People better, or more generally well affected towards his Majesty and his Government, than they are at present. On the contrary, I believe it would have a quite contrary Effect, with regard to every one of these three Purposes; because it would give the People without Doors a mean Opinion of our Proceedings, and the Enemies to the Scheme would not fail to represent such a Resolution in the most ridiculous Light.

From hence, Sir, I must beg leave to differ so far from the Hon. Gentleman, as to think, that no Gentleman, who

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736 7. is a real Friend to our Trade, or to the Scheme, or to his Majesty and his Government, will be for agreeing to the Resolution proposed: I am sure, if the Hon. Gentleman view'd it in the same Light I do, he would never have offered it to the House: And I must say, I have the Pleasure to think, that neither of the Ends proposed stands in need of any such Resolution. Our Trade is now, I believe, in as flourishing a Condition as ever it was; therefore, tho' it might perhaps be increased by an actual Discharge from some of our Taxes, yet it could not be said to be revived even by the Discharge itself, and much less by an insignificant Resolution for that Purpose. Then as to the Success of the Scheme, if the natural Interest of Money upon public Securities be at 3 *per Cent.* it will take Effect of itself, without any such Resolution; and if the natural Interest of Money be at 4, I am convinced no Gentleman of this House would desire to make use of Threats, or empty Promises, in order to induce the public Creditors to accept of 3. And lastly, as to the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government, I hope they are already so well and so generally established by the Wisdom and Justice of his Majesty's Conduct, that they stand in no need of a Support from any Resolution of Parliament: I am sure every Gentleman of this House would be sorry to think they depend upon such a precarious Foundation as the Resolution now before us, which may be rendered abortive, not only by the Disappointment of the Scheme, but by the next Session's not being of the same Opinion with the present.

I shall conclude, Sir, with observing, that Gentlemen are generally too fond of their own Schemes: Our Schemes are like our Children; we often conceive much greater and more certain Hopes of their Success, than can reasonably be expected. For my Part, as the Scheme is none of mine, as I had no Share in its Conception, I am so far from being certain of its Success, that I am not a little suspicious of our meeting with a Disappointment; therefore, I must think our agreeing to the Resolution now before us, would be a sort of Reckoning without one's Host: I must think it will be Time enough for us to come to a Resolution to abolish some of our Taxes, when we see the Scheme has taken Effect; for if we should now come to such a previous Resolution, and the Scheme should afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole World would laugh at our Precipitancy; for which Reason I shall give my Negative to the Question."

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

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SIR,

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.

" I am a good deal surprized to hear it said, that no Proofs or Arguments have been offered for shewing that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries. This, I say, I am a good deal surprized at, considering how many clear Proofs and solid Arguments were laid before us in the Committee on the national Debt, for evincing a melancholy Fact; which happened so lately, that I am sure they cannot have slipt out of any Gentleman's Memory, and therefore I shall not give you the Trouble of repeating them. But I cannot comprehend what the Honourable Gentleman means by Excises in *Holland* or *France*, for I never heard of a *Gauger* or *Exciseman* in either of those Countries; and upon Enquiry, I believe, it will appear, that none of their Taxes are levied in that Manner. As for the Farmers in *France*, I do not see how they can set up any Monopoly; because they are often changing; and as every Dealer knows what Duty he is to pay upon any Commodity he has a Mind to deal in, the Farmers can hinder no Man from dealing in what he pleases, and consequently can set up no oppressive Monopoly: Besides, as the Farmers are always they who offer the most Money, they cannot always be either Ministers or the Creatures of Ministers, and therefore would certainly be called to Account, if they should concert Measures for oppressing the People.

Our Traveliers, Sir, who make but very superficial Enquiries into the Manners or Customs of any Country they pass through, may perhaps imagine the People in *France* or *Holland* are more heavily, or more oppressively taxed, than the People of this Kingdom, because they hear the People complain there as well as they do here; but any Gentleman who understands these Things, and has made a proper Enquiry, may soon be convinced of the contrary; and as for the other Countries of *Europe*, they have not, 'tis true, such Numbers of rich Merchants, Masters of Manufactures, and Master Tradesmen as we have in this Country, which is the Reason that many of their Poor live in Idleness, or starve for mere Want, because there are few or no rich Merchants or Masters in the Country, that have Money to employ them; but in all Countries, where the Poor have any Employment, they are pretty near equally poor; they neither get nor expect more than a comfortable Subsistence by their Labour, and if you enhance the Means of that Subsistence, by Taxes upon the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life, their Masters must increase their Wages;

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

so that all Taxes fall at last upon the Masters, foreign or domestic, who must pay for that Increase of Wages in the Price of Goods they purchase; but the Difference is, that a Tax laid directly upon the Master, only prevents his growing rich so fast, or makes him live less luxuriously, but does not enhance the Price of your Manufactures; whereas a Tax laid upon those Things, that are necessary for the Support of the Poor, enhances the Price of Labour, and consequently raises the Price of all your Manufactures both for domestic and foreign Sale, which at last ruins your Trade. Therefore, if the Poor of this Kingdom be more heavily taxed than the Poor in any other Country of *Europe*, it is what ought to be remedied as soon as possible; it is what will give that Country a great Advantage over us, if they should ever begin to apply themselves to Trade, which every Country of *Europe* is now aiming at as much as they can.

As for the City of *London*, Sir, it is indeed, the Centre of all Business in our Dominions, therefore, it may be called the Heart of our Trade; and I am sure, if our Trade has an Oppression at the Heart, it cannot be expected it will thrive in any Part of the Body. I am far from thinking it a good Reason, why the Inhabitants of *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality, should be taxed more heavily than any other Part of the Kingdom, because they can bear it; for I think no Part of the Kingdom should be taxed, at least in Time of Peace, near so heavily as they can bear. As we have in *London* great Numbers of idle and extravagant People every Year crowding in upon us from all Parts of the Country, for the Sake of Business, Preferment, or Pleasure, this Concourse must necessarily enhance the Price of Provisions upon the Laborious and Industrious, which is a Disadvantage at least equal to any Advantage they may reap from their City's being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Centre of all Trade and public Business: But if it should be thought proper to lay heavier Taxes upon the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, those additional Taxes ought to be laid upon the Luxuries and Pleasures of Life, and not upon the Food and Raiment of the Poor, such as Leather, Salt, and common Beer; nor upon those Things that are necessary for working up every Sort of Manufacture, such as Coals, Soap, and Candles.

I am sorry, Sir, to hear it said in this House, that our People are more idle and extravagant than the People of any neighbouring Country; and I am still more sorry to say, that I am afraid there is too much Ground for such a
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national Reflection; but that very Idleness and Extravagance has been introduced among our People by the Multitude of Taxes they groan under; for the Levying of those Taxes has created such a great Number of small Posts and idle Employments, that vast Numbers of our Tradesmen and Dealers spend their Time idly and extravagantly, in Hopes of obtaining one of these Posts or Employments; and our People every Day see such Numbers of idle and extravagant Fellows well provided for, by Means of these Posts and Employments, that the Spirit of Idleness and Extravagance becomes every Day more universal; for as such Fellows are generally what we, in Imitation of the *French*, call boon Companions, they are mighty useful Men in those Affairs, which most certainly entitle a Man to a Post or Employment; so that after they have ruined themselves by their Idleness and Extravagance, their Neighbours see them better provided for, and enabled to live more handsomely, than ever they did before, or could ever expect to live by honest Industry or useful Labour: This encourages Hundreds to follow their Example, and makes the Distemper spread like a Plague over the whole Kingdom; whereas, if Beggary and Starving were the certain Consequences of Idleness and Extravagance, every such Fellow would be an Example and a Terror to his Neighbours, which would frighten most of them from following any such Courses. Perhaps, Sir, some Gentleman that hears me, may look upon this as an ill-grounded Speculation; but in Confirmation of what I say, if I am rightly informed, there is now a little Borough in a Northern County, not very far distant from *London*, in which I am told, there is hardly one thriving Merchant, Tradesman, or Shopkeeper, to be met with; for so many of them have already been provided for by means of some public Post or Employment, that all the rest expect the same good Fortune, and every one, by living idle or extravagantly, spends more than he gets by his Business, in Hopes of being soon provided for in another Way.

Thus, Sir, we see that, with respect to our Trade, our Taxes are like a two-edged Sword, they cut both Ways, they not only enhance the Price of Labour, but they diminish the Number of our Labourers; and when we see this, supposing the Taxes in this Kingdom to be no more burdensome upon Trade, nor the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than the Taxes in any other Country of *Europe*, can we make it a Question, whether or no we ought to take the first Opportunity for abolishing some of them? But when it has been
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Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo. made appear, as it was, I think to a Demonstration, in the
II. 1736-7. Committee, whose Report we have just now agreed to, that
 our Taxes, and our Methods of raising our Taxes, are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient to the Merchant and Dealer, than either in *France* or *Holland*, ought we not to think and contrive all possible or feasible Methods for removing that Clog upon our Trade, and for putting our People upon an equal Footing at least with any of our Neighbours, especially with those who are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power? The Question is not now, whether we shall remain under one Tax of 100,000 *l.* a Year for 40 Years, or under two Taxes of 100,000 *l.* a Year each, for 20 Years? The Question is, Whether we shall preserve our Trade or no? If we continue under the two Taxes, our Trade will be ruined before the 20 Years are near expired; which will diminish the Produce of each, and may perhaps render it impossible for us ever to get free of either: If we abolish one, we must, 'tis true, continue longer under the other; but then we shall preserve our Trade, perhaps improve it, which may make the Produce of that one equal perhaps to the present Produce of the two; in which Case we shall get free from that one, perhaps as soon as if we had continued under both. This, Sir, is the Difference, this is the Question, and this Question can admit of no Dispute. If our People continue subject to all the Taxes they now pay for 24 Years to come, our Trade will certainly be undone, and what is worse, the greatest Part of it will be transferred to our natural Enemies, which will add to their Power at the same time it diminishes ours; whereas, if we abolish a great Part of our Taxes, or the heaviest of them, we shall preserve our Trade, and may get free of our Debts much sooner; for if we should lose our Trade, we could never get free of our Debts, it would become impossible for us to pay them. Therefore, I hope it will never be made a Question in this House, Whether or no we shall abolish some of our heaviest Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our redeemable Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.*

If this, Sir, can never be made a Question, what Harm is there in our coming to a Resolution, that that shall be done, which every Man agrees ought to be done? That one Session may engage for another, is a Maxim which I am surprized to hear controverted by those, who have so often proposed to and prevailed with, one Session to engage for another. What! are all our Votes of Credit but one Session's engaging for another? And I am sure there was never one of them that could be called so just or so necessary an Engagement,

gement, as what is now proposed. I know, Sir, that one Parliament cannot by any Resolution, no not even by Act of Parliament, legally bind another; for no Act can be passed by one Parliament, but what may be repealed by another; at least no Man can legally question their Power: But will any Man say, that a future Parliament may not in Justice and Honour be bound by a former? Does not the Security our public Creditors have for their respective Debts depend upon this Maxim only? We must therefore grant, that the Acts or Resolutions of any one Session, by which foreign States, or private Men, Natives or Foreigners, are induced to lend Money, or conclude any Transaction, to or with our Government, are in Justice and Honour binding upon every future Session; and that no future Parliament can repeal such Acts, or do any Thing contrary to such Resolutions, so as to injure any of the Parties contracting upon the Authority of those Acts or Resolutions. From such Engagements nothing can set us free but that supreme Law, the Safety of the People. For this very Reason, I am for agreeing to the Resolution now proposed, in order that we may bind future Parliaments as much as we can, and in a Manner oblige them to abolish some of our Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* by making it appear upon our Journals, that the Abolishing some of our Taxes was the Condition upon which our Creditors agreed, and the Consideration which induced them to agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* Interest.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

‘Has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Advantage arising from abolishing our Taxes upon Soap and Candles, or any other Commodity, will be a full Recompence to every one of our Creditors for the Loss he may sustain by the Reduction of Interest? No, Sir; no such Pretence has been set up by any Gentleman within these Walls: The principal Recompence our Creditors are to expect, arises from the Advantage which will accrue from such an Abolition to the Generality of the Nation; and to every one of them, who has any Regard for his Country, this will of itself appear to be a full Recompence. But to talk in the most selfish and most mercenary Manner, the Abolishing of the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, will be a full, or very near a full Compensation to all our public Creditors who have not above 1000 *l.* Stock, and have Families to maintain or provide for; because the Duties upon Soap and Candles have raised their Price at least double the Value of the Duties; therefore the Taking off of those Duties will be a Saving of 2 *d.* a Pound upon Candles, and 3 *d.* a Pound upon Soap for every Pound a Man buys, or that is


Anno 10 Geo.
11 1736-7.



bought for his Account; which will not only be an immediate Saving in the Expence of his Family, but will diminish the Price of almost every Thing he is obliged to purchase for the Use of his Family. Our Stockholders therefore, who have but 1000 *l.* or under, and have Families to maintain, can be no Losers by the Reduction of Interest, if all the Taxes mentioned in the former Debate should be taken off; and such Stockholders are, I think, the only Persons, who have or deserve any Share of our Compassion.

As for the Argument made use of against the Resolution, That it will appear to be fraudulent or deceitful, I think, Sir, I have already fully answered it, by shewing we have a Power to promise such a Compensation or Consideration, and that future Parliaments will be bound in Honour and Justice to make good that Promise; and to pretend, that the Resolution implies a sort of Threatening the public Creditors with national Resentment, is an Argument that, in my Way of Thinking, can proceed from nothing but a most contemptible Opinion of the Knowledge and Understanding of most Men in the Nation. Does not every Man of common Understanding know, that the greatest Part of the Taxes he pays, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, goes towards the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts? And can any such Man suppose, that he will get free from any Part of those Taxes till we get free of a great Part of that Debt, or at least of some Part of the Interest payable upon that Debt? The Resolution therefore can bring no Resentment upon our public Creditors, because it communicates nothing to the People but what they were before fully apprized of. We may, 'tis true, annihilate the whole Sinking-Fund, if we please, by abolishing several of our Taxes, and remain subject for ever to the same Debt we now owe, and the same Interest we now pay; but will any Gentleman say we ought to do so; or that it is consistent with the public Good to do so? It is, in my Opinion, so far otherwise, that I should not be for annihilating any Part of our Sinking-Fund, or abolishing any of our Taxes, before a total Discharge from our Debts, if the present unlucky Circumstances of our Trade did not necessarily require it; because every Shilling paid for Interest is so much absolutely lost to the Nation, being a sort of Expence from which the Nation never did, nor ever can reap any Benefit; but as this Loss will not be so grievous to the Nation, when the Interest is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as when it stands at 4, therefore we may then, for the Sake of our Trade, annihilate a Part of the Sinking-Fund, tho' we cannot in common Prudence, even for the
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Sake of our Trade, do any such Thing, while the Interest continues at 4 *per Cent.*—But suppose, Sir, it were consistent with the public Good, to abolish some of our Taxes, and thereby annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, before the Reduction of Interest, 'tis certain we could not then for several Years be in so good a Condition for reducing the Interest payable upon our public Funds, as we are at present; which is a strong additional Argument for not attempting any such Thing till that Interest be reduced; and 'tis likewise certain, we cannot now reduce so many of our Taxes, and leave so large a Sinking-Fund remaining, as we might do, if the Interest upon our Funds were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* In the former Case, if we should abolish the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, we should reduce the Sinking-Fund to 800,000 *l. per Annum*, whereas in the latter, we may abolish not only the Duties upon Soap and Candles, but likewise the Duties on Coals, the Duty on Leather or Hides, and the late Tax on the Victuallers in *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, and yet leave very near the same yearly Sum remaining for the Sinking-Fund.

Anno 10. Goe.
11. 1736-7.


Thus, Sir, we see there is a very material Difference between what we may do as Interest stands at present, and what we might do if Interest were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* but to say we shall be in as good a Condition 8 Years hence to abolish some of our Taxes, tho' Interest should stand for all that Time at 4 *per Cent.* as we should be at present if it were reduced to 3, is something very extraordinary. Surely, Gentlemen who talk so, do not consider, what a vast Sum the People of this Nation would save in 8 Years Time, by the immediate Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year. In the former Debate, it was computed, that the gross Produce of our Taxes, which is the Sum raised yearly upon the People, is near double the nett Produce coming into the Exchequer; and the Accounts lying upon our Table will justify this Computation: Then to this if we add the Loss People are at, by the advanced Price of the Commodity, upon which the Duty is laid, which, with respect to small Duties, is in many Cases near double the Duty; I am sure I may reckon that, by the Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year, the People of this Nation will save in their yearly Expence at least 1,200,000 *l.* a Year; and an Annuity of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year for 8 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Interest, amounts to above eleven Millions, which is a Saving, I think, deserves to be regarded by every Gentleman who has a Sense of the Sufferings of the People. Besides this Advantage which the People will reap by an

Anno. 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

immediate Reduction of Interest and Abolition of Taxes, 'tis more than probable our Taxes will not produce so much yearly at the End of 8 Years, as they do at present, if Things should remain for that whole Time upon the present Footing ; because, if our Trade be upon the Decline, the People will not only be decreasing in their Number, but will be every Year growing poorer : In either of which Cases there will not be such a Consumpt of those Commodities upon which the Taxes are raised, which must necessarily diminish the Produce of each of them ; and if at the same Time, we should then be engaged in a War, the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund may happen to be worth little or nothing ; in which Case, we shall then be in no Condition either to reduce the Interest payable upon our public Funds, or to abolish any of our Taxes.

From what I have said, Sir, it will appear, that if the People continue under all their present Taxes for any Number of Years longer, it is probable they must continue under them for ever, or at least as long as they are able to pay them, and if that should be their unhappy Fate, we may expect they will not only shew a Resentment, but that it will at last break forth into Rage. However, it is evident that neither their Resentment nor their Rage will be owing to this Resolution, but to the Injuries and Oppressions they feel ; and if the public Creditors are entirely passive, if they are not active in concerting Measures, as has been threatned, for preventing the good Effects of the Scheme we have agreed to, the Resentment of the People will be no way directed against the Creditors, but against those who shall be found to have misapplied that Fund, which was appointed for paying them off, and for relieving the Nation from Taxes. The Consequences may, indeed, be fatal to the public Creditors, with regard to the Debt due to them ; because, if the Nation should by such Means be brought into Confusion, that Confusion may prevent its being ever in our Power to pay them any Part of their remaining Principal or future Interest ; but that Loss will arise not from the Scheme we have agreed to, nor from the Resolution proposed, but from the bad Success of both ; and this I hope every one of the public Creditors will take particular Notice of, and will therefore join heartily in promoting the Success of the Scheme, instead of concerting Measures for its Defeat.

As all the Arguments made use of for shewing that the Resolution now proposed, can neither contribute to the Revival or Support of our Trade, call it which you will, nor to the Success of the Scheme, nor to reconciling or preserving

serving the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government; I say, as all the Arguments made use of for this Purpose depend upon its not being in our Power to engage for, or bind any future Parliament, I have fully answered them already, by shewing that it is in our Power to bind a future Parliament, to the Abolishing of Taxes, as much as it is in our Power to bind them to the Paying of a Debt; and as the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes is really in itself a valuable Consideration, and sufficient for inducing our Creditors to come into the Scheme, I think we ought to agree to the Resolution, on Purpose that the World may see, that a future Parliament cannot in Honour and Justice refuse to abolish some of the Taxes, as soon as the Interest is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* because it would be a defrauding the public Creditors of the Consideration which was promised them, and which was the principal Inducement for their agreeing so unanimously to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



‘ With respect to the Scheme itself, Sir, it signifies nothing to me who was the Author of it; but if the Hon. Gentleman had no Share in its Conception, I am sure he or some of his Friends have added a very considerable Limb to it, and such a Limb too, that if any Miscarriage happens, it will certainly be owing to that Limb which they have added. If they had proposed no Improvement or Addition, if they had not in some Measure obliged Gentlemen to agree to what they proposed, I am convinced the Scheme as it was first offered would have had the wished-for Success; and if they think that what they have added will render it abortive, they are in the right to disown their being the Authors of the Scheme; but that will not prevent People’s imputing to them the whole Blame of the Miscarriage. However, as I think the Scheme, even as it stands now, may meet with Success, and as I think the Resolution now proposed to us will very much contribute to that Success, therefore I shall be for agreeing to it.”

The Debate being over, the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative by 200 to 142.

The principal Speakers in this Debate were, Sir *John Barnard*, *George Lyttelton*, Esq; *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; Mr. *Alderman Perry*, *William Pultney*, Esq; and *George Speke*, Esq; for the Motion; and *Thomas Winnington*, Esq; the Lord *Baltimore*, *Walter Plumer*, Esq; and Sir *Robert Walpole*, against it.

On *Friday* the 22d of *April*, Sir *John Barnard* presented to the House, according to their Order before mentioned, a Bill for redeeming all the public Funds redeemable by Law,

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.*



Law, which carry an Interest of 4 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, or converting of the same, with Consent of the Proprietors, into a less Interest of Annuity, not redeemable till after the Time therein to be mentioned; which was read a first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

On the 29th of the same Month, the said Bill was read a second Time; and a Motion being made for committing it, the same was opposed, upon which there ensued a long Debate.

In this Debate, all the Arguments for and against the Reduction were repeated and enforced; but as we have already given a full Account of most of them, we shall add nothing more upon that Subject. The other Part of the Debate related chiefly to some Informalities and Imperfections which were pretended to be found in the Bill, by those who were against its being committed; because they said they were such as could not be properly altered or amended in the Committee. On the other Hand, those who were for committing the Bill, insisted, there were no Informalities or Imperfections in the Bill, but what might easily be altered or amended in the Committee, with the Assistance of those Gentlemen concerned in the Treasury, who were to be supposed best acquainted with the Method of drawing up such Bills, and who, 'twas to be presumed, would give their Assistance to the Committee, tho' they had refused to give any Assistance or Advice to those Gentlemen who were ordered to draw it up. But as what was said upon this Subject cannot be well understood without a Copy of the Bill, which we have not Room for, therefore, we shall give no further Account of it. Only we must take Notice, That *Sir Robert Walpole*, in a Speech he made against the Question, spoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

*Sir Robert
Walpole.*

“ I know, Sir, it has been asserted without Doors, that the Honourable Gentleman who first mentioned this Scheme to the House, had several private Conversations with me upon the Subject, and that we had concerted and settled the Scheme between us, before he offered it to the House; but I shall declare, that he and I had never any private Conversation upon the Subject, nor had we ever any Concert about this Scheme or any other Scheme I know of; therefore, I can with great Confidence affirm, I had never any Hand in this Scheme, either in its original Formation, or in any Shape it has since appeared in:”

*Sir John
Barnard.*

Sir John Barnard stood up, and answered in Substance thus:

" I am very much obliged to the Honourable Gentleman, *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*
 Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the Imputation of having had any private Conversation with him, or of having ever had any Concert with him; and if he is afraid lest People should suspect his having had a Hand in the Scheme I proposed to you, I shall be equally just to him by declaring, I never had any private Conversation with him about it, nor did I so much as ask his Approbation or Consent to what I was to offer; but as to the Scheme as it now stands, every Gentleman that hears me, knows it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewise knows that the new Model, which is the Model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the Honourable Gentleman himself, it was at least offered by some of his Friends, and what they proposed was agreed to by other Gentlemen, in order that we might have their Assistance in carrying it through. Therefore the Scheme now before you cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all the Objections made to the Bill, are only to those Articles and Clauses of it, which relate to the Improvements and Additions made to my Scheme, by the Honourable Gentleman's Friends."

Upon this *John Howe, Esq;* stood up, and among other *John Howe, Esq;* Things, took Notice, " That the Scheme then before them seemed to be like a Bastard-Child that had several reputed Fathers, neither of whom would own it: For his Part, he said, he thought it a very hopeful Child, and therefore if no other Gentleman would take it as his own, he would; for he did not doubt of the Child's thriving, and if it did, it would be an Honour to its Parents."

The Speakers in this long Debate, were as follow, *viz.*

For committing the Bill, Sir *John Barnard*, Sir *Wilfred Lawson*, the Lord *Baltimore*, *John Howe, Esq;* Sir *Thomas Sanderfon*, Master of the Rolls, *Samuel Sandys, Esq;* Sir *William Windham*, Sir *Edward Bacon*.

Against committing the Bill, Sir *Robert Walpole*, Sir *Charles Wager*, *William Sloper, Esq;* Mr. Alderman *Heathcote*, *Robert Knight, Esq;* *Peter Burrel, Esq;* Colonel *Bladen*, *William Bowles, Esq;* *James Oglethorpe, Esq;* the Lord *Sundon*, and Sir *William Young*.

Upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative, which put an End to the Affair for last Session.

After the 11th of *March*, when the Motion for granting a Million to his Majesty towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea Company*, commonly called *Old South-Sea Annuities*, was agreed to, there was no remarkable Debate happened in the Committee of

Supply;

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Supply; nor was there any remarkable Debate happened upon any of the Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, except that relating to the Duty on Sweets, therefore we shall take no farther Notice of any other Resolution of that Committee; but as this Affair relating to the Duty on Sweets occasioned several long Debates, we shall give some Account of it. The first Time it was mentioned, was on *Monday* the 7th of *March*, when the proper Officer was ordered to lay before the House an Account of the nett Income into the Exchequer of the Duties on Sweets, for seven Years ended at *Michaelmas* then last, distinguishing each Year; which was accordingly presented the very next Day; and on *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, and the said Account having been referred to the said Committee, Sir *Robert Walpole* rose up, and after a short Speech, moved for the first Resolution relating to the Duty on Sweets, which, after a long Debate, was agreed to: Then the second Resolution relating to the same Affair was moved and agreed to; and the House having, upon the Report, agreed to both these Resolutions, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, which, after long Debates, was passed into a Law.

In these Debates, the Arguments for the Resolutions, and afterwards for the Bill, were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

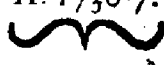
SIR,

By the Resolutions we have already come to, in the Committee of Supply, it will upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majesty, for the Service of the ensuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000 *l.* Now as the Land-Tax and the Malt-Tax which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000 *l.* there will be a Deficiency of near 400,000 *l.* which must be provided for, either by increasing some of the Taxes we have already, or by granting some new Tax, or by taking so much from the Sinking-Fund, or lastly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I shall presently explain to you. As for increasing any of the Taxes we have already, or imposing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of these Ways; because I do not think the People can well bear any additional or new Tax, and the attempting of any such Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of the People from our present happy Establishment, and may contribute towards increasing those Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been so frequent all over the

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the Kingdom: And as for the Sinking-Fund, the growing Produce thereof is already appropriated towards paying a Million to the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants; so that we cannot make good this Deficiency out of the growing Produce of that Fund, and I do not think it would be proper to mortgage any Part of the Sinking-Fund for this Purpose.


Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



‘ There is therefore, in my Opinion, no possible Way left for making good this Deficiency but that I have thought of, which is, not by increasing any present Tax, or imposing any new one, but by reducing an old Tax to one Third of what it is at present. This, Sir, may at first View seem to be a Paradox; but when I have explained myself, the Mystery will vanish, and every Gentleman will, I hope, approve of the Method I am to propose. Every one knows that, ever since the Year 1699, we have had a Duty of no less than 36 s. a Barrel, upon all Sweets made for Sale within this Kingdom, which is so high a Duty that it has in some measure entirely prevented the Making of any such Liquors for Sale; at least if any such have been made, the Makers have always found Means to evade the Law, and defraud the Public of the Duty, so that the Duty, as I have been told, has never produced any Thing considerable, and by the Accounts upon our Table it appears the present Produce amounts to little or nothing. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if there were a moderate Duty laid upon such Liquors, and the Nature of the Liquors subjected to the Duty fully explained in the Act for imposing it; I say, that in such a Case I am convinced, a very considerable Revenue would arise yearly from the Consumption of such Liquors; because, as the prime Cost is but small, if the Duty were tolerable, I believe there would hardly be an Ale-House in the Kingdom without great Variety of such Liquors; and if they were to be had at every Ale-House, I am persuaded great Quantities of them would be consumed, especially now that our People are debarred the Use of Spirituous Liquors in Drams or otherwise.

‘ It is not to be questioned, Sir, we already know it by Experience, that our putting an entire Stop to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, will be a great Hardship upon all those who formerly dealt in that Trade; and many of those who used to be their Customers and Consumers will likewise think it a Hardship to be debarred a moderate Use of such Liquors, in that Method they have from their Youth been accustomed to: Altho’ every sensible Man must be convinced, that the putting of this Hardship upon him was absolutely necessary for the public Good, and for pre-

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.




serving the Health and Morals of the People, yet we find there are great Numbers who are apt to murmur at this Regulation; and to prevent these Murmurs, I can think of no Expedient more proper than that of encouraging the Retail and Consumption of those Liquors called Sweets, which may be made to answer all the good Ends of Spirituous Liquors, without being attended with any of the fatal Consequences proceeding from an immoderate Use of such Liquors. This of itself would be a good Reason for diminishing the Duty payable upon those Liquors called Sweets, even tho' there were no Benefit to arise therefrom to the public Revenue, nor any Occasion for increasing that Revenue. But as there is an absolute Necessity for increasing the public Revenue, in order to answer those Supplies you have already granted; and as there is a great Probability that, by diminishing the Duty on Sweets to one Third of what it is at present, you will increase the public Revenue as much as is necessary for answering the present Occasion, I think no Gentleman can dispute the Reasonableness of making such a Diminution.

But, Sir, to add to the Weight of those Reasons I have already given, there is another Reason of great Weight with me for endeavouring to encourage the Consumption of Sweets, and consequently for diminishing the Duty now payable upon them, and that is, the great Quantity of Sugar made use of in the Consumption of such Liquors. I believe no Gentleman doubts but that the Consumption of Sugar will be diminished by the strict Prohibition of the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwise; and as our Sugar Trade will suffer by diminishing this Consumption, I should be glad this Loss were made good to the Sugar Trade, by encouraging and increasing the Consumption of those Liquors called Sweets, in the Composition of which, there is, I believe, more Sugar made use of than was ever used in the Composition of the like Quantity of that Liquor called Punch. To this I shall add, that, as most of the Materials made use of in the Composition of all Sorts of Sweets are the Growth and Manufacture of our own Dominions, and as a great Variety of such Liquors may very much diminish the Consumption of foreign Wines, therefore the increasing the Consumption of the former will not only be a great Encouragement and Advantage to the industrious Part of our own Subjects, but will likewise be an Advantage and Addition to our general Balance of Trade, by diminishing the Value of our Imports.

‘ From all which, Sir, I hope it will appear not only
proper

proper but necessary, that we should abolish the present Duty on Sweets, and instead thereof, lay on such a less Duty as to this House shall seem reasonable. With respect to the new Duty to be laid on, I shall not pretend to prescribe to the House, I shall only beg Leave to give my Reasons why I think 12 s. a Barrel will be a proper Duty. I believe every Gentleman will agree, that as long as we have a Duty upon Malt, and an Excise upon all Malt Liquors, there ought to be some Duty laid upon all other Liquors consumed within the Kingdom, whether they proceed from foreign or domestic Growth or Manufacture; because the Production of Barley and Malt is a Production we ought to encourage as much as any Home Production whatever: Therefore there ought certainly to be some Duty laid upon all Sweets consumed within the Kingdom; and in my Opinion that Duty ought to be higher than the Duties and Excises payable upon the like Quantity of any Sort of Malt Liquors; but not so high as may entirely prevent the Retail of any of those Liquors. If we consider and compute the Malt Duty, and the several Excises payable upon Beer and Ale, we may reckon that every Barrel of strong Beer or Ale pays between 5 and 6 s. a Barrel; and for the Encouragement of our Farmers, by increasing the Consumption of their Barley, I think we ought to make the Duty on Sweets at least double the Duty upon Malt Liquors; for which Reason I reckon 12 s. *per* Barrel is the least Duty we can propose to lay upon all Sweets, which shall hereafter be consumed within this Kingdom.

*Anno 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.*



This Duty, Sir, as it is but a very little above 4 d. a Gallon, cannot, I think, any way tend to discourage or diminish the Consumption of such Liquors, nor can it enhance the Price by Retail, so as to make our People prefer the Use of any foreign Liquor, to that of our Home-made Sweets, when they are skilfully prepared, and proper Care taken to make them palatable as well as healthful; for I am of Opinion that Sweets of all Kinds may be made as palatable and as healthful as any Sort of Punch; and considering that the Consumers must pay for every Gallon even of Rum-Punch at least 4 s. 4 d. Duty, I cannot but think, that upon diminishing the Duty on Sweets as I have proposed, several Sorts of them may be made up and sold at a much cheaper Rate than any Sort of Punch can be; from whence I must conclude, that in a little Time great Quantities will begin to be consumed; and that from thenceforward, this particular Branch of the public Revenue will be very much increased, by diminishing the Duty

Anno 10. Geo. upon such Liquors; as was formerly the Case with respect
 II. 1736-7. to Pepper, the Duty upon which has produced a great deal
 more yearly since it was reduced, than ever it did before.

It is impossible for me, Sir, to foretell with any Certainty, what this Duty upon Sweets, when so reduced, will bring in yearly. I have seen several Calculations and Computations upon the Head, all of which were founded upon very probable Conjectures; but they differed so widely from one another, that no Man can determine positively, which of them he ought to give most Credit to. By some of these Computations it was calculated that the Duty upon Sweets, when reduced to 12 *s.* per Barrel, would in all Appearance produce near 50,000 *l.* a Year: By others, the annual Produce of this Duty was not computed at above 20 or 25,000 *l.* which is so great a Difference that no Determination, hardly any Supposition, can be made with respect to the future yearly Produce. However, if this Duty be reduced to 12 *s.* a Barrel, and that Doubt explained, which has arisen upon former Acts of Parliament, in relation to Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British* Fruit or Sugar, or from Fruit or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of Made-Wines, I shall suppose the Duty will then produce 30,000 *l.* a Year; for the Consumpt of those Liquors called Sweets, has not only been prevented by the extravagant Height of the Duty laid upon them; but the Doubt I have mentioned has always prevented its being collected; because it has always been pretended that such Made-Wines were not chargeable with the Duty of 36 *s.* a Barrel, and by that Pretence, People have generally got free from paying that Duty even upon Sweets made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from foreign Fruit or Sugar; it being generally impossible to determine, whether such Mixtures are made from foreign or from *British* Fruits or Sugar.

Now, Sir, if we suppose that the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000 *l.* a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30 *l.* a Year, the Increase upon it will then be a sufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be necessary for making good the Supplies you have granted for the Service of this ensuing Year. I say it will be a sufficient Fund, not only for paying the Interest yearly, but for paying off the Principal in a small Number of Years; for 400,000 *l.* will, I reckon, be the highest Sum that will be wanted, and as that Sum may be borrowed at 3 *per Cent.* a Revenue of near 30,000 *l.* a Year

Year will pay not only the Interest yearly, but will likewise pay off the Principal in about 17 Years; and if the Duty should produce more than 30,000 *l.* a Year, it will then pay off the Principal as well as growing Interest much sooner.

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*


‘ Thus, Sir, I have explained to you, what I think by far the easiest and most proper Way of raising that Sum, which is still deficient for making good those Supplies we have already agreed to. These Supplies must certainly be made good some Way or other; and if any Gentleman will rise up and shew us a better Method for making them good, I shall very readily give up my Project, and agree to any other Method proposed; since I have nothing in my View but to raise those Sums we have thought necessary for the publick Service, in that Method which shall appear to be most beneficial for the Nation, and least burdensome to the People. If the House approves of what I have proposed, the proper Method for carrying it into Execution is, To resolve first to repeal or abolish the old Duty; and then to resolve, That a Duty of 12*s.* *per Barrel* shall for the future be granted to his Majesty upon all Sweets made for Sale; therefore I shall conclude by making you this Motion, That it may be resolv’d, That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel on Sweets, granted, &c.

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

‘ The Hon. Gentleman who has pleased to move you this Question, set out with three or four general Maxims, in which I shall most readily agree with him. The Supplies we have already granted ought certainly to be made good by some Means or other; and I am so far of Opinion that these Supplies must be made good, either by adding to some of the Taxes we have already, or by imposing some new one, or by incroaching upon the Sinking-Fund, that I am sure there is no fourth Way of making them good; therefore the Hon. Gentleman raised my Curiosity not a little, when he told us he had thought of a Method for raising as much as would make good the Deficiency of the Land and Malt Tax, without adding to any old Tax, or imposing any new Tax, and without making the least Incroachment on the Sinking Fund. This, I confess, was to me a Paradox and a Mystery, which I became very impatient to hear explained; but how greatly was I disappointed when this notable Project came to be laid open? for then it appeared to me, and I hope I shall by and by make it appear to the House, that this Project must either be a new Tax, or it must be an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7



‘ I shall likewise, Sir, most readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman in two other Maxims he set out with, which were, that the People cannot well bear any additional or new Tax, and that we ought never to make an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund: But this, Sir, we ought to have thought on before granting the Supplies; and if this were considered as seriously as it ought to be, it would make every Gentleman extremely cautious of proposing to run the Nation into an unnecessary Expence, or of asking any Supplies for that Purpose; for after we have once granted Supplies, they must be made good some way or other. We ought to consider that, notwithstanding the many Taxes our People are loaded with, yet all those Taxes, except the Land and the Malt Tax, are mortgaged for making good the Civil List Revenue we have granted, or for paying the Principal, and the Interest, of the Debts we have contracted: We have now no Way of providing for the current Service of the Year, but by Means of the Malt Tax and the Land Tax; and I must say, tho’ I am sorry to say it, if we do not fall into a Method of contracting the public Expence in Time of Peace, so as to make those two Taxes answer it, this Nation must necessarily and speedily be undone. We may go on for a few Years contriving Expedients, and mortgaging every little Fund we have left to mortgage; but this must be attended with inevitable Ruin at last; for the richest Man in the Kingdom, if he spent but 10*l.* a Year more than the real Income of his Estate, would certainly at last be undone.

‘ Many Ways might be contrived, Sir, for lessening the public Expence yearly. The Reduction of the Army, or putting them upon a different Foot, is one Method, which is obvious and known to every Man; but there is another Method which would be as certain and as extensive, and that is, by annihilating all those Sine-Cure Posts, and undeserved or ill-deserved Salaries and Pensions, which have been growing upon us for many Years, and which can never be of any Service to the People, unless it be to enable future Ministers to oppress them. Many of these I could mention in every Branch of public Business within this Kingdom; but I shall not take upon me the Malice and Resentment which such a Piece of public Service would draw upon the Author, from all those whose private Interest would be struck at. I do not think it proper or prudent for any private Man to take upon himself such a Burden: It is proper only for a Government to undertake; and whenever the Government does undertake it, I am sure they will, if they make clean Work, save upwards of
500,000*l.*

500,000 *l.* a Year to the Public, which is a greater Sum than is wanted for the Service of the ensuing Year.


Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

‘ This, Sir, is what might have been done, it is what ought to have been done, because by so doing we might have avoided that fatal Dilemma we are now reduced to. The Resolutions of the Committee of Supply have now made it absolutely necessary to load the People with additional or new Taxes, or to inroach upon the Sinking-Fund; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman may think of his favourite temporary Expedient, to every impartial Enquirer ’twill appear, that it must be ranked under one or other of these Methods. The Duty upon Sweets, whatever was the Intention of those Parliaments which established it, has never been raised, at least it has never been raised in so extensive or strict a Manner as is now proposed; therefore, with regard to the People it must be look’d on as a new Tax. If we were to revive the ancient Tax called *Danegeldt*, we may as well pretend it is no new Tax, as to say that a Tax upon Sweets, which was never before levied upon the People, is no new Tax. The People never before felt any such Tax, therefore when they come to feel it, they will look on it as a new load laid upon their Backs, already almost broken, and will murmur as if it were a Tax which had never before been thought of. They do not look into Acts of Parliament for learning what Taxes they are subject to: They consider only what Taxes they have been accustomed to pay; and therefore they will always date the Commencement of a Tax from that Time when it first began to be exacted upon them. For this Reason our beginning now to exact this Tax, will certainly raise new Murmurs: I shall not say it will make the Murmurings of the People more general; they are already by much too general; and such temporary Expedients are not, I am sure, the most proper Ways for appeasing them, or for preventing those Riots and Tumults which are now so justly complained of.

‘ But, Sir, even with respect to the Laws by which this Duty has been established, the Method now proposed for supplying the current Service, must be looked on as a Method for doing it by a new Tax in Whole or in Part, or it must be looked on as a Method for doing it by inroaching upon those Funds appropriated to the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts. If it was never designed by any of the Laws now in Being, that Made-Wines should be looked on as Sweets, or subjected to any Tax as such, the subjecting them for the future to a Tax, must be looked on as imposing a new Tax upon such Wines; and if by the

Laws

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Laws now in Being all Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from British Fruit or Sugar, or from Fruit or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, were designed to be looked on as Sweets, and as such to be chargeable with the Duty of 36 s. a Barrel, as well as all Liquors made for Sale from foreign Fruits or Sugar, then the whole Duty now proposed to be abolished, stands appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and makes a Part of the Sinking-Fund, as may appear from the famous Act of the 6th of his late Majesty, for enabling the *South-Sea* Company to encrease their Capital, by which this Duty, among others, stands expressly appropriated to that Company. Nor does it signify to say that this Duty never produced any thing; because if the Levying of this Duty was prevented by a Doubt in the Act of Parliament, that Doubt ought to have been explained long before now; for he who grants is always supposed to grant every Thing necessary for making his Grant effectual. Therefore, as the old Duty stands appropriated to the *South-Sea* Company, and makes a Part of the Sinking-Fund, we cannot abolish it without making an Encroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; and if the *South-Sea* Company should give up two Thirds of their Grant, in order to make the remaining Third more effectual, or if we should, by way of Repeal, take from the Sinking-Fund two Thirds of this Duty, in hopes the remaining Third would produce more than the whole three Parts formerly did, or could have done, surely the *South-Sea* Company, as well as the Sinking-Fund, have an undoubted Right to that third Part; so that we cannot appropriate the 12 s. now proposed to be laid upon Sweets to the Service of next Year, without encroaching both upon the Sinking-Fund, and upon the Right of the *South-Sea* Company.

I hope, Sir, every Gentleman that hears me is now convinced the Project we have under our Consideration must either be called a new Tax, or an Incroachment on the Sinking-Fund; and as the Hon. Gentleman who moved you the Question, admitted, that we ought neither to impose any new Tax, nor make any such Incroachment; I hope he will now admit his Proposition is such a one as ought not to be agreed to; for tho' I shall not say that out of his own Mouth I have condemned him, yet, I think I may say, that out of his own Mouth I have condemned the Project he has been pleased to offer. I know, it may be said, that if we, from the future Produce of this Duty, pay yearly to the Sinking-Fund, a Sum equal to what the Duty has produced at a Medium since the first Time of its being granted, we cannot be accused of making any Incroachment upon
the

the Sinking-Fund; but is not this a sort of Play upon Words, hardly becoming the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and much less the Proceedings of this House, where nothing but Equity and strict Honour ought to prevail? A Duty has been granted, Money has been borrowed upon the Credit of that Duty, it has since been found the Duty was so high, that it amounted to a Prohibition, and therefore produced little or nothing; the Creditors come and desire the Duty may be lowered, in order that they may have some sort of Security for their Money: Could we refuse so equitable a Request? Could we in Honour say, No, you shall have the former Produce, which was little or nothing, continued to you; but if, upon its being lowered, it produces more, we must take the whole increased Produce, for answering our own necessary Occasions? The Case before us is still stronger: The old Duty upon Sweets would have produced a great deal more than ever it did, if the Doubt which arose about the Intention of the Law had been explained as now designed; and, if what is now designed, was really the Intention of the Law at first, that Doubt ought to have been so explained as soon as it was taken Notice of, in order to make effectual to our Creditors that Grant, which we had made them for securing the Payment of the Money they lent us in our Distress. We may abolish the old Duty, we may establish one third Part of that Duty only, for the future; but that new Duty, so to be established, in Honour, in Justice, in Equity, belongs to the Creditors who lent their Money upon the Credit of the old Duty; and consequently, we cannot apply it to the current Service, without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

‘ I have hitherto supposed, Sir, that the Parliament which established the Duty upon Sweets, designed to include those Liquors called Made-Wines; and this I have supposed, only to shew that, even in that Case, we ought not to agree to the Method proposed, because it will be an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but now, Sir, I shall suppose, and I do insist upon it, that no former Parliament ever intended to subject Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British* Fruits or Sugar, or from Fruits or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of Made-Wines, to the Duty by them imposed upon Sweets; and the Practice ever since those Acts of Parliament were passed, which is above thirty Years ago, has fully justified my Opinion; for we must suppose the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Commissioners of Excise, and the Excisemen, have often taken the Opinion of Lawyers upon this Head; and if they had ever had the Opinion of any

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



Anno 10. Geo. tolerable Lawyer in their Favour, we may suppose they
II. 1736-7. would have exacted the Tax with the utmost Rigour ;

we cannot suppose, without doing great Injustice to those worthy Servants of their Country, that they would have allowed the Public to be defrauded of such a considerable Revenue, if in all that Time they had ever had the Opinion of any noted Lawyer in their Favour ; therefore, I must look upon the Proposition now made to us, as a Proposition for imposing a new Tax upon the Subjects of this Kingdom ; and I shall now endeavour to shew, that it is a Tax of the most oppressive Nature, and which may be attended with the most fatal Consequences, with respect to our Constitution and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Nature of Excise-Laws, Sir, and the dangerous Consequences of extending such Laws in a free Country, were upon a late famous Occasion so fully explained, that I little expected a further Extension of such Laws would have been attempted for some Years to come ; but now, I find, I have been egregiously mistaken ; for the Project now before us, I must look on as a new and a wide Extension of those Laws. Every one knows, the Duty upon Sweets is to be raised by the Laws of Excise, and if you subject all those Liquors called Made-Wines to that Duty, there is hardly a Farmer, or a Country Gentleman in *England*, but will by that means be subjected to the Laws of Excise, if he resolves to make the best Use of his Garden or Orchard. Our Excise-Laws have already spread themselves over every City, Borough, and Village in the Kingdom, and by this new Regulation they are to spread themselves over every Country, and to enter into the most lonesome Farm-House in *England* ; for if a Farmer has a Mind to make a little Money of an Elder-Hedge, or of a Goosberry, Raspberry, or Currant-Bush, or of a Mulberry-Tree, he may have in his Garden, in order to enable him to pay his Rent to his Landlord, his House must be open all Hours in the Day-time to the Gauger, nay, it must be open at all Hours in the Night-time, if the Gauger can but find a profligate Fellow of a Ale-house-keeper in the Hundred, who has got himself named a Constable by the Trading Justices of the County. Can it be supposed, Sir, that this will produce no fresh Murmurs ? Can it be supposed our Farmers will all submit patiently to such a Hardship ? Or can it be supposed that all our Gaugers will behave with common Decency, when they get into a lonesome House in the Country, at a Time, when, perhaps, the Family are in the Fields a Hay-making, and no Person left at Home but the Farmer's Wife, or Daughter ? Then, suppose the
 Farmer

Farmer is caught in a Fraud, how will the Landlord look, when he finds himself disappointed of his Rent, by an Extent brought against his Tenant for the Penalty?

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

‘ I am sure, Sir, I need not repeat to the House the many good Arguments that have been made use of against Excise-Laws. It has upon a former Occasion been shewn, that they are of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution; and the Arguments then made use of are certainly still fresh in every Gentleman’s Memory. I shall only take Notice, that as the Authority and Business of Excisemen will be very much increased by this new Project, tho’ we have now a greater Number of them than we have Occasion for, yet their Number must be greatly augmented; for not only many of our Farmers will from henceforth be subjected to their Review, but, I am afraid, every Tavern and Wine-Cellar in the Kingdom. We know what a Clamour was raised against the last Attempt to subject Wine-Merchants and Vintners to Excise-Laws: That was an open Attempt, and such a one as they could openly oppose; but the Difficulty of such an Attack was then felt; and therefore, they are now to be attack’d in an indirect and hidden Method; for if most of our Dealers in Wine be Brewers of Wine, as is commonly reported, every such Dealer will, by this Method, be subjected to the Review of an Exciseman, tho’ he dares not say he is afraid of any such Thing, and, therefore, cannot openly oppose the Project now before us. By this means, the Influence which Excisemen already have, or may have, upon all City and Borough Elections will be very much increased; and as many of our Farmers are Freeholders, the Excisemen will, by means of this Project, have an Opportunity of gaining an Influence likewise in all County Elections; both which are diametrically opposite to our Constitution, and to the Liberty of the Subject.

If by lowering the Duty on Sweets, and preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwise, those Liquors called Made-Wines should come to be of universal Use, we must suppose that almost every Farmer in *England* will turn himself towards the making of such Liquors, and the producing of Materials proper for that Purpose; the Consequence of which will be, that he must go to the next Office of Excise, and enter his Name and Place of Abode, together with every Room and Place made Use of by him for making or keeping any such Liquors. This he must do under a great Penalty; and from the Time he has done so, he can no longer call his House properly his own: From that Moment, the Gauger may, any Hour of the Day, and as

Anno. 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.

often as he pleases, require Admittance ; and, by taking a Constable along with him, he may, at any Hour of the Night, and as often as he has a Mind, require Admittance : If the poor Farmer should at any Time refuse to leave his Labour in the Fields, or if he should refuse to get out of Bed after a hard Day's Labour, in order to let the Gauger enter his House, he subjects himself to a great Penalty. For these Penalties he is not to be sued according to the common Law, not to be tried in the usual Way, by God and his Country, but he is to be tried before the Commissioners of Excise, or before two Justices of Peace, who may convict him without any Jury, upon the Oath of the Gauger, who makes the Complaint ; and all this without any Appeal but to the Quarter Sessions, whose Judgment is to be final. Then after he is once convicted, in order that he may for ever after remain obedient to the Commissioners of Excise, or to the Justices of the Peace, they are empowered to levy the whole or what Part of the Penalty they please, according to the past or the future Behaviour of the unfortunate Convict.

‘ This, Sir, will be the Case of every Farmer in *England*, who attempts to make the most of the Goosberries or Currants he has in his Garden ; and if, to avoid this Misfortune, he should resolve to sell his Fruits to the Makers of such Liquors, instead of making them himself, he must sell them for little or nothing. From hence I am apt to believe that notwithstanding the low Duty you propose to lay upon Made-Wines, the Methods you are to prescribe for raising it, will prevent the Consumption ; because no Man will subject himself to the Excise-Laws, for the Sake of any Advantage he may get by the making of such Liquors ; and if they are not made, I am sure they cannot be consumed ; so that one or other of these Inconveniencies must arise from the Project now under our Consideration : Either a great Number of our People will be subjected to Excise-Laws, who were never before subject to any such, or the Produce of the Duty will come far short of your Expectation. By the former, our Liberties will be exposed to greater Danger than they are at present, or ever ought to be ; and by the latter, we shall leave a new Load upon our Posterity, without any competent Fund, for ridding them of that Load ; which is, I think, what no Man can agree to, who has any Regard for his Posterity, or the future Happiness of his Country.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Method proposed for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this next ensuing Year, is not only a new Tax,
but

but one of the most dangerous Taxes we can impose upon the People. I shall be far from proposing any Addition to the Land-Tax ; I think 2 s. in the Pound is the highest our Land-holders ought to be loaded with in Time of Peace ; but I am sure it would be better for every Land-holder in *England* to pay 3 s. in the Pound Land-Tax, than to lay such a Hardship upon his Tenants, as to make it necessary for them, either to subject themselves to the Laws of Excise, or give up making the proper Advantage of some Part of their Farms. An additional Shilling to the Land-Tax is but a short temporary Loss : It is a Loss of a twentieth Part of his Rent but for one Year only ; but by subjecting his Tenants to such a Hardship for 17 or 20 Years, he may find himself obliged to lower the Rent of every Farm that belongs to him, much more than a twentieth Part, which will be probably a perpetual Loss, or at least a yearly Loss that may affect him and his Posterity for a great Number of Years. For this Reason, I say, Sir, every Land-holder ought to chuse rather to pay an additional Shilling Land-Tax, than subject his Tenants to such a Hardship as will be the necessary Consequence of the Project now before us. But there is another Reason why every Man in the Kingdom, as well as every Land-holder, ought to be against this Project, if he has a proper Regard for his Posterity or for his Country ; because the Method thereby proposed for raising Money for the current Service, is in general, I think, the most pernicious Method this Nation, or any Nation, can ever chuse for supplying such Services. To establish Funds, and then mortgage those Funds for ready Money, is a Method of supplying the current Service, which I shall now endeavour to shew no Nation ought to take, but in Cases of the greatest Extremity and Danger.

‘ In every Country, Sir, that which may be called the Estate or Revenue of the Public is the Sum that may be raised yearly from the public Lands, and from those Taxes and Impositions which the People will patiently submit to pay ; therefore if in any one Year the public Expence exceeds that Sum, by mortgaging a Part of this public Estate or Revenue, the Public is in the same Circumstances with a private Man who runs out his Estate, and neither the one nor the other can, for the future, be reckoned to have a greater Estate or Revenue than what remains free to him after the Payment of the Interest upon his Mortgages yearly. The only Difference is, that the Revenue of a private Man is certain and always the same, whereas the public Revenue of a Kingdom or State is variable, and may always be greater in Time of War than in Time of Peace ;
because,

*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



because, during a just and necessary War, the People will patiently submit to greater Taxes than they will do in Time of Peace; but in either Case, if the Government of a Country should make the public Expence exceed the public Revenue, but for one Year only, it is a Step towards their Ruin, and a great Number of such Steps must certainly at last bring them to their Journey's End, which is the Ruin of their Country. For this Reason the Government of every Country ought to take special Care to proportion the public Expence to the public Revenue yearly, so as never to allow any public Debt to be contracted, but what may be discharged by the Produce of the Taxes growing due within that Year.

Ministers, Sir, and those in the present Possession of Power, may very probably be for loading the Public with Debts, instead of loading the People with Taxes, because the People are sensible only of the Taxes they pay, they are not immediately sensible of the Debt the Public contracts, nor can they probably become sensible of it during that Minister's Administration. This may enable him to run the Nation into a needless Expence, or to squander the public Money, without bringing an immediate Odium upon himself, or raising any Murmurs against his Administration; but every such Debt weakens the Power of the Crown, which depends upon the the annual Revenue of the Kingdom, and may render it impossible even for the very next Successor to protect his Kingdom, either against Invasions and Insults from without, or Tumults and Insurrections from within; therefore no Man who has a true Regard for the Crown, or for the next Successor to the Crown, will, for the Ease of any temporary Minister, agree to run the Nation in Debt, in order that the People may not be sensible of the unnecessary Charge his Ambition, Imprudence, Avarice, or Extravagance, may have brought upon them.

When such Taxes are imposed and collected within the Year, as are fully sufficient for defraying the Expence of that Year, the People are sensible of the Expence, and will therefore enquire into the Necessity of that Expence, which will always be a Check upon the Measures of the Administration, in Time of War as well as Peace: It will not only make them frugal with respect to every Shilling of the public Money they are obliged to lay out, but it will make them careful not to involve the Nation in any unnecessary War or Expence; and it will prevent their continuing of any War, longer than the future Security of the Nation requires. On the other hand, when the public Expence, or any Part of it, is raised by imposing a small

small Tax upon any of the Necessaries, Conveniencies, or Luxuries of Life, and mortgaging that Tax for a Number of Years, the People are not sensible of the Expence they are put to, and consequently make no Enquiry about it, which often gives an Encouragement to those in Power to run the People into needless Expences, and lavish the public Money. But if such Measures be continued for any Number of Years, those small Taxes grow so numerous, that they become not only sensible but insupportable: The Complaints and the Murmurs of the People then begin to grow general and loud; but the Misfortune is, that their Resentment falls upon those who have then the ill Fate to be in Power over them, and not upon those who were the original Authors of their Misery.

*Ann 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*

Another Misfortune is, Sir, that by contracting Debts, instead of imposing Taxes, the Nation is at last obliged to pay 3 or 4 s. sometimes more, for every Shilling that was ever applied to the public Service; because the Interest and Charges of Management, which the People are obliged to pay yearly till the Principal be discharged, often amounts to double or treble the Sum applied to the Service of the Public. If we were to compute what this Nation has paid for Interest, and Charges of Management, upon all the Debts we have contracted, it would amount to an incredible Sum: I am convinced it would appear to be more than three Times the Amount of the whole Debt we owe at present. Let us but consider the Project now before us: Let us suppose 400,000 *l.* borrowed at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* and that the Tax will amount to but 35,000 *l.* a Year, which is the least gross Produce we can suppose, upon the Supposition that it will bring a nett Sum of 30,000 *l.* yearly into the *Exchequer*; in that Case, the People must pay 35,000 *l.* a Year for 17 Years, which at 3 *per Cent.* compound Interest amounts to near 750,000 *l.* and which must be paid by the People of *England* in lieu of the 400,000 *l.* now to be borrowed for the Service of this Year. When so low an Interest, in so short a Time, makes such a Difference, we may easily guess what an immense Sum the People of this Kingdom have paid for Interest and Charges of Management, since that Practice of creating and mortgaging public Funds, was first brought into Fashion amongst us.


It may, I know, be said, that if the whole Money necessary for the current Service is not raised within the Year, the People must save so much Money in their Pockets, which they would otherwise be obliged to pay out, for making

Anno 10. Geo. making good the Service; and that every private Man may make above 5 *per Cent.* of the Money so saved, instead of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Sum which the Public borrows for the current Service; from whence it may be argued, that it is an Advantage for every private Man to run the Public in Debt, rather than raise, within the Year, the whole Sums necessary for the current Service of the Year. But do not we know, Sir, that every Man looks upon the Taxes he is obliged to pay yearly, as a Part of his yearly Expence; and the more Taxes he is obliged to pay, the more he contracts his yearly Expence upon other Articles? This every prudent and provident Man will do, when he feels the Money going yearly out of his Pocket towards the public Expence; but when a public Debt is contracted, and thereby a Load thrown upon future Generations for the Ease of the present, no Man, let him be never so provident, sits down to compute the Ease he meets with, in order that he may save as much out of that Year's Expence, as may enable his Posterity to answer the Load thrown upon them. People consider only the yearly Taxes they are subjected to, and proportion their Expences upon other Articles accordingly; so that Posterity are so far from having the Principal left them, with Compound Interest at 5 *per Cent.* that they have neither Principal nor Interest left them; nor is it possible to persuade an Heir, that any Part of the Estate left him by his Ancestor, was saved for him, with a View of enabling him to pay his Share of that public Debt, which was contracted in the Time of his Ancestor.

‘ To these Misfortunes, Sir, let me add another, That the creating and mortgaging public Funds necessarily contributes to the raising and keeping up the natural Interest of Money, or to the draining the Nation of that Gold and Silver which is brought into it by its general Balance of Trade. As the natural Interest of Money, in all Countries, depends upon the Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, and the Demand for lending Money at Interest, by creating and mortgaging public Funds, you increase the first Demand, and consequently the natural Interest of Money must rise, unless you proportionably increase the other, and this you can no Way do but by prevailing with Foreigners to lend you a Sum equal to that public Fund you have established. If you can do this, you keep up the same Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, and the Demand for lending Money at Interest, which you had in your Country before that public Fund was created; but then what

what is the Consequence? The whole Sum payable yearly by Way of Interest upon that public Fund must be sent out of your Country yearly in Gold or Silver, or it must prevent so much Gold and Silver yearly coming in to you, by means of your general Balance of Trade; for unless you create a new Fund, your foreign Creditors cannot possibly convert their Interest into Principal; and if you create a new Fund, you add to your former Misfortune, by increasing the annual Draught of Gold and Silver from amongst you.


*Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.*



‘ To apply this, Sir, to our present Circumstances; suppose the whole of our public Depts amounts to 48 Millions, and that but 10 Millions of that Capital belongs to Foreigners, tho’ I am convinced their Share amounts to a much larger Sum: In that Case, you have taken 38 Millions from the Demand for lending Money at Interest in your Country, and have added it to the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, which makes a Difference of no less than 76 Millions, and how this Difference must affect the Proportion between these two Demands, and consequently the natural Interest of Money in this Country, I shall leave to every Gentleman that hears me to judge. Then as to the 10 Millions belonging to Foreigners, ’tis true, it prevents the Difference between these two Demands in this Country being so great as it would otherwise be; but the Consequence is, that the yearly Interest of the Sum of 10 Millions, which is 400,000 *l.* a Year, must be sent out annually in Gold and Silver, or in Goods and Merchandize; for all Bills of Exchange must at last be answered by one or other of these Funds. If it be sent out in Gold and Silver, it diminishes our National Stock of Gold and Silver; if in Goods and Merchandize, it prevents its Increase; because the Price of those Goods and Merchandize must necessarily at last have been returned to us in Gold and Silver, if we had had no such Interest to have paid yearly to Foreigners. While the general Balance of Trade continues in our Favour, the paying of this Interest to Foreigners will only prevent the yearly Increase of our National Stock of Gold and Silver; but as soon as the general Balance of Trade turns against us, this whole Sum must be drawn out yearly in Gold and Silver, which must necessarily, in a few Years, entirely exhaust our National Stock of those two Metals; and when that Misfortune comes upon us, I am afraid we shall find but little Comfort or Relief in our Paper Credit.

‘ This Consideration alone, Sir, I should think, would make every Gentleman resolve to submit to any Tax, rather than run the Nation further into Debt; and I am sure

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



it ought to make every Minister resolve to contract the public Expence as much as possible. There are many other Misfortunes and Inconveniencies attending the creating and mortgaging of public Funds; but I shall not trouble you with enumerating any more of them at present; I think, I have said enough for convincing every Man, who has a sound Heart as well as a sound Head, that any Project for running the Nation into a new Debt must be a most pernicious Sort of Means for supplying the current Service of the Year. If so, I am sure every Gentleman that hears me, would give his Negative to the Question, if there should be an Occasion; but there will not, I believe, be any Occasion for a Negative; because, if the Honourable Gentleman, who made you this Proposition, views it in the same Light I do, I am sure he will most readily give it up. It may, perhaps, be said, Will you leave the current Service unprovided for? Will you allow the Session to break up without providing for those Supplies you have already granted? No, Sir: Several other Methods may be thought of: I have hinted at one, which I am sure would be sufficient; I mean, that of abolishing several of our unnecessary Polls and Employments. A Committee for that Purpose, if we were unanimous, would soon find out a Fund for answering the present Deficiency; and, I am certain, there is no Method that will be more effectual for producing that Unanimity, than our rejecting or dropping the Proposition now before us; for which Reason, if it be insisted on, I shall most heartily give my Negative to the Question.


The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

“ I am glad to find, that every Gentleman who has argued for, or against the Question now before us, seems to be of Opinion, the Supplies we have already voted, ought to be made good, some way or other. When these Supplies were granted, I easily foresaw, that the Malt-Tax and a Land-Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, would not be sufficient for answering them; and I confess, tho’ I saw the Necessity of the Supplies we had agreed to, I was under some Uneasiness to think how it was possible to make good the Deficiency; because, I thought it would be hard to load the People with any new or additional Tax, or to make any Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but my Uneasiness was fully removed, as soon as my Honourable Friend had explained the Method he had thought of, for making good that Deficiency. The Method he proposed, and which we have now under our Consideration, appeared to me so easy, and I beg his Leave to say, so ingenious, that I imagined it would

would have been agreed to without any Opposition; but this is a Fate, which I am glad to find few or no Propositions are like to meet with in this House: for a bad one ought, and, I hope, always will be opposed; and a good one derives great Advantages from Opposition, because its Usefulness from thence appears in a much clearer Light. As I very much approve of the Method proposed by my Honourable Friend, for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this Year, I shall endeavour to remove the Objections that have been made to it, and then I shall endeavour to shew the Injustice and Impossibility of the other Methods that have been proposed, or rather hinted at in this Debate.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7..



‘ I as heartily wish, Sir, as any Gentleman can do, that we could contract the public Expence, so as to make the Malt-Tax, and a Land-Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, sufficient for answering it yearly; but the public Expence, as to its Quantity, neither depends upon our Resolutions, nor upon the Will and Pleasure of those who have the Honour to be in the Administration of our Government. The annual public Expence in this Country, as well as in every other Country, depends upon the Necessities of the Government only, and ought to be increased or diminished only according to those Necessities. In Arbitrary Countries, the Ministers are the only Judges of those Necessities, and of the Sums that will be sufficient for answering, as well as of the Ways and Means most proper for raising them; but, in this happy Country, our Ministers are no Judges in either of these Respects: Their Business is only to lay before Parliament what they think will be the Necessities of our Government for the ensuing Year, and what Sums they think will be sufficient for answering those Necessities. When they have done so, they are, as it were, *functo officio*, they have nothing more to do; for, the Parliament is then to judge, Whether those Necessities are real: Whether a less Sum may not be sufficient for answering those Necessities: And what Ways and Means are ‘most proper’ for raising those Sums, that shall be thought necessary. Of these three Questions, we have already determined the first two; and now we have the third under our Consideration.

‘ In determining this third Question, we certainly ought, Sir, to chuse such Ways and Means as may be sufficient for the End proposed; such as may be least burdensome to the People, and such as may seem to occasion the fewest Murmurs against the Government: And, that the Method now proposed to us has every one of these three Advantages, will best appear from answering the several Ob-

Anno 10 Geo.
II. 1736-7.



jections that have been made to it. I shall grant, Sir, that some sort of Comparison may be made between the public Revenue of a Nation, and a private Man's Estate; and that a Mortgage upon either, must be a Loss to Posterity, and a Diminution of the Estate, till that Mortgage be cleared; but there is a very great Difference between what may be called a Loss to Posterity, and what may be called doing them a real Injury: A private Man who mortgages his Estate, in order to support his Luxury or Extravagance, does a real Injury to his Posterity: But he, who by some cross Accident is obliged to mortgage his Estate for the Preservation of himself and Family, does no Injury to his Posterity, tho' he subjects them to a Loss. In the same Manner, a Nation may often, for Self preservation, be obliged to bear a much greater public Expence than can possibly be raised within the Year, and must then necessarily mortgage some Part of its public Revenue; which is so far from being an Injury to Posterity, that there is nothing more just and reasonable; because, as future Generations are to reap a great Part of the Benefit, they ought to pay some Part of the Expences which were necessary for obtaining and preserving that Benefit.

' Not only Necessity therefore, Sir, but even common Justice may sometimes require, that a public Debt should be contracted, rather than lay too heavy a Load upon the People for any one Year, or for any Number of Years; and whatever Inconveniencies or Disadvantages such a Measure may be attended with, the Necessity of Affairs will always be a full Justification of those, who pursue it. But, I cannot think, the Disadvantages attending such a Measure are near so grievous as have been represented; for as to the Interest and Charges of Management, the Money paid by the People for those Purposes is seldom any real Loss to the Nation, because it is, generally, all divided among our own People; there is but a very small Share of the Interest belongs to Foreigners; and what goes out that way is attended with this Advantage, that it procures the Nation some Friends in foreign States, who have often great Weight in their Councils, and, consequently, may prevent their joining in any Measures with our Enemies. Then, as to the Effect this Measure may have upon the Management of public Money; I hope it will not be said that Ministers are to be judged or punished by the People, in a mobbish and riotous Manner, their Conduct is always to be enquired into and judged of by the Representatives of the People in Parliament assembled; and, surely, no Gentleman of this House will ever be influenced, upon any such

such Occasion, by what the People feel, or say they feel; *Anno 10. Goe.*
 nor can we suppose, that any Gentleman of this House *II. 1736-7.*
 will ever approve of any Article of Expence proposed, only because his Posterity, and not he, are to suffer for it.

‘ I should be glad, Sir, we could raise the Supplies of this Year within the Year: I should be glad our public Necessities never required any greater Expence than what the public Revenue would answer; but for the Reasons I have given I cannot admit it as a general and infallible Maxim, that we ought never to contract any public Debt, or make any public Mortgage; for when it becomes necessary to raise any large Sum for the Service of any one Year, I shall be for giving the People such a sufficient Time for paying it, as may not subject them to any great Difficulty. In private Life it has always been looked on as an Advantage and an Ease to a Man to give him several Terms for paying a large Sum of Money; and the Case is the same with respect to the People; it will be much more easy and advantageous for them to pay 400,000 *l.* with the growing Interest in 17 Years, than to pay 400,000 *l.* at one Payment, in any manner you can contrive for raising it; so that if the Method now under our Consideration were really a Mortgage of some Part of our former Revenue, consequently a Diminution of the public Estate, I should be for agreeing to it; but it is really neither the one nor the other: It is an Improvement of the public Revenue and Estate; and surely Posterity cannot find Fault with us for mortgaging, for a few Years only, the Produce of that Improvement. If a private Gentleman should by any Improvement add 100 *l.* a Year to his Estate, and mortgage that Improvement for 17 Years only, surely his Son would have no Reason to blame his Conduct, even tho’ he should die immediately after having made that Improvement and Mortgage, and all future Generations would have Reason to bless him.

‘ From this single Consideration, Sir, all those Objections that are founded upon the Inconveniencies of mortgaging the public Revenue must vanish; and the Debt to be contracted is so small, and the Interest it is to be borrowed at so low, that it can no way affect the natural Interest of Money, either upon public or private Securities. Now, Sir, with respect to the Objection which impeaches the Proposition under our Consideration, with being either a Proposition for a new Tax, or a Proposition for making an Encroachment upon the Sinking-Fund, I was, indeed, not a little surprized to hear it not only said, but insisted on, that the Duty proposed to be laid on any Sort of Sweets was a new Tax; considering how general the
 Words

Anno 10. Geo.
II 1736-7.



Words are of all the Acts of Parliament by which the present Duty was established or continued. The Words of that Law in King *William's* Time, by which a Duty was first laid upon Sweets, are, ' For every Gallon of mixed Liquors, commonly called Sweets, made from *Foreign* or *English* Materials : ' And by the Act of the 5th of the late Queen, by which the present Duty was first established, the Words are, ' For every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale. ' 'Tis true a Doubt has since arisen from the Description of Sweets contained in another Act of King *William's* Reign ; but as that of the 5th of Queen *Anne* is a subsequent Law, and as the Words of it are general, the Intention certainly was to subject all Liquors, commonly called Sweets, to the present Duty, if they were made for Sale ; therefore we must suppose that this Doubt's not being clear'd up by a Trial, as well as by the Opinion of Lawyers, does not proceed from any Neglect in the Officers of the Revenue, or from their finding the Opinion of Lawyers against them, but from every Man's being persuaded there was no Foundation for the Question, therefore no Man would stand the Event of a Law-suit upon it ; and the small Produce of the Duty must be imputed to the same Cause ; for as every Man knew he must pay 36 s. a Barrel, if he made any Sweets for Sale, and that, considering the Height of that Duty, he could expect no Advantage by the Sale, therefore very few Persons attempted to make any such Liquors for such a Purpose, ever since this Duty was imposed. Therefore, the Duty now proposed to be laid on Sweets is so far from being a new Tax, that every Man in the Kingdom will look upon it as a Release from an insupportable Tax, and as a Restoring him to the full Use of his Garden and Orchard, which he has been deprived of ever since the present high Duty on Sweets took place.

I shall readily acknowledge, Sir, that the present Duty on Sweets stands appropriated to the *South-Sea* Company, and if the Produce of that Duty had ever been or could ever be worth taking any Notice of, the applying it to the current Service would be an Encroachment on the Sinking-Fund, because it would be necessary to make it good to the *South-Sea* Company out of the Sinking-Fund ; but the *South-Sea* Company can have no Right to any thing but the Produce of the present Duty, and if you were to abolish the Duty entirely, all that the *South-Sea* Company could lay Claim to would be a future Annuity equal to that Produce, at a Medium ever since the Duty was first granted to them. Suppose no other or heavier Duty had ever been laid on Sweets than 1s. *per* Barrel, which was the first Duty imposed on such

such Liquors; suppose that Duty had been granted to the *South-Sea* Company for securing to them the Payment of their Annuity, and suppose we were now to lay an additional Tax of 11 s. *per* Barrel on such Liquors, would the *South-Sea* Company have any Right to that additional Tax? Or would the Applying of it to the current Service be any Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund? For the same Reason, if by any new Regulation you make a considerable Increase in the Produce of the Tax, the *South-Sea* Company can pretend no Right to that Increase, nor can the Application of it to the current Service be deemed an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund. The utmost that can be pretended is, that a future Annuity ought to be paid out of that increased Produce to the *South-Sea* Company, or to the Sinking-Fund, equal to the former Produce at a Medium, from the Time it was first appropriated to the Payment of our Debts. Such a future Annuity would, I say, be the only Thing that could, with any Shadow of Reason, be contended for, and in the present Case that Annuity would be so inconsiderable, that it is not to be regarded.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



Thus it appears, Sir, that the Method proposed for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this ensuing Year can neither be called a Proposition for imposing a new Tax, nor can it be called a Proposition for making an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund, or upon the Right of the *South-Sea* Company. But we have been told, that the Duty proposed will either produce little or nothing, or it will subject a great Number of our People to Excise Laws. As to the future Produce of the Duty, it is impossible to foretell with any Certainty what it will amount to; but the lowest Computation I ever heard of was 20,000 l. a Year, and if the future Produce amount to that Sum, it will be sufficient for the End proposed, because it will not only pay the growing Interest yearly, but will likewise pay off a Part of the Principal yearly, so that the Whole may be at last discharged by the Means of this Duty only. Then as to Excise Laws, I have, 'tis true, heard a great many Exclamations against the Rigour of such Laws, and against the Inconveniencies and the Consequences of subjecting our People to such Laws; but the Misfortune is, that all these Suppositions are contradicted by Experience; for we have, for near this Century past, had such Laws in this Kingdom, without being sensible of the least Inconvenience arising from them; and I believe those who are subject to them live as happily and as independently as those who are not. These Laws are certain, and publicly known, and therefore those who are subject to them can be under no Dependence upon

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



upon the Officers, but upon the Laws themselves: If they conform to the Law, they have not so much as a Favour to ask of any Commissioner or Officer of Excise; and if any Officer behave rudely in the Execution of them, or commits any Trespass, he may be prosecuted for it, as easily as any other Subject. This they are sensible of, and therefore they have hitherto generally done their Duty with as much Civility and Good-Nature as was possible; so that fair Traders, who bring themselves under no Suspicion, are seldom or ever subjected to any Inconvenience, nor are they ever visited or disturbed at unseasonable Hours.

But, Sir, supposing the Excise Laws to be as dangerous and as oppressive as they have been represented, our Farmers, our Wine-Merchants, and Vintners, will be in the same Case they are at present; for if any of them should begin to make Sweets for Sale, they would subject themselves to the Excise-Laws, even as the Duty stands regulated by the Laws now in being; and tho' the Consumption of such Liquors should be very much increased by diminishing the Duty, as it probably will, it does not necessarily follow that every Farmer who has an Elder-Hedge, or a Goosberry-Bush in his Garden, should become a Maker of Sweets, no more than it is necessary for every Man who has an Acre of Barley to become a Brewer or a Maltster: If the Consumption should become very extensive and general, 'tis certain that proper Persons will set up the Trade for making such Liquors for Sale, and will purchase Fruits for that Purpose from the Farmer at a reasonable Price, in the same Way as Brewers, Distillers, and Maltsters now purchase their Barley. The only Difference I can see, is, that by this new Regulation, our Farmers will be put in a Way of making an Advantage of their Farms, which they have been debarred from ever since the high Duty upon Sweets took place; and the more Advantages they are enabled to make of their Farms, the better able will they be to pay their Rent to their Landlords; so that every Landed Gentleman has, in my Opinion, great Reason to approve of the Proposition now before us; for if it does not improve the Rent of his Estate, it will at least contribute towards rendering the Payment of that Rent more certain and punctual.

I hope, Sir, I have fully answered all the Objections made against the Proposition now before us, and as all the Gentlemen who have spoke upon the other Side of the Question, have acknowledged, that the Supplies we have agreed to ought to be made good by some Means or other, I wish they had directly and plainly proposed some other Method;

Method; for upon setting the two Methods in opposite Lights, it would have been very easy to have determined, which of them ought to be preferred. They have, indeed, given us some sort of Hint of two other Methods, one of which, I mean that of an additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, might have bore some sort of Comparifon, if the Land Tax for this enfuing Year had not been already fettled, and the Bill actually brought in; fo that it is now too late to think of any fuch Method; but if it were otherwife, if the Land Tax were ftill to be fettled, I am fure it would be very eafy to fhew, that of all the Methods we can think of for raifing Money, that of over-loading the Landed Intereft is the moft unjuft, the moft grievous, and the moft dangerous. Even 2*s.* in the Pound upon Land is a great deal too much, when the whole public Expence does not amount to much above two Millions; for as every Man ought in Juftice to be made to contribute to the public Expence, according to the Share of Riches he poffeffes, and as the Lands in *Great Britain* are not near equal in Value to the other Riches of the Nation, it is doing an Injuftice to the Landed Intereft, to make them contribute one Moiety of the public Charge, which will be their Cafe for this next enfuing Year. But as the Land Tax is now entirely out of the Queftion, I fhall not take up your Time with enlarging upon the Subject.

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1736-7.



The other Method hinted at is a Method extremely plaufible in Appearance, but I queftion much, Sir, if it will ever be found practicable; that I am fure, it cannot be propofed as a Method for raifing any Part of the Supplies we have already agreed to for this enfuing Year. In effect, it cannot properly be called a Method of providing for Supplies; it is rather a Method for diminifhing the ufual neceffary Supplies, and cannot therefore come properly before us in this Committee. I do not at all queftion but there are many *fine-ture* Pofts in this Kingdom, as well as in every other, and many ufelefs or extravagant Salaries. Some of them might perhaps be abolifhed; but I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to abolifh them all, and therefore I am afraid the Saving in that Way, upon the fevereft Scrutiny, would not amount to near the Sum the Hon. Gentleman fupposes. However, let it amount to what it will, it cannot be made a Provision for the Supplies of the next enfuing Year; becaufe if we were immediately to appoint a Committee for enquiring into that Affair, we cannot fuppose that Committee would be able to go through the Bufinefs in this Seflion, nay, I doubt much if they would be able to make even a partial Report; and as many of thofe Pofts, I be-

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



lieve most of the useless ones, are held for Life, and are a sort of Free-hold, we could not at once, and without any Consideration, turn the present Possessors out of their Free-hold; therefore, from such an Enquiry the Nation could not expect any great immediate Advantage; at least, not such a great and immediate Advantage, as would be sufficient for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for the next ensuing Year.

‘ I hope, Sir, I have said enough for convincing every Gentleman, that the Method now under our Consideration, for making good the Supplies of this next ensuing Year, will in all Probability be sufficient for the End proposed; and that of all the Methods that have been proposed, or so much as hinted at, it is the least burdensome, and the least liable to occasion any fresh Murmurs among the People; therefore it is certainly the Method we ought to chuse. It is, indeed, in my Opinion, the only Method we have to chuse; for, I think, I have shewn, that the other two Methods that have been mentioned, are both impracticable; and as I join in that which seems to be the general Opinion, that the Supplies we have already voted ought to be made good, I think I am both in Honour and Conscience bound to give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, because it is the only Method we can chuse for doing that which every Gentleman acknowledges ought to be done.’

This is the Substance of the several Debates which happened in this Affair relating to Sweets; in which those who were for the Duty got the better upon every Division, except one, which was in relation to that Clause in the Bill, whereby it is provided, that nothing in that Act contained should extend, or be construed to extend, to charge with any Duty such Wine as the Owners or Occupiers of *British* Vineyards should make from the Juice of the Grapes only growing thereon; for the Adding of any such Clause, to exempt such Liquors from the Duty on Sweets, was opposed by most of the Gentlemen who were Favourers of the Duty and Bill; however, upon a Division it was carried against them, and the Clause, as it now stands, was accordingly inserted in the Bill.

On *Monday*, May 16th. A Bill entitled, “ An Act to disable *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; from taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Place of Magistracy in the City of *Edinburgh*, or elsewhere in *Great Britain*, and for imprisoning the said *Alexander Wilson*, and for abolishing the Guard kept up in the said City, commonly called the *Town Guard*, and for taking away the Gates of the *Nether-Bow* Part of the said City, and keeping open the same.”

The

The Title of the Bill being read,

ANNO 10 GEO. II.
1736-7.

James Oglethorpe, Esq; opposed the receiving the Bill at all: Because he was of Opinion that ' the House of Lords would refuse to receive from that House any Bill of Pains and Penalties, which might affect any Member of their House: And that if such a Precedent was set; as that a House of Peers for every Offence committed, or supposed to be committed by a Commoner, might send down a Bill of Pains and Penalties to be passed in the House of Commons, the Independency of the Commons must be utterly broken.'

James Oglethorpe,
Esq;

Sir John Barnard. ' Suppose the Bill which is sent down had enacted, that among other Pains and Penalties the City of Edinburgh should from henceforth cease to be a City or Corporation. Could any Gentleman, after the passing such a Bill, have kept his Seat in this House as Member for that City or Corporation? Sir, he must have ceased to be a Member, as soon as the Corporation he represented ceased to be a Corporation. And shall we ever receive a Bill from the other House for turning one of our own Members out of Doors? This House ought to shew as much Respect for their Constituents, from whom they derive their Right of sitting here, as they would do to their Representatives themselves. If any Preference is due, it is due to that Body from whom they derive their Right of sitting in this Place; for while they are judging one of their own Members, they are judging of their own Privileges; but while they are judging of their Constituent's Rights or Properties, they are judging of what is not their own, but what they have only in Trust; and of which they therefore ought to be more tender.

Sir John Barnard.

Duncan Forbes, Esq; * ' It would sound very ill, that a British House of Commons, in which there are but Forty five Representatives for Scotland, should receive such a Bill: Edinburgh is now a City of Great Britain, nay, the second City. And I appeal to the Gentlemen who represent the Cities and Boroughs of England, to know in what Manner they would treat a Bill inflicting such Pains and Penalties upon any of the Cities which they represent. They are in Honour obliged to protect the Commons of Scotland as much as the Commons of England; because the Scots trusted to their Honour, when they united with them upon the Terms they did. They are in Prudence obliged to protect the Privileges of every Borough of Scotland as much as the Privileges of any Borough of England; because no Incroach-

Duncan Forbes, Esq;

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* Then the King's Advocate for Scotland, since President, of the Session there.

Anno. 10. Geo. II.
1736-7.

ment can be made, no Injury done to the one, but what may be made a Precedent for doing the same to the other: If they allow the other House to incroach upon the Privileges of the Commons of Scotland, it will be a Precedent for their incroaching upon the Commons of England. If they accept of this Bill, if they give it a Reading, I shall soon expect to see a Bill brought them from the other House, for turning some of their Members out of Doors.'

Sir William Yonge.

'The other House has a Power of enquiring. When they begun the Exercise of that Power, they found it necessary to go a Step farther, and to punish as well as enquire, which they could do no otherwise than by the Bill now before us. As this is their only Aim, as it is an Aim which cannot but be approved, I hope this House will not be too jealous of its Privileges on such an Occasion; for even tho' it were indisputable that the other House ought not to be allowed to bring in a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any City or Borough of Great Britain, yet in a Case where no Incroachment is intended, and which may so greatly contribute to the domestic Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, it is absolutely necessary for both Houses, not to be over-scrupulous in Point of Privilege.'

Sir Robert Walpole.

'It was very natural for the other House to enter upon this Enquiry, because there is generally a Kind of Cessation of Business in that House, during the first three or four Weeks of the Session, which are generally in the House of Commons taken up in settling the Supplies for the current Services of the Government. I am as jealous of the Rights of this House, as any Gentleman here; but I think too scrupulous a Jealousy may at this Time be attended with the worst of Consequences. As to what my Honourable and Learned Friend behind me mentioned, about the Tenderness we ought to shew to the Corporations and Boroughs we represent, especially those of Scotland; I think, Sir, our going upon this Bill is the greatest Mark of Tenderness we can shew. It is in order to punish, in a more exemplary Manner, a Practice, that has been but too much encouraged of late; a Practice, that if not suppressed, must destroy the Right of all Corporations, and perhaps abolish the Privileges of this House, and the very Form of our Constitution. The other House having entered upon this Enquiry, has brought the Bill to such a Forwardness, that perhaps it may come Time enough to prevent the Consequences before it is too late; therefore, I think, we are rather obliged to the Care and Concern

Concern they have taken in this Affair, and I hope Gentlemen will not oppose the Bill, without better Reasons than any that have yet appeared.' *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*

Sir William Windham. ' I am very sorry that what the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last has said is but too true. The first Part of our Session is commonly spent in granting Money to the Crown ; but formerly it was otherwise ; and if this House had taken Example by their Ancestors, instead of voting a Supply the 2d or 3d Day of the Session, they would have voted an Enquiry into those Riots and Tumults, which of late have been so frequent and so general all over the Kingdom ; for the People never grow tumultuous without some Cause, and 'tis very probable the late Tumults have proceeded from some Abuses or some Grievances which they ought to enquire into. The best Way of judging of Men's Intentions is by their Actions ; and as the Bill brought from the other House is certainly, as we think, an Incroachment upon the Privileges of this House, the surest and safest Way of judging is, to suppose an Incroachment was intended. Incroachments have always been made at the most favourable Junctures ; and if ever the other House should endeavour to incroach upon this, they will always take Occasion to do it, with respect to Bills which seem absolutely necessary ; so that if we made the Expediency, or even the Necessity of a Bill, a good Reason for submitting to an Incroachment, we should very soon have no Privileges left. As this House is the Grand Inquest of the Nation, it is their proper Business to enquire into all public Abuses, especially where any of their own Members are concerned ; and if the other House does upon any Occasion take upon them to enquire into any such public Abuse, they ought to proceed no further ; they might then at a Conference communicate to that House the Discoveries they had made, and leave it to that House to proceed by Impeachment, or by a Bill of Pains and Penalties ; which the other House might have done in the present Case ; and their not having done so seems to shew, they had an Intention to take Advantage of that favourable Opportunity for making a little Incroachment upon a Privilege, which they knew would have otherwise been strenuously contested. Whether or no there is a Necessity for punishing the City, or any of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, cannot appear to us now, and therefore cannot be an Argument of the least Weight in this Debate ; but suppose there is such a Necessity, there is no Necessity of the Session's breaking up at a certain Day. We may go upon an Enquiry immediately ; the Witnesses are all in Town ; these

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



these Witnesses may soon be examined; and upon that Examination, we may order a new Bill to be brought in, if we saw Cause; and that new Bill may pass through both Houses long before it will be absolutely necessary to put an End to the Session: Therefore, I see no Inconvenience that can ensue from not receiving the Bill now brought from the other House; and for that Reason cannot agree to its being read a first Time.'

Patrick Lind-
say, Esq;

The Bill however was read a first Time, and upon a Motion for reading it a second Time, *Patrick Lindsay*, Esq; Member for *Edinburgh*, spoke as follows.

Mr. SPEAKER,

SIR,

'The Concern which I have in this Bill, as it affects the Rights, the Privileges, and Franchises of the City which I have the Honour to represent in this House, as well as it affects personally him who has now the Honour to be the Chief Magistrate of that City; this Concern, I say, Sir, will (I hope) plead my Excuse to this Honourable House, for presuming to take upon me, Sir, to submit to your Consideration, my Sense of this Bill, and of the Effects of it, should it pass into a Law. Sir, That cruel, barbarous and inhuman Murder, that most outrageous and atrocious Riot, which was committed at *Edinburgh* the 7th of *September* last, must affect every Person of Humanity with Horror: And as it was, Sir, a trampling upon all Civil Governments, and a bold and manifest Violation of the Laws, and a direct Insult upon the legal Authority, it cannot fail to raise Gentlemen's Indignation, and to rouse the Resentment of every true *Briton* to do Justice to the Public, by pursuing any Measure that may be most likely to punish so black a Crime, a Crime so dangerous to civil Society, and to bring the execrable and desperate Authors of it to condign Punishment.—But, Sir, I hope Gentlemen's Zeal for Justice will not so far blind their Understanding, as to allow themselves to be diverted from the Pursuit of Justice, and to be misled from the right Scent by falling upon the Innocent, and there to allow the Guilty to escape and to pass unheeded.—By whom, Sir, was this bloody Murder, this outrageous Riot committed? By a Mob, Sir; a Mob composed, as Mobs commonly are, of the lowest Class of the People, by Persons of dissolute and bad Lives, and of worse Manners; Persons who despise the Office of Magistracy, and hate the Persons of Magistrates, because Magistrates punish and controul their Crimes, and restrain them from Acts of Violence, and from committing Disorders; Persons who are prone to do Mischief, and when they can do it with hopes
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of Impunity, rarely fail to insult and abuse the Persons of Magistrates.—And who, Sir, are by this Bill to be punished for this Riot? Those who committed the Insult? No, Sir; by this Bill those who were insulted are to be punished. Is the Insolence of the Multitude to be repressed by this Bill? No, Sir; the Hands of the Civil Magistrate are to be weakened by this Bill. In a free Country, Sir, the Civil Magistrate only can suppress and prevent Riots and Disorders: And how? By punishing of Rioters and disorderly Persons. And if the Hands of the Civil Magistrate are not strengthened, the Office of Magistracy must become useless.—Sir, I have observed, since I came last to this Place, that a very odd Notion has prevailed here, and with great Grief and Concern, Sir, I find this Notion to be general, that Persons of all Ranks, (in that Country where that abominable Crime was committed) favour this foul, this black, this most detestable Crime; than which, Sir, nothing is more unjust, nothing more false and untrue. I therefore beg Leave to explain this a little.—The Mobs in that part of the Kingdom, Sir, resemble very much the Mobs here; they are composed here as well as there (and I believe every where) of such Persons as I have just now described to you; but there is one Difference betwixt the Mobs in that Country and your Mobs here, and that is, however wicked the Mobs in that Country may be, yet they are not so abandoned as to do Mischief with their Eyes open. But, Sir, the lowest Class of People in that Country have generally speaking a Turn to Enthusiasm, and so strong is the Influence, such is the Force of Delusion, that they can work themselves up to a firm Persuasion and thorough Belief that any Mischief they are to do is not only lawful but laudable; that it is their Duty to do it, and from a religious Principle, to do it at any risque, even at the risque of their Lives.

‘ Hence it is, Sir, that Riots and Disorders are less frequent in that Country than here, and when Mobs do rise there, they are more determined, and consequently more dangerous.

The unthinking Multitude, Sir, are but too much encouraged in this by the Clergy; for, Sir, when the Clergy are like to be defeated or disappointed in any particular View of disposing of any Ecclesiastical Benefice and Preferment as they have a Mind, because the Law stands in their way, they abuse the unwary People, Sir, and spirit them up to despise and disobey the Law, by this dangerous Doctrine, too often inculcated—upon such Occasions, *that such a Law is Iniquity—established by Law.*

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



‘ This dangerous Doctrine, this seditious Practice, in openly and publicly maintaining it, cannot be charged, Sir, upon the Church of *Scotland*, or upon the Clergy of that Country in general. They, Sir, by much the major Part of them, are good Men as well as good Christians, Men of sound Principles in their Lives, and in their Practice, blameless; Men who think, as every Gentleman of this House does, Sir, that the Laws of every Country ought to be obey’d, as the sole and only Rule of Government in every Country; but this seditious Doctrine is preached up by those wild, hot-headed, violent High Church Clergy, who are not to be satisfied with any Power, unless they possess all Power; and by them only. Yes, Sir, I am sorry to say it, we have High-church Presbyterians, who have higher Notions of Clerical Power, than any Protestant Clergy whatever; some there are, Sir, who assert and maintain an absolute Independency on the Civil Power.— Sir, the dangerous Effect of Doctrines of this Kind is, that when Men are taught and brought to believe, that any Law whatever in Iniquity established by Law, and while it remains in Force under the Sanction of the Legislature it may nevertheless be disobey’d, and the Civil Magistrate resisted in the Execution of it, Men of weak Understanding and strong Passions will easily deceive themselves, and look upon every Law that interferes with their Passions to be Iniquity; especially, Sir, if they have, as all weak People commonly have, a good Opinion of themselves and of their own superior Sanctity and Holiness.

‘ Now, Sir, I must beg Leave to explain the Source of these late Disorders, that have given so much Trouble to the Legislature.

‘ The pernicious Practice of Smuggling prejudicial to the fair Trader, and so hurtful to the common and general Good of the Nation, has prevailed but too much in that Country, Sir, as well as in this. Whoever, Sir, may be the Importers and Proprietors of Run Goods, it is most certain, that the lowest Class of Men, the Dregs of the People, those Persons who compose Mobs, are the Persons employ’d in the running of these Goods, and they get so much more, Sir, by this illicit Trade, than they can by honest Labour, that they neglect their Labour for the Sake of this vile and destructive Trade.

‘ As this lowest Herd of Mankind, Sir, have been taught that one Law is Iniquity, they have taught themselves that some other Laws are so too; if one may judge of their Principles by their Practice, all your Revenue Laws stand in an unfavourable Light with them, Sir.’

‘ Every

‘ Every Gentleman, Sir, has heard of the Execution of that noted Smuggler *Andrew Wilson*, whence all this Mischief has flowed. That deluded Man, Sir, maintained to the Hour of his Death, that he was most unjustly condemned, and died with great Tranquillity; so firm, so fixed was he in the Belief of his own Innocence; he maintained this, Sir, in a Debate with one of the Rev. Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and a very able Clergyman he is. When this Minister, Sir, was endeavouring to underceive him, and bring him to a Sense of his Guilt of the Crime for which he was condemned, he admitted that he had taken Money from a Collector of the Revenue by Violence; that he did it because he knew no other way of coming at it; that the Officers of the Revenue had by their Practice taught him this was lawful, for they had often seized and carryed off his Goods by Violence, and so long as they had Goods of his of greater Value in their Hands than all the Money he took from them, they were still in his Debt, and he had done no Wrong.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.



‘ I am afraid, Sir, this Martyr to this new heretical Sect of Smuggling was too much favoured by the misled and unwary Multitude; too many of them thought, as he himself did, Sir, that he was unjustly condemned, and every one who firmly believed this would, no doubt, think it his Duty to save and to rescue this innocent Person (as they thought him) from the Rigour of Law; and, Sir, if the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* had not taken extraordinary Precautions to put this Sentence in Execution, he, this *Wilson*, Sir, would very probably have been rescued by the Multitude.—But, Sir, when they saw themselves disappointed, no sooner was this Execution over, than they began to wreck their Malice upon that Guard which had, upon many other Occasions as well as that, suppressed their Disorders, and restrained their guilty Hands from doing of Mischief, and committing of real not imaginary Iniquity; upon that Guard, Sir, which is to be abolished by this Bill. — Upon this Occasion, Sir, the unhappy Person who then commanded the Guard, did, from an Apprehension I suppose that he might be overpowered by the great Crowds of People then assembled, defend himself and his Men by their Fire Arms, whereby several of the Multitude were killed and wounded: And what were the Effects of this, Sir? — The Persons who were then killed and wounded were of that Class of People who commonly attend such melancholy Spectacles, Sir, that is, of the lowest Class. The Mob, Sir, from that Moment began to murmur, from an Apprehension, that because no Person of Rank and Condition had been killed,

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

therefore would this barbarous Murderer (as they called him) escape from Justice by the Favour of Persons of Condition. And in this, Sir, they were not mistaken, for — No sooner was this unhappy Person condemned by Law, Sir, than Numbers of Persons of Condition set a Petition on foot to intercede with her Majesty (then Guardian of the Realm) for Mercy; they did this, Sir, not so much out of Tendernefs to this Man, that they thought his Case hard, as from another Motive, a Motive of a public Nature; and that was, Sir, should this Sentence have taken Effect, the Mob would become more insolent, when they found that the Civil Magistrate, or other Persons acting under his Authority, were in no better Case than they who resisted the Civil Magistrate in the Execution of the Law; but if by this Man's Pardon, if by the Interposition of Mercy from the Crown, they were convinced, that every Person who acted by Law, to put the Laws in Execution, acted safely, and that every Person that acted otherwise did it with a Rope about his Neck, that would effectually suppress the Insolence of the Multitude, and force Obedience to the Law, even from those base Minds who by Force alone are to be driven into a Sense of their Duty. — Who then, Sir, of that Country approves of that wicked Murder and Riot? The Mob only, Sir, by whom it was committed; Persons who have no Property, and therefore are fond of Disorders, because they can lose nothing by Disorders, and if they can escape Corporal Punishment, are often Gamers by public Calamity and Disorder.

‘ This then, Sir, appears plainly to be a Dispute betwixt the People of *Scotland*, (by whom, Sir, I mean every Man of Property, every Freeman, every Man who may suffer by the Subversion of the Laws, and by the Loss of Liberty) and whom, Sir? The Canalzie, the Dregs of the People of *Scotland*, that Class who are anciently call'd by your Law, Villains; that ignorant Herd of Bigots, who are always misled by crafty and ill-designing Clergymen; for Men of Sense and Knowledge, Sir, have a much surer and a better Guide, that is, right Reason, that eternal and unerring Rule.

Sir, It is a great Misfortune to that Country where this bloody Tragedy was acted, that many Gentlemen who hear me are so much Strangers to it, Strangers to its Laws and Customs, Strangers to the Manners and Tempers of the People, Strangers to these different Ways of thinking of the People of Knowledge and Condition, from the Principles of the inferior Multitude, which I have now, Sir, been endeavouring to explain to you, so far as they relate to the present Case.

‘ There-

‘ Therefore, Sir, if it is the Sense of the House to proceed upon this Bill, the Consideration of it requires the greater Attention, the Interest of *England* makes it necessary ; ’tis an Affair of the utmost Consequence to the Liberty of the Subject, and as it ought, it will no doubt be treated as such, for the United Kingdom is greatly interested in the Manner of determining of this Bill, as well as in the Fate of it.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736 7.

‘ Sir, While the two Nations remained in a State of Independency, those frequent Wars, which are but too common betwixt neighbouring Nations, begot mutual Fears, mutual Jealousies and Distrusts, national Hatred, and national Aversions : But as the Cause of these national Feuds and Enmities most happily ceased by the Union of the Crowns, I hope, Sir, the Effect also ceased with the Cause. — From that happy Period, Sir, both Nations were embark’d upon the same Bottom ; the Honour and Interest of both became the common and inseparable Cause of both ; the Honour and Interest of one could not be hurt without affecting the other ; and I think, Sir, the Subjects of both Nations became very soon sensible of this, that by that happy Accident they were reduced from a State of Enmity to a State of perpetual Friendship ; and I think we may observe from Experience, that those national Prejudices and Distrusts began very soon to abate : Even so early, Sir, as the unhappy Civil War in the Reign of King *Charles I.* which broke out within less than 40 Years after the Union of the Crowns. May we not observe, Sir, the Subjects of both Nations, who were of the same Sentiments and Opinions with regard to the Causes of that unhappy War, making and entering into Alliances and Confederacies with one another against the Subjects of both Nations who were of contrary Sentiments ? Was not that War carried on by *Scotsmen* and *Englishmen* against *Englishmen* and *Scotsmen* without the least national Distinction, or national Distrust ? They were even at that time, Sir, perfectly sensible, that the Liberties of any one of the Nations could not be subverted without destroying the Liberties of the whole, and that the whole could not be preserved unless the Liberty of every Part of the whole was preserved and secured upon the same Footing.

The same Thing appeared, Sir, at the late happy Revolution : Were not the Subjects of both Nations equally forward, equally zealous in the Cause of Liberty, a Cause inseparably common to both ? And did not a few of both Nations, without Distinction, adhere to what they called the Prerogative of the Crown, and the indefeasible Right

Anno 10. Geo. of the unhappy and unfortunate Prince then upon the
II. 1736-7. Throne? But now, Sir, we are in a Situation very different from that; we are now, Sir, by an incorporating Union become one and the same People, bound and cemented together by all the Ties that bind Individuals in civil Society.

' The representative Body of the People of *Scotland* did, upon that Occasion, Sir, express an absolute Trust and Confidence in this Nation of *England*; no Security, no Guarantee whatever, was on their Part required for the Performance of the several Articles and Conditions stipulated by that Treaty in our Favour, other than the Faith of a *British* Parliament. In this, Sir, they acted most wisely; for what Security, what Force, what Power, what Constitution could have been contriv'd, that could have proved so absolute, so real, and so effectual a Security, as the Faith, the Justice, the Honour, the Candour of an English Parliament; I say an English Parliament, Sir; for in a Parliament of *Great-Britain*, the Representatives of that Part of the United Kingdoms do not make up the tenth Part of either House.

We had, Sir, the Experience of Ages to induce us to follow so wise a Course; the Legislature of *England* had always acted wisely, never like arbitrary Governments from Caprice or Humour, but had always steadily pursued the real Interests of the Nation of *England* with great Judgment, great Sagacity and Forecast; and we, Sir, were sensible that our Interests were the same with yours, that so long as you minded your own Interests, ours must be safe in your Hands. Then, Sir, however weak and ignorant People may think or act, People who are weak enough to be misled by national Prejudices, yet the Wisdom of the Nation will always act uniformly, always act wisely.'

' I know, Sir, 'tis the Way of speaking without Doors among such weak and foolish People, that the Legislature may be unconcerned and indifferent as to any public Measure as to *Scotland*; that 'tis a Matter of no Moment how, or in what Manner any public Law affects that Country; whether these People are dissatisfied or not, should they be ever so much displeased, ever so much angry, it is of no Consequence; should they even take it into their Heads to mutiny and to rise in Rebellion, it signifies nothing, for we have always as many Troops quartered amongst them as are sufficient to conquer them.

' This is easily said, Sir, and I admit it might be as easily done too; but because such a Thing might be done, would such a Measure be just, would it be a wise Measure?

Sir,

Sir, so foolish and so foul a Deed as this would be falsely called Conquest; it would be an Act of Treachery, it would be Treason, Sir, Treason of the blackest Kind! Treason against the People! If any Person of Condition was to talk thus, should the greatest Person of the Nation insinuate such a Thing by way of Advice, this House would take Notice of it, Sir; this House would impeach such a Person as an Enemy to the Public, as a most dangerous public Enemy; and give me Leave to say, Sir, that if ever the Legislature should be so blind to its own Interest, so false to the Trust reposed in them by the People, as to allow such a Use to be made as this of those Forces, which are maintained by the People, for the Preservation of their Liberty, the same Number that could conquer *Scotland*, could with much greater Facility conquer *England*.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

‘ Such Conquests as these, Sir, are easily made; very little Skill would be required in the General that would make so glorious a Conquest; Treachery, Treachery alone is the only Qualification necessary for the Executioner of such a Project: But would the Conquest be as easily maintained as made? No, Sir.

It is a common Saying, Sir, That Oppression makes all Men of one Mind. In that Event, Sir, ten Times the Number of Forces that made this Conquest, and perhaps made it with Ease too, would prove too few to maintain it.

‘ Every Gentleman, who is the least acquainted with History, knows what Miracles Oppression hath wrought upon the Oppressed. Do not the States of *Holland* owe their Being to Oppression? Do not the *Swiss Cantons* owe their Freedom and Independency to Oppression? Does not *Portugal* owe its Independency to the indiscreet and oppressive Measures of the Court of *Spain*? But I beg Leave, Sir, to bring one Instance nearer home.

‘ The *Cambrian Gauls* were reduced by force of Arms. As the Conquest of this powerful Country was once determined by the Fate of one Battle at *Hastings*, so they, Sir, after the Loss of a Battle, were obliged (as you did) to submit to Necessity. This Conquest was easily made; but was it as easily maintained? No, Sir; every one knows what Blood and Treasure it cost you to keep this Province in Subjection; and so sensible were your Ancestors of this, that after the Experience of near three Centuries, Sir, such was their Wisdom, that they of their own accord, and a wise Measure it was, Sir! I say, of their own accord, made that brave and invincible People a free People; and how, Sir? By admitting them to share as the Legislature
in

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.




in this House, by making them one and the same People nationally with yourselves, and removing, as far in you lay, all National Distinctions, that there should be no more Difference betwixt an *English* and a *Welsh* Man than there now is betwixt an antient *Briton*, a *Roman*, a *Saxon*, an *Angle*, a *Fute*, a *Dane*, or a *Norman*.

* Is it then to be imagined, Sir, that the Legislature of *Great Britain* could be capable of such Indiscretion, as to destroy, or in the least to impair and abate, that Harmony between the two United Nations, upon which the Happiness of both so much depends? That you, Sir, could by any unequal Dealing, or partial Procedure, force that antient and invincible Nation, that free and independent Nation, who, of their own accord, freely, without the least Restraint or Necessity, trusted themselves absolutely to your Faith, after both Nations had from an Experience of 100 Years, from a just Sense of their true and real Interests, come to an absolute and determined Resolution to become absolutely and entirely one and the same People! That you, Sir, who are the sole and only Guarantees of this Treaty, should force this Nation from this State of Friendship, a Friendship secured by every Tye that can bind Friends! That you, I say, Sir, should force them back again into a State of Enmity! That you should, contrary to all common Sense and common Honesty, betray this great Trust, and by Acts of Severity and Oppression, drive this Nation into a State of Slavery! This, Sir, is absolutely impossible so long as Mankind are possess of Common Sense in the smallest Degree; for no Argument is necessary, Sir, to convince you, that if ever any Part, especially so great and considerable a Part of this United Kingdom, is reduced to a State of Slavery, the whole must soon undergo the same Fate. We are now too closely united, not only bound but cemented together, by too many and too strong Tyes to be ever separated, without tearing out the Vitals of the United Kingdom, and rending it into Pieces. In all Events, both must share the same Fate, both must be free, or both must be Slaves. A free State, Sir, knows no Master but the Law; Freemen are governed by Law, and by Law only; Slaves are governed not by Law but by Arbitrary Rule, by Acts of Violence, and by Military Force; and whoever is Master of that Force, must be Master of all. If any part of the United Kingdom must submit to Slavery, all and every part must submit to Slavery, for no Proposition is more obvious and self-evident than this, that in a National Sense, *Scotland* is as much a Part of *England* as the Counties of *Kent* or *Cornwall* are;

are; and this County of *Middlesex*, and every Part of *Eng- Anno 10. Geo.*
land is as much a Part of *Scotland* as the County of *Edin- II. 1736-7.*
burgh is: That the Interests of all and of every Part of
Great Britain are so absolutely and so entirely the same,
 that no one Part can be hurt without affecting the whole,
 no more than the natural Body can be hurt or maim'd in
 any of its Members without feeling Pain; and therefore,
 Sir, every Part of the Whole must be equally the Care of
 the Legislature: And if this be so—then, Sir, this Bill
 must stand or fall by its own Merits. It will be try'd by this
 House, Sir, with the utmost Impartiality, and with the
 strictest Regard to Justice.—It will be considered by this
 House, Sir, as if this unhappy Disorder had been com-
 mitted in the City of *London*, in *York*, *Bristol*, or any other
 Corporation in *England*; and I submit it to Gentlemen's
 Consideration, how they, especially they who represent
 Cities and Burghs, how they, I say, like Bills of this kind.
 —Because a Disorder and a Crime has been committed,
 and because the Criminals have escaped and fled from
 Justice, therefore the Magistrates of that City or Burgh
 are to be punished by Bill, and the Corporation itself suffer
 in its Rights and Franchises, and be deprived of its Privi-
 leges. I have already hinted at the first Attempt that was
 made upon the Liberties of this Island: Gentlemen will ob-
 serve where that first Attempt was made, and where it
 pointed, and they may thank their Ancestors of that Ge-
 neration, who had Sagacity and Forecast enough to foresee
 where it must end, and foresaw it before it was too late.
Principiis obsta is a good Maxim.—I am not Lawyer
 enough, Sir, to form any Opinion of Bills of this Nature,
 but one part of the Procedure in another Place, in order to
 found this Bill, appears to me to be somewhat dangerous to
 the Privileges of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and that
 is, Sir, — the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* are ordered to at-
 tend at the Bar of another House on a certain Day, they
 appear, but we are not told whether they are ordered to
 attend as Evidences to give Information, or as Persons ac-
 cused of any thing. No, Sir; they are directly put upon
 Oath, and severally examined, direct Questions put, and
 direct and categorical Answers insisted upon, under no less
 Penalty than Contempt. They are not told, Sir, your
 Answer to this or to that Question may affect yourself
 penally, and therefore you are at Freedom to answer it or
 not; and nevertheless, Sir, upon those Answers is the Bill
 founded.—I say, Sir, I shall not pretend to form any Opi-
 nion of Bills of this kind. In my present way of think-
 ing, Sir, every State must have a Power to save itself, that
 the

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.



the whole Legislature may use any Method whatever to save the Public ; but I have always understood that Proceedings by Bills, such as this, were always consider'd as Remedies in Cases of extreme Necessity, and in such only. Therefore the first Question before you, Sir, is, Whether this be a Case of that kind.—I am sensible, Sir, I cannot now enter upon the Merits of this Bill, but I hope it will not be improper, if I explain to the House, Sir, the Occasion of this Bill.—The Report, Sir, that the Mob would make an Attempt to commit this Crime was pretty universal, and that this Attempt was to be made upon the Day appointed for this unhappy Man's Execution, unless he was executed at the usual Hour according to his Sentence. Agreeable to this Intelligence the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* used Precautions, and proper Precautions they were, Sir, to prevent this Mischief ; but the Mob, Sir, they were likewise sensible that their wicked Purpose might reach the Ears of the Magistrates, and if it did, Sir, were likewise sensible, from fatal and dear-bought Experience, that the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* had always, and upon all former Occasions, by the means of this City Guard, Sir, suppress'd Mobs and Tumults, and punished the Authors and Ringleaders of them with great Severity. By all that can be learned, Sir, (and great Pains have been taken to make Discovery) I say, Sir, it appears by the Discoveries that have been made, that the Mob despaired of Success, and therefore, Sir, a Number of the most determined entered into a Conspiracy, and bound themselves by a solemn Oath to execute any Purpose that should be agreed on by the Majority, and to lose their Lives rather than to discover this Secret, or to discover one another ; and if Gentlemen knew how strong and sacred a Tye an Oath is with these People, they would not be surprized that this Secret was so well kept.—There is no direct Proof of this, Sir, but the Presumption from several Circumstances is very strong, and the Event makes it highly probable. For this Attempt to surprize and disarm the City Guard, upon which the Success of their whole Scheme depended, was executed in a Moment, upon a Signal, and at a Time, when no Magistrate or Citizen of *Edinburgh* had the least Suspicion of it, nor indeed any other Person, unless those who were in the Plot : This, Sir, plainly appears to have been the Case ; and if it is so, where is the Guilt of the Magistrates or Citizens of *Edinburgh* ?—All the World heard, Sir, of Mischiefs that were threatened by the Mob here, when the Gin-Act was to take place, and agreeable to these Reports, Precautions were taken to prevent

vent these Riots and Disorders that were threatened ; but when, Sir ? upon *Michaelmas Eve* only, and not before. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.*
 Now, Sir, suppose a Number of this Mob had engaged themselves in a Plot, and kept their Secret, and had the Night before these Precautions were taken committed any outrageous and criminal Act of Violence, and had under the Favour of the Night and other Disguises of Apparel all of them made their Escape, would it have been thought necessary to have brought in a Bill to punish the Magistrates and the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* ? Sir, I think this is precisely the Case, and I therefore submit it to the House, Sir, if there is the least Foundation for this Bill ? Should this Bill, Sir, pass into a Law, the Office of Civil Magistracy would become so dangerous that no wise Man, no prudent Man, would ever accept of it ; and if the Magistrates of this City have been, at this Period, unable to suppress a Tumult, when they had Power to support their Authority, how can they preserve the Peace of this populous City, when that Power is taken from them ?— This City Guard, Sir, is a Watch, a Watch by Day as well as by Night ; it is a Creature of the Civil Magistrate, under his Direction only ; it is subject to no Mutiny Act, but governed by the same Law, that other Subjects are, and if it should be abolished, what would be the Consequence ? If this Bill should pass into a Law, this ancient City, this Metropolis of one of the United Kingdoms, must either be reduced to a State of Anarchy and Confusion, to be governed by the licentious and unruly Multitude, or, which is worse, Sir, it must submit to a Military Government, and so by a Side-Wind, and without any Design, you shall in consequence of this Bill introduce a Practice that must very soon put an End to all Liberty.— For, Sir, when you cannot execute the Law, nor preserve the Peace without Military Force, when those who have the Direction of that Force shall become sensible that they, and they alone, can execute your Laws, they will soon become the Makers as well as the Executioners of your Laws, as once happened to this Nation already,—when your own Army under that crafty Traitor *Cromwell* usurped the whole Power of the Legislature, and of the Civil Magistrate. For these Reasons, Sir, I hope you will proceed no further upon this Bill.

These and the foregoing Reasons had such Weight with the House, that tho' the Bill was ordered a second Reading, the House agreed upon a Motion made by Sir *John Barnard*. *Sir John Barnard.*

Anno 10. Geo.

H. 1736-7.



' That the Lords be desired, that the Grounds upon which the said Bill proceeded in their House may be communicated to the House of Commons at a Conference.'

May 18. The Lords at a Conference delivered to the Managers for the House of Commons, an Authentic Extract of the Proceedings in the Trial of Captain *John Porteus*, wherein was contained the Verdict against the said Captain *Porteus*, the Sentence of the Lords of the Justiciary of *Scotland* against him, and the Reprieve of the said Captain *Porteus* granted by her Majesty as Guardian of the Realm. As also

A Letter from *Alexander Wilson*, Provost of *Edinburgh*, to Major General *Moyle*, dated *Edinburgh*, April 13, 1736. Which Authentic Extract and Letter were brought up to the Table, and the Report being read, it was ordered,

That Mr. *Attorney General*, and Mr. *Solicitor General*, take Care that the Evidence for the ingrossed Bill from the Lords (entitled as before mentioned) be ready to be produced to the House upon that Day Sevensnight; and likewise, that Mr. *Attorney General* appoint Counsel learned in the Law, to produce and manage the Evidence at the Bar of the House upon that Day Sevensnight, to make good the Allegation of the said Bill; and that the following Persons attend the House on that Day Sevensnight, viz. (A) Major General *Moyle*. (B) Colonel *Duraure*. (C) Major *Poole*; Captain *Bendish*; Lieutenant *Ashton*. (D) Major *Robertson*. (E) *John Din*. (F) Mr. *John Bailey*. (G) Mr. *Alexander Nisbet*. (H) Mr. *Robert Stewart*. (I) Mr. *George Irvine*; Mr. *Thomas Young*. (K) Mr. *Roderie Brown*. (L) Mr. *Christopher Chiffolm*.

On Friday the 20th, was presented to the House, and read a Petition of *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; Lord Provost of the City of *Edinburgh*, averring his intire Innocence of the several Matters alledged against him in the Preamble of a Bill, then depending in that House, (entitled, as before mentioned) and therefore praying that he might be heard by his Counsel against the said Bill, at the second Reading thereof, which was accordingly ordered. And on the Tuesday fol-

(A) Colonel of the Regiment then lying in the Cannon-gate. (B) Lieutenant Colonel of Ditto. (C) Officers of Ditto. (D) Fort Major of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. (E) Town Clerk. (F) A Merchant, since an Officer in the Army. (G) A Surgeon in *Edinburgh*. (H) A Shoe-maker there. (I) Magistrates there. (K) Turnkey of the Prison. (L) A Surgeon.

following, was presented to the House, and read, A Petition of the Magistrates and Town Council of the City of *Edinburgh*, in the Name of themselves, and Community of the same, setting forth 'That the Petitioners apprehended, that if the Bill then depending in that House (entitled, as before mentioned) should pass into a Law, it would greatly affect, and tend to destroy, the Rights, Franchises, Privileges, and Liberties of the said City of *Edinburgh*; and therefore praying that the Premises might be taken into Consideration, and that the Petitioners might be heard by their Counsel against such Parts of the said Bill, as affected the said City. Which was accordingly ordered. And then Captain *Lind* and Mr. *James Allen* were ordered to attend that House next Morning, when upon reading the Order of the Day, for that Bill's being read a second Time, it was proposed to put off the second Reading of it for a Month. But a Motion being made for reading it a second Time on that Day Se'nnight, after some Debate the Question was put upon the Motion for reading it a second Time on that Day Se'nnight, which upon a Division was carried in the Affirmative by 140 to 99; after which the several Persons who were ordered to attend on that Day, were ordered to attend on that Day Se'nnight.

Anno 10 Geo.
II 1736-7.

Accordingly, on *Wednesday, June 1*, the Order of the Day being read, the Counsel for and against the Bill were called in, and the Bill being read a second Time, the Hearing of Counsel, and Examination of Witnesses began, and was continued all that Day, all *Thursday, Friday, Monday, Tuesday* and *Wednesday* following. And,

Mr. *Lind*, Captain of the City Guard, the Night of the Riot, declared, 'That on *Friday* before he waited on the Provost, and finding him in Company with Mr. *Lindsay*, Member for the City, and several other Magistrates, he called him aside, and acquainted him with the Report; who desired the said Captain *Lind*, to repeat the same Things before the Company, which he did, and they were all of Opinion there was no Foundation for the Report; however, desired him to enquire into the Grounds of it: That he (Captain *Lind*) was out of Town till the *Monday* Evening, and after he came to Town heard the Report again; and repaired to *Muirhead's* Coffee-House, to talk with the Provost, and sending his Name in, had for Answer, *That the Provost was busy, but that he would be in the Council Chamber about four o'Clock*; when he accordingly went to receive his Orders for next Day, but had none for preventing the Riot.'

One *Din*, and one *Baily*, were the only Witnesses who

Anno 10. Geo
II. 1736-7.



declared that they had heard such a Report, and that they believed it long before the Riot.'

Bailey being examined about a Conversation he had with *Din* on the *Monday*, declared 'that *Din* spoke to him of it as a foolish Story, and said that he himself did not believe it.'

Sir *James Campbell*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Lindsay*, Members of the House, declared, 'That the present Magistracy could not enter upon their Offices till he (*Din*) was removed, on account of the Infamy of his Character.'

The Evidence against the Bill endeavoured to prove, 'That altho' the Report went of such a Design for some Time before, yet there was nobody believed it: That the Day given out was *Wednesday*, the Day on which *Porteous* was to have been executed: That the Lord Provost had thereupon determined, in Council, that the whole three Companies of the Town Guard should mount upon that Day, and that both he and the other Magistrate, with the Members of the Town Council, should be ready to attend with the Badges of their respective Offices in quelling the Mob, should any happen.'

It was on the other Side proved 'that there was no Order given for that Purpose to the Captain of the Guard upon the *Tuesday*; neither was there any Ammunition distributed, which Precautions had been used at the Time of *Wilson's* Execution; and that it appeared there was not a Flask of Powder, nor a Pound of Shot amongst all the Town Guard. To this it was answered, that if the Provost had made any such Preparations before the Riot, it would have been the readiest Way to have created one; that if the Guard wanted Ammunition, it was their Captain's Fault, because he always, when his Men wanted Ammunition, got an Order from the Treasurer, empowering the Store-keeper to deliver out what was necessary for that Purpose.' *Young*, the Treasurer's, and *Hislop*, the Store-keeper's Evidence confirmed this.

It was then objected to the Provost, 'That there were two Ways, by which *Porteous* might have been secured from the Mob. The first was, to have sent him to the Castle. The other, that he might have been sent to the Cannon-gate Tolbooth. In Answer to this it was said, that the Sentence pronounced on *Porteous* by the Lords Justiciary run, 'That he should be sent back to the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, there to remain till the Execution of the Sentence'; and that it was not in the Provost's Power to have sent him to the Castle, there being no Instance of such

a Power's having been exerted since the Union, and that even before the Union, it could only have been done by a Warrant from the Privy Council of Scotland; and as for sending him to the Cannongate, he had as little Power, because the Cannongate was a Regality, and governed by its own Magistrates.

Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1736-7.

A Scottish Clergyman, Mr. Yates, declared, 'That being appointed to preach in the Church where Porteous was allowed to hear a Sermon on the Sunday before his Murder, he afterwards waited on Porteous, and took occasion to acquaint him with the Report he had heard, desiring him at the same Time to take Care whom he admitted into his Room.' Mr. Yates added, 'That Porteous slighted his Information, and said, *Were he once at Liberty, he was so little apprehensive of the People, that he would not fear to walk at the Cross of Edinburgh, with only his Cane in his Hand as usual.*

But the most material Evidence against the Provost, was the aforesaid Bailey, who insisted that he heard it in every Company, that the Design was to be put in Execution on the Tuesday, and that he drank with several who had openly approved of it. To which it was answered, That if Bailey kept such Company, there was little Stress to be laid on his Evidence; especially as he did not pretend to affirm that he had ever acquainted the Provost either with the Report, or the Person's Name who approved the Design.

As to what passed during the Time of the Riot, Captain Lind said, 'That being informed that the Mob was gathering, he went to Clark's Tavern; where the Provost was drinking with Mr. Bur, and other Officers of his Majesty's Ship the *Dread nought*, then stationed in the Road of Leith, and upon acquainting him with the Danger, the Provost desired him to go immediately back, and draw out his Men, and that he would instantly follow him, and put himself at the Head of the Guard to face the Mob. That he accordingly went to the Guard, but found that the Mob was already in Possession of the Guard-house, having disarmed them, and that they were distributing the Arms of the Guard out at the Window; whereupon they instantly returned, and met the Provost coming towards the Guard. That they immediately resolved to send Mr. Lindsay to General Myle, who went accordingly: That they marched again out of the Tavern, to which they were obliged to retire, to quell the Mob; and after a fruitless Attack upon the Mob, in which some of the Provost's Company were wounded, they were beat back: He likewise said, there were but ten or twelve Men, besides the Serjeant, Corporal and

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1736-7. and Drummer, upon Guard that Night, there being eight or nine in Prison on account of *Wilson's* Execution, and as many absent either with or without leave. That

when he appeared first to the Mob, they desired him to be gone, for they had nothing to say to him.*

One *Hunter* declared in a very distinct Manner, 'That when the Mob began to gather at the *Nether-Bow*, he was coming by the Guard, and told the Serjeant, or the Sentry, *The Mob was gathered, and seemed resolved to have their Will, and bid them take Care of themselves.*' That Captain *Lind*, in the mean Time, came down from the Provost, and that he neither heard nor saw him give any Orders to the Guard, only when he saw the Mob gathered towards the Head of *Black-friar* Wind, he clapt his Hand to his Sword, and cry'd, God's Mercy, What's that? And away he run as fast as his Feet could carry him.

Sutherland, the Serjeant, said, 'That when the Captain was gone, a Fellow with a blue Cap came up and asked the Sentry what it was o'Clock? This it seems was the Signal agreed on by the Conspirators; for in a Trice the same Fellow, backed by ten or twelve more, beat the Sentry on his Back, rushed in, and made themselves Masters of the Guard and their Arms, being followed by many more. However, it appears by *Lind's* Evidence, that they were moderate enough in the Use of Power, at least at that Juncture; for when he came, they very civilly desired him to be gone, for they wanted nothing with him, and warned him of his Danger if he offered to resist.

Sutherland, the Serjeant, agreed with *Hunter* in the main, only that *Hunter's* Words to the Sentry were, 'The Mob is up, I advise you to give them good Words, for they will have their Will. He said, that indeed Captain *Lind* desired him to take Care of the Guard; but that availed little, for not one of the Soldiers would have minded him; nay, they were so intimidated by what had happened to those under *Porteous's* Command, that he believed, except himself, scarce nay of them would have obey'd the Captain himself had he staid. Yet all agreed, that had the Captain been present and assembled all the Soldiers, who for the most Part lived within a Stone's-throw of the Guard-house, they might have easily prevented the Mob's taking Possession of the Guard-house. The Captain said in his Defence, that he had Orders from the Provost to return the first Time, that he thought no Messenger so proper as himself.'

It was proved by the Evidence of * Mr. *Baird*, and several others, that the Magistrates endeavour'd to raise the Train'd-

* A Merchant of Edinburgh.

Train'd Bands, or Militia of the City; for which Purpose they dispatch'd one *Haliburton* their Commandant, to Mr. *Rollo*, at whose House were the Books, which contained the Names and Places of Abode of every Captain of a Company; but when he came there he was denied Access by Mr. *Rollo's* Wife, who desir'd him to be gone. They then propos'd to ring the alarm Bell, but found the Mob had taken the Precaution to secure the Tower in which it hangs.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1736-7.

Hissop the Store-keeper and several others prov'd, ' that the Magistrates next sent to the Magazine for Arms, and that the Mob had likewise secured that.'

' It had been much insisted upon by the Counsel for the Bill, that the Provost ought to have put a Guard of Men in the Justiciary or Tolbooth-Room, which are it seems but a short Distance from one another, but it appeared by all the Evidence that in the Situation Affairs were then in it was quite impracticable.

Walker, the Town-Officer, whom the Mob had so pelted that he was oblig'd to through off his Livery-Coat, declar'd, he was by when they murder'd him, and that one more forward than the rest was check'd by the others and desired to wait for Orders; that he thereupon quitted the end of the Rope, which by this Time, being about *Porteous's* Neck, he was ready to have hoisted up, and went about to another, who very composedly gave him Orders, and that he return'd and drew the Rope up, which hang'd *Porteous*.

It farther appeared that the Magistrates were all this Time getting what Information they could by sending People who might mix in the Mob, and endeavour to know some of their Faces, but all in vain; only one Man return'd, who said he knew one Person there. The Magistrates desir'd him to name him, which it seems he did, and was desir'd to be in Readiness to give in what Evidence he could against him, when call'd upon.

Mr. *Lindsay* said, ' That he return'd about five in the Morning, and with several who had been with the Provost all Night, went to the Grass-Market where the Body of *Porteous* yet hung, and several People, to the Number of twenty or thirty as they thought in a Body, standing about: Most of the Evidence seem'd to think those were some of the Rioters, and said, they advis'd them to depart. One was seiz'd upon, but besides that they could make nothing of him; they had no Prison in which they could confine him; so thought it the most prudent Method to dismiss him: For being but a few of themselves, and the Mob seeming resolute, they had no Reason to doubt but they would rescue him; and

Anno 10. Geo. and perhaps, as they had committed such Outrages already, would not stick a greater. The King's Council laid great hold of this Circumstance to prove the Negligence both of the Provost and of the Town, but it was observ'd by Mr. *Murray*, Counsel for the Provost, that he was not then present, consequently admitting it to be a Neglect, not answerable for it.

Mr. *Lindsay* farther declar'd, ' That when he return'd from Major-General *Moyl's*, the Mob was pouring in vast Shoals out of the Town into the Country, and that he did not remember any one Face of the many hundreds he met with, tho' he had liv'd and born the highest Offices of the City for several Years.' Another of the Witnesses declar'd, ' That being at *Dalkeith*, a Village about five Miles from *Edinburgh*, 10 or 12 Days before the Riot, he there heard a Report that a Conspiracy to murder *Porteous*, if reprev'd, was form'd by the Friends of one *Ballantine*, a Youth of that Town, who went thence to see *Wilson's* Execution, and was one of them killed by *Porteous*, but that no Body believ'd it.

An Act made in the 9th of Queen *Mary* of Scotland, *Anno*, 1563, by which it was enacted that all Citizens who assembled to suppress any Riot within the Town of *Edinburgh*, without Authority from the Provost, incurr'd the Pains of Death, was produced and admitted an Evidence. Another Act of *James II.* of Scotland, *Anno* 1451, by which no Corporation was lyable to Punishment; for the Provost or any of the Magistrates Fault was likewise admitted an Evidence. The Articles of the Union were likewise insisted on, by which the Privileges of the Boroughs are to remain inviolable; and Mr. *Hamilton*, Council for the Town, offer'd in Evidence an Extract of the Minutes and Debates of the Session of Parliament in Scotland, in which the Articles anent the Privileges of Royal Boroughs is settled, whereby it appears that upon a Motion made to submit them to the Alterations of a *British* Parliament, a Debate arose, and it was resolv'd in the Negative, but this was refus'd as Evidence.

It was prov'd against the City that *Porteous* was insulted, going to his Trial, by the Mob: This was confirm'd by the Testimony of my Lord *Advocate*, who said he believ'd, that had it not been for the Guard he would have been torn in Pieces between the Tolbooth and the Justiciary Room, tho' not forty Paces distance from one another. The Fact was admitted, but Evidence was given that the Mob, who insulted *Porteous*, had no Interest in the Corporation who was to suffer by the present Bill, being either the lowest
Dregs

Dregs of the Inhabitants or People from the Country whose Relations had been kill'd on the Day of *Wilson's* Execution. It was likewise prov'd that almost all they who were kill'd were People from the Country.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.

Mr. *Lindsay*, Mr. *Young*, and several more were examined to prove the Usefulness of the Town-guard, particularly in two Respects, *viz.* That of extinguishing Fires and quelling former Mobs. It was plainly made out, that in a City so populous, and so close built, where 40 or 50 Families live under one Roof as in *Edinburgh*, it would be impossible to quench Fires, or to preserve the Goods during Fires without such an armed Force.

My Lord *Advocate*, and *Patrick Lindsay*, were asked, when upon Examination, whether, if the Town-guard had been under Arms and not surprized, they did believe the Guard would have been able to have quell'd the Mob; they answer'd they did, and most of the Evidence declar'd, that they believ'd, had the Guard been properly arm'd and commanded, the Rioters would not have attempted what they did.

As to what related to the taking away the Nether-Bow Gate, it was prov'd unanimously that the said Gate was of absolute Consequence to collecting the City Revenue, and that it prevented Smuggling. One of the honourable Gentlemen abovementioned said, that he did not think its being demolish'd would answer the Intentions of the Bill, because it was easy for a small Body to defend the Pass, where it was built against a much larger, even tho' the Gate was open. Several Evidences were produced, particularly the Act of Parliament by which the City collected two Pennys Scots, upon every Scots Pint of Ale vended within the Town, to prove the Loyalty of the Citizens on former Occasions, especially in the Year 1715, when they rais'd some Companies, and by their Zeal and Conduct prevented the surprizing the Castle by the Rebels.

Mr. *Irwin*, the Town Clerk, said, they had during that Period, and upon other Occasions, manifested their Loyalty much to the Prejudice of their Revenue, which is scarce able to defray the necessary Expence of their Town.

Mr. *Young* declar'd, that he found a Bond for some hundreds of Scots Marks, granted by the City of *Edinburgh* to one *Wightman*, who was obliged to advance that Money for the Payment of the Minister's Salary, the Revenue of the Town having been so exhausted; and all agreed in its having the most sincere Attachment to the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family.

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.



‘ We have given the Sum of this Examination, because without that the Extracts from the following Speeches would not be intelligible. The hearing of Counsel for and against the Bill being ended, and the Counsel withdrawn, Mr. *Speaker* open'd the Bill, whereupon a Motion was made by Mr. *Attorney General* for its being committed, in which he was seconded by Mr. *Solicitor General*, but it being late, the Consideration of the said Motion was adjourn'd till next Morning, being

June the 9th, when the said Motion was reassum'd; upon which a long Debate arose, of which we shall give Extracts.

Mr. *Attorney*
General.

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SIR,

The Bill now before us, I will venture to say is a Bill that at this Juncture must greatly contribute to the Peace and Tranquillity of this Nation. I am sorry to say it, but it is too visible that the Spirit of Dissaffection and Riot seems to have been gone abroad; and if a timely and an effectual Stop is not put to it by a vigorous Interposition of the Legislature, no Gentleman can take it upon him to say where it may stop. It has in the Chief City of our Part of the United Kingdom already left but too melancholy Proofs of its fatal Tendency; and how soon it may communicate itself to the other I tremble to imagine.

‘ The other House, Sir, by the seasonable Enquiry has, already set us the Example, in what Manner we ought to treat, and in what Manner we ought to punish such unheard-of Insolence and Barbarity, as the Action which gave Rise to this Bill. I hope, Sir, we never shall be upbraided with being cold in seconding their Zeal; I hope, Sir, that it never shall be laid to the Charge of a *British* House of Commons, that it has been remiss in punishing an audacious Insult upon all Law and Majesty, while the House of Peers has appeared zealous and forward in vindicating both.

‘ 'Tis true the Charge against the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh* consists in their neglecting to prevent the Tumult before it happened; in their neglecting to suppress it, or take proper Measures for that Purpose after it had happen'd, and in their neglecting to discover, apprehend, and secure those who were guilty of that audacious Riot and cruel Murder. But this Charge, which is the Foundation of the Bill, is not to be consider'd as Negligence only; for he who does not prevent a Crime which he might and ought to have prevented, has always in Law been looked upon as some way guilty of that very Crime, therefore if it should appear that the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* might and ought to have prevented this Tumult, or rather

rather Insurrection, or that they might and ought to have suppressed it, or that they might and ought to have discovered, apprehended, and secur'd the Rioters and Murderers. If it should appear that they neglected any of those Measures which were obvious for accomplishing either of those Ends, the Neglect must then be look'd on as a sort of wilful Neglect, and consequently they must be look'd on as guilty in some Measure of all those Crimes which were committed. And so every Gentleman who considers their Case in this Light, the Punishment propos'd by this Bill must appear merciful as well as mild.'

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1737.

Mr. Solicitor General set out with the following remarkable Introduction.

Mr. Solicitor
General.


S I R,

I have the Pleasure to observe that every one who has Occasion to speak upon this Head, expresses the utmost Detestation for the Actors of what was not only an Insult upon Majesty but an open Rebellion against Justice, nay, against Mercy itself. It has, I think, been universally allow'd, that it is out of the Reach of Common Law, to punish the Neglect of Duty in the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, it being attended with some peculiar Circumstances; and as I believe every Gentleman of this House is of Opinion, that such a Neglect ought to be punished, I may venture to affirm, that there was no other Method of doing it, but in the Method that has been taken. The Objection that seems to have the greatest Weight as to this Method is the Hardship of a Man's suffering by an Act *ex post facto*. But the supposing any such Hardship is to question the Justice and Wisdom of former Parliaments, who have ever proceeded in this Manner upon Misdemeanors which were out of the Reach of the common Forms of Law. Great Pains have been taken to find a Difference betwixt the Misdemeanors for which other Cities were punished by this House, and the Behaviour of the City of *Edinburgh*, in the late Riot. But, Sir, tho' two Cases of this Nature cannot be parallel to each other, in every Circumstance, every Case of a City losing its Privileges by the Censure of Parliament, amounts to a Proof that there have been Precedents of this Nature, 8 or 9 of which have been produc'd by the Gentleman who spoke against the Bill. I am far from believing that the Provost and Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were actually aiding to the Rioters when the unfortunate *Porteous* was murdered; for if they had, the Punishment would have been much more severe than what is imply'd in the present Bill. And to shew that I am willing to allow all that can reasonably be expected in fa-

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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.



vour of the Lord Provost and City of *Edinburgh*, I shall premise two or three Things: The first is, that I lay no Strefs on the Circumstances preceding the Murder of *Porteous*, nor do I think that the Town of *Edinburgh* shew'd any personal Rancour to the unfortunate Man in prosecuting him at their Expences. It was no more, Sir, than what their Duty requir'd of them, as he was a Servant of their own, and the Crime he committed was done while he was cloathed with their Authority, and in Effect committed against them. Nor am I, Sir, of Opinion, that they discover'd any Malice, but rather Favour in taking away his Pension, and leaving him half a Guinea a Week for his Subsistence while in Prison, since it comes out in Evidence that they did not put it in their own Pocket but gave it to the other two Captains who perform'd his Duty, nor could the Magistrates have been blam'd, had they depriv'd him of the whole. I farther admit, that the Provost behav'd both circumspectly and impartial, by leaving him to the Judgment of another Court, since by his own Authority he might have try'd him and condemned him in his own.'

We have thought it proper to give this remarkable Introduction in order to shew the Candour of the Gentlemen who were for the Bill. Mr. *Solicitor* then took a View of the Provost's Conduct in these three different Periods of Time, *viz.* before, during, and after the Murder of *Porteous*; and endeavour'd from a Deduction of Circumstances to prove that he had been Guilty of great Neglect, first, in not securing the Prisoner *Porteous* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, upon the first Surmise of the Conspirators Intentions; secondly, that he had not acted with that Vigour which he ought during the Time of the Riot.

He then proceeded to consider the Case of the City of *Edinburgh* as affected by the Bill, and observed, it was highly improbable that the Citizens were innocent, and that there being no positive Proof of a Citizen of *Edinburgh* being concerned in the Riot was owing to a Confederacy among themselves. As to the Hardship of taking their Watch from them, they had enjoy'd that Privilege in its present Form only since the Revolution, and they might return to their old Custom of Watch and Ward: And concluded his Speech in the following Terms:

' The Gentlemen on the other Side have likewise insisted upon the Hardships of proceeding against the Provost and City of *Edinburgh* in this Manner: There are only three Methods, Sir, by which a Parliamentary Prosecution can be or hath been carried on. One, which as been long
out

out of Use, I hope never shall be revived ; the second is by Impeachment ; and the third is by Bill, as in the present Case. The two last are the only Methods that could have been used against the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh*. Had they been proceeded against by an Impeachment, they could have had no Chance to be acquitted but one, which is the Judgment of the House of Peers, the Law having put it out of the King's Power to interpose where the Commons are the Prosecutors. But by the present Method, if the Party proceeded against is censured by the Peers, he has the Chance of being acquitted by the Commons, and if condemned by both, he has still a further Chance that the King will not pass the Bill. For these Reasons, I am heartily for the Commitment of this Bill.'

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.

Duncan Forbes, Esq; after expressing the utmost Abhorrence of the Crime and its Authors, and clearing himself from the Suspicion of all National Prejudice, went on as follows :

' The Citizens of *Edinburgh*, Sir, are divided into two Classes : One of which composes the Corporation, pays Scot and Lot, and has the only Right to vote in chusing their Magistrates and Representatives in Parliament : The other Class, Sir, consists of the very Dregs of the People, who have not the least Interest in any of these Points ; they easily embrace, and are much pleased with, every Opportunity of being tumultuous. Should the present Bill pass into a Law, it would be directly formed to favour the latter, who were the Authors of the Murder of *Porteous*, in case he was murdered by any who lived within the Jurisdiction of the City of *Edinburgh*, and to censure the former, who, it appears from the Evidence given at this Bar, has an Interest in quelling every Riot of the like Nature with that which is now under your Consideration, and who actually, as I hope to shew more at large by and by, did use their utmost Endeavours to quell the Riot which gives Rise to the present Bill.'

He then, after describing the City of *Edinburgh*, took Notice that the Situation of the City Guard was such as that it could not be removed without the greatest Inconveniency, and that the Citizens returning to their old Custom of Watch and Ward must be attended with the Ruin of their Trade, since they were by that Custom to mount Guard, each Man in his own Person for five or six Days in a Month. He then gave some affecting Instances of the Fury of Mobs in *Edinburgh*, and the Usefulness of the City Guard in quelling them.

' Allow me now, Sir, continues he, to consider the Conduct

Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1737.



duſt of the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, during that unparallel'd Insult upon all Laws and Government, which happened when the unfortunate *Porteous* was murdered. And indeed, Sir, I own I think it comes pretty plain out in the Evidence, that he behaved not only with Prudence but Zeal, nay with a Courage which could scarce be expected in a much younger and much more active Man. No Evidence of any Credit, Sir, has yet pretended to say, that the Lord Provost, or Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, had Information of this Riot's being to happen on the Day on which it did happen. It is true, one *Baily* is so rash as to own that he drank with some of the Conspirators, who defended the Justice of the Murder, some Days before it was perpetrated, and that he himself was present during the Riot: After an Acknowledgement of this Kind, I leave it to this House to judge what Credit ought to be given to a Man, who in some Sense owns his being accessory to the Murder himself. As to Mr. *Dun*, the other Evidence that spoke the fullest to this Point, the House has already heard too much of his Character, from Gentlemen of unquestioned Probity and Honour, for me to make any Remarks upon what he has advanced. It is true, there is one Evidence of an undoubted Character, (I mean Captain *Lin*) who seems to make it suspected that the Lord Provost had Information given him of the Riot's being to happen on the *Wednesday*: But, Sir, does it appear by that Gentleman's Evidence that, if he did believe it himself, he acquainted the Provost, or any of the Town Council of his Grounds of Belief? He says, he came and acquainted the Lord Provost that such a Report was current; the Lord Provost asked him, if he believed such an Attempt would be made? Of whom he had heard the Report? And if it met with any Credit among the Men of Sense he conversed with? His Answers to these Questions were, That if such an Attempt was made, he did not believe it would be before the Day fix'd for the Execution of *Porteous*; and that the Report was spread only among Women and Children, and entertain'd by Fools. And, Sir, he gave a very good Reason before this House, why he did not believe it; which was, That he judg'd it impracticable for the Mob to undertake and to succeed in any such Attempt. I must further observe, with respect to the Lord Provost, that he was so cautious and so unwilling to let slip any Opportunity of receiving any Information in this Affair, that he caused Captain *Lin* to walk into the Room where the other Gentlemen in Company were, and to repeat what he had said; asking at the same Time of these other Gentlemen (one of whom is a worthy Member of

of this House) if they had heard of any such Report; who all agreed that they had heard nothing of it, except from Persons of so little Authority and Credit, that they did not think it worth while to raise any Alarm about it. I cannot but observe likewise, that the Captain's own Conduct shewed how little Credit he thought was to be given to the Report, since he left the Town on the *Friday* Afternoon, and did not return till the *Monday* following, which was the Day before the Riot happened. But, Sir, to put the Zeal and Care of the Lord Provost beyond the Possibility of being question'd, he did not slight this Information, groundless as it seemed, but called a Council, where it was resolved to have all the three Companies of the City Guard upon Duty, and that the Officers of the Train'd Bands should be in Readiness upon the *Wednesday*; for I must again observe, Sir, that there has not the least Circumstance come out in Evidence to prove that the Report went of the Riot being to happen upon the *Tuesday*, the Day on which it actually happened. The Objection, Sir, that is made with respect to the City Guard not being provided with Powder or Shot, if we consider the Evidence upon that Head, can never affect the Lord Provost. It appears that the Officer who commanded the Guard always apply'd to the City Treasurer when his Men wanted Powder and Shot, who gave an Order to the Storekeeper for what Ammunition was required. If no such Intimation, Sir, was made to the Lord Provost or to the City Treasurer; if the Captain, whose Business it was, did not make the usual Application in order to have his Men supplied with Ammunition, I hope no Gentleman in this House will impute it to the Lord Provost, who is no military Man, and cannot be supposed to be acquainted with these Matters, that they were not supplied. In short, Sir, I cannot see the least Grounds for founding the present Bill upon any Circumstance of the Lord Provost's Behaviour before the Riot happened. It appears to me, Sir, that he used all the Precautions that any wise Man could have used upon such an Occasion, and that he committed no other Blunder in Conduct, except that of not acting contrary to the Advice and Judgment of every Man about him, who were all of Opinion, that if there was any Foundation for the Report of a Riot's being to happen on that Occasion, it would not happen before the *Wednesday*, which was the Day appointed by the Judges of *Porteous* for his Execution, and that to make any Appearance of providing against the Riot before the said Day, was the readiest way to occasion a Riot. And allow me, Sir, to say, the Thing speaks itself; the Rebels had no Certainty of any Reprieve having come to the un-
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Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1737.



fortunate Person; so that it was fairly to be presumed, they would wait to see if they could obtain, in the Course of Law, what they otherwise were resolved to obtain by Violence.

‘ As to the Lord Provost’s Behaviour during the melancholy Time when that barbarous Riot happened, I think, Sir, it has been admitted by the learned Gentlemen who spoke for the Commitment of this Bill, that he had used several Efforts to quell it, but might have used more and stronger; it has likewise been said, Sir, that he neglected the proper Means of suppressing it. How he could have used stronger Efforts than he did use, is, Sir, what I cannot easily apprehend.

‘ Has it not appeared from the Evidence given at the Bar of this House, that he no sooner was informed of the Appearance of a Disorder, than he dispatched away the Captain of the City Guard, in order that he might draw out his Men, that he (the Lord Provost) might put himself at their Head and march against the Rebels? Has it not appeared, Sir, that he was as good as his Word, that he followed the Captain with as much, nay more Expedition than could have been expected from his Age and Infirmities? He met the Captain returning from the Guard-House, from whence the Violence of the Rioters had forced him. The Hopes of suppressing them by means of the Guard having failed, the most probable Method was to apply for Assistance from the King’s Troops. This dangerous Commission was readily accepted of by an honourable Member of this House, who executed it with great Difficulty and Hazard. It has been objected, Sir, that no Letter was written requiring General *Moyle* to march his Troops into the City, and that without such a Letter there was no Reason to expect that he would come to the Assistance of the Magistrates; but, Sir, it appears there was not Time even to write a Letter tho’ it had been as short as was proposed by a learned Gentleman; and the honourable Gentleman who was dispatched from the Street (for I must observe that he went from the Street, not the Tavern) has declared in Evidence, that tho’ such a Letter had been written he would not have carried it, because if he had been seiz’d upon by the Rioters, and if such a Letter had been found about him, there was no room to doubt but that they would have treated him with as little Ceremony as they afterwards shewed to *Porteous*.

In the mean Time, Sir, it seems, the Violence of the Mob rose to such a Height, that there was a Necessity for the Magistrates to take some other Measures for the common Safety. It was proposed that the Alarm Bell should be rung,

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in order to bring the Citizens to the Relief of their Magistrates: But such, Sir, was the Foresight of the Rebels, that they had seized the Tower in which this Bell hung, so that there was no Possibility of getting at it. It was then proposed, Sir, to send the proper Officer to raise the Captains and Heads of the Train'd-Bands; but this Expedient fail'd likewise; you have heard by what Means it did fail, and that neither the Lord Provost, nor any other Magistrate was to blame.

Anno 10. Geo.

11. 1737.



'The Lord Provost, that nothing on his Part might be omitted, likewise made another Attempt, in Person, to suppress the Rioters. And it was, Sir, an Attempt so hazardous, that there are very few Civil Magistrates but wou'd have thought they had done their Duties very well, tho' they had not gone so far. The Numbers that accompanied the Lord Provost, Sir, were much disproportion'd to that of the Rebels; the Rebels were arm'd, those with the Lord Provost without Arms; yet all this did not hinder the Lord Provost from advancing against them, till several of his Company were wounded with Stones, till even Fire-Arms were level'd at them, and till the bravest and boldest in the Company thought it prudent to retreat, because to have done otherwise wou'd have been for the Magistrates to have exposed both their Persons and Authority to the Insults of a barbarous and an enraged Multitude. The Lord Provost at last, Sir, did retreat, and the Rebels perpetrated their bloody Resolutions. Now, Sir, if we take a View of the Provost's whole Conduct upon this melancholy Occasion, I wou'd gladly know of any Gentleman, who has heard the Examinations of the Evidence, if it appears that the Lord Provost omitted any one Measure that was proposed to him for the Suppression of this unhappy Riot.

As to his Behaviour after the Riot was over, Sir, I have heard of only one positive Circumstance that has been advanced against it, which is, the not imprisoning the Man who was seiz'd in the Grass-Market the next Day. But how, Sir, can that Circumstance affect the Lord Provost, who appears never once to have seen or to have heard of that Man till he was dismiss'd? And indeed I think the Gentlemen who seiz'd that Man, had they pretended to have put him in Prison, wou'd have bid fair to have renew'd the Tumult; since, as you have heard, the Rebels were yet upon the Spot in great Numbers, and with a Shew of Resolution; this, Sir, the Rioter who was seiz'd seems to have been well aware of; otherwise it can never be supposed he wou'd have been so mad as to remain upon the very Spot of Execution, and to allow himself tamely to be seiz'd.

Anno. 10. Geo.
II. 1737.



‘ The Hon. Gentleman, Sir, a worthy Member of this House, who is my Colleague in the Post I have the Honour to fill in that Country, is a Person whose Zeal for his Majesty’s Service can be as little question’d as his Abilities, which I am sure are very great; that Hon. Gentleman, Sir, I say, can witness how indefatigable, how zealous, nay, I may say, how keen the Lord Provost was in promoting whatever cou’d contribute to discovering the Conspirators, so that if they were not discover’d, it was not owing to him but to us; and if this House is resolv’d to pass the present Bill into a Law, on account of any Neglect that happen’d upon that Occasion, it is but just that you shou’d strike his Name out of the Bill, and clap in the Names of a Couple of your own Members.

‘ Thus, Sir, I have given my Opinion with respect to the Insufficiency of the Evidence for passing the present Bill into a Law, and I have done it in the Sincerity of Heart; for what Motive, Sir, can I have in what I have spoken, but the Discharge of my Duty as a Member of this House? It is more than probable, Sir, that I shall never trouble you again with my Sentiments upon this or any other Subject, but my Conscience wou’d ever afterwards have accus’d me, if I had quitted my Seat here before I had given my Reasons why I think the present Bill shou’d not be committed.’

Gen. Wade.

General *Wade* observ’d, that there was one Circumstance that prov’d three Things; first, that the original Design of the Conspirators was to have murder’d *Porteous* on the *Tuesday*; secondly, that it was talk’d of openly; and thirdly, that the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* were the Murderers. The Instance was the Case of a Servant to one *Colin Alison*, who swore that a Fellow came into his Master’s Shop, on the *Thursday* or *Friday* before the Murder was committed, and inform’d him that *Tuesday* following was the Day appointed for revenging innocent Blood.

He observ’d that the Riot deserv’d the Name rather of a well conducted Conspiracy, than the Proceedings of a Mob: And then vindicated Mr. *Moyle*, the commanding Officer at *Edinburgh*, upon the Principles of military Discipline.

Mr. Shippen.

Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Skinner

Lord Corn-
bury.

Mr. *Shippen* then spoke against the Commitment, and *Charles Erskine*, Esq; who was the Solicitor for *Scotland*, answer’d that Part of General *Wade*’s Speech relating to *Alison*’s Servant. Mr. Serjeant *Skinner* then spoke for the Commitment, and observ’d, that in other Countries the Common-People are generally on the side of Mercy, but that it was otherwise on this Occasion. Lord *Cornbury* then spoke against the Commitments, and took Notice that it was extremely impolitical as well as unjust to provoke the

Scots;

Scots : For, continued his Lordship, if they should say, let us fall with the Philistines, who knows but that they might have Strength enough to shake the Pillars of this House, even tho' they shou'd bury themselves under the Ruins of the Constitution. *Anno 10. Geo. II. 1737.*

Henry Fox, Esq; then spoke for the Commitment, and *Mr. Fox*.
Lord Glenorchy against it. As did *Mr. Oglethorpe*. *Lord Glenorchy*.

We have omitted giving the Extracts of what was excellently said by each of these Gentlemen on this Occasion, because the Reader will find the Force of their Arguments already stated. *Mr. Oglethorpe*.

The next who spoke, was *Mr. Erskine*, who took Notice of one Thing overlook'd in the Debate, ' And that, said he, Sir, is with regard to the Punishment inflicted by the present Bill upon the Citizens of *Edinburgh*; what I mean is the demolishing the City-Gate. If this Gate, Sir, were the Property of the Persons who by the present Bill are supposed to be guilty, and if these Persons were proved to be guilty, I shall not deny but the Punishment would be adequate to the Offence: But the Case, Sir, is otherwise; the Gate belongs to the Corporation, and Corporations, in the Sense both of our Law and the Civil Law, are in some measure looked upon as Minors, whose Estates the Magistracy of the City, and the Electors of that Magistracy, which are the Town Council, and the Constituents of that Town-Council, which are the Merchants and Traders, are no other than the Trustees and the Guardians. Hence, Sir, it is plain, that if we shall think fit to punish the Corporation for a Misdemeanor committed by the Magistrates and Traders, we shall do the same thing, as if a Judge, for a Fault committed by the Guardian of a Minor, should give Sentence, that the Damage sustained by the Misdemeanor should be made up out of his Pupil's Estate. If Gentlemen view the present Bill in this Light, and at the same Time reflect, that, besides the inhuman Insult committed upon Majesty and Government by the barbarous Riot we are now considering, the Corporation itself was a very great Sufferer; and had it not been for the Measures taken by the Magistrates, in all Appearance, there would have been still a greater by that Riot. I say, Sir, if Gentlemen would be pleased to consider this, I am persuaded they would be very cautious in giving their Votes for inflicting the Censure proposed by the present Bill.

He then took Notice that the Imputation of Barbarity was not peculiar to the common People of *Scotland*, for that one poor Fellow had been pelted to Death but a few Days before on the Pillory in *Westminster*.

Sir,

Anno 10. Geo.
11. 1737.

*Sir William
Yonge.*

Sir William Yonge then spoke for the Commitment, and seem'd to think that the Concessions made by Mr. *Solicitor General* were rather too favourable for the Provost and the Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

Lord Polwarth rose next, and spoke in Substance as follows:

S I R,

*Lord Pol-
warth.*

Ever since this Bill was brought before us, I have endeavoured, by a close Attendance in the House, to make myself as much Master of what could be said *for or against* it, as I was able; and if any Gentleman will shew where one Argument in the Charge against the Lord Provost and City of *Edinburgh* has been proved *, I will this instant give my Vote for the Commitment of the Bill: I say it again, Sir, if any Gentleman will shew one Article that has been proved against the Lord Provost and the City of *Edinburgh*, I will give my Vote for the Commitment of this Bill. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman who seconded the Motion, in his Observations upon the Evidence, was pleas'd to advance, "That during the Time of the Riot a Person came into the Tavern where the Lord Provost and Magistrates were, and affirmed, that he knew one of the Rioters, offering at the same Time to name him, but that he was forbidden by some of the Company, who desired him to wait till a more proper Opportunity." I think there was not one Article advanced by any of the Witnesses that escaped my Notice; and I dare venture to affirm, that not one of them gave any such † Evidence. Nay, I appeal to the Minutes of the Examinations, and sit down ‡ till the Clerk shall read them. I shall make a Remark or two upon one Part of the Speech that was delivered by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last; the rest of it I think requires none. The Honourable Gentleman seems to be satisfied in general with the Truth of what is laid down in the Preamble of the Bill; but has not been pleas'd to shew how one particular Circumstance has been proved. It has always been my Opinion, Sir, that as we are the Judges of this Affair, we ought to act upon the same Grounds, and be determin'd by the same Rules of Equity, as other Judges are. As we have gone thro' a long Course of Evidence, we can have no other Foundation to build our Judgment upon, than the Facts that

* Here he was interrupted by some Members.

† Here he was again interrupted by some Members, who cry'd, No, No.

‡ Here he sat down.

that have appeared from that Evidence; else, why have we spent so much Pains and Time upon it, at such an advanced Season of the Year? And we have heard Evidences, Sir, who have seemed to be very much disposed to have aggravated every Circumstance of Misconduct or Negligence, could they affix either of them upon the Provost or Magistrates of *Edinburgh*. Something indeed was advanced that looked that way, and has been much insisted upon by the Gentlemen who have spoken for the Motion, tho' the Account given by Gentlemen of undoubted Honour and Probity of the Personal Character of these Witnesses, and the many Inconsistencies of their Evidence, make it surprizing to me, that they ever should be mentioned but with Indignation. I am perswaded, Sir, that if Gentlemen would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and ask of themselves, whether they would have voted in the Manner they have done, had the Case of the City of *Edinburgh* been that of the Cities of *Bristol*, *York*, or any of the large Cities of *England*; I say, Sir, I am perswaded Gentlemen would have required, that every Tittle of their Charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. It is true, Sir, that none of the Authors of this detestable Murder have ever been apprehended: But, Sir, is it necessary, that, in order to make a decent and plentiful Execution, we should punish those who seem to have no other Crime but their Endeavouring to suppress the Crimes of others; and must the Innocent be punished, because the Guilty have gone unpunished? As this seems to me, Sir, to be the Case with respect to our Proceeding on the present Bill, I heartily give my Vote against the Motion.'

Anno 10. Geo.
II. 1737.

Sir *John Barnard*, among other things, spoke to the following Effect:

SIR,

'As I have some Concern in the Civil Magistracy of a Sir *John Barnard*.
City, and probably may have more, I don't think it sufficient for me barely to give my Vote against the present Motion, without taking Notice, that we are now upon a Point that may some time or other equally affect every Civil Magistrate, and every Community in the Kingdom. If the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh* was guilty of any Fault during the Time of this unhappy Riot, it was of too much Rashness, and too much Zeal, in exposing his Person and Character in order to suppress it. For my Share, Sir, I cannot see what View the Lord Provost could have, if he did not act with Zeal and in good Earnest, to expose both his own Life, and that of his Friends, in his repeated Endeavours to suppress the Riot: And had I been in his Case, Sir, I doubt very much if

Anno 10. Geo.

II. 1737.



if I had gone so far as he did. I know the Behaviour of the Gentleman who was Lord Mayor of *London*, when a Mob happened upon the Anniversary of the memorable Excise-Bill's being set aside, has been mentioned upon this Occasion : But all the World condemned that Gentleman for exposing his Person so much as he did to the Fury of the Populace, and there was not a Friend he had but blamed him for his Rashness. But setting aside all these Considerations, Sir, I think that our proceeding by Bills of this Nature has so dangerous a Tendency, that tho' I did think the Subjects of the Bill guilty, I should never give my Vote for proceeding against them in this Manner. It may be a Precedent, Sir, for a future Minister to wreck his Indignation upon any Civil Magistrate; but we have no room to imagine that he would bring in any such Bill against another Minister, let him hate him ever so much, because that may be a Preparative for serving himself in the same Manner by a succeeding Minister who is in Power, and who hates him.

Sir Robert Walpole spoke next to the following Effect :

SIR,

*Sir Robert
Walpole.*

Ever since I had the Honour to sit in this House, I never heard any Affair more dispassionately examined into, more candidly discussed, and more patiently attended to, than the present, especially by the Gentlemen of the Country where this Scene of Murder and Rebellion happened; and indeed, as I stand affected in the present Question, I could be almost tempted to wish, that the Gentlemen of that Country had defended the Cause of their City and its Magistrates with less Eloquence and Calmness than they have done; and at the same Time that some other Gentlemen had behaved with more Decency and Temper; For after the impartial Behaviour of this House, Sir, in the present Question, I cannot see the good Tendency of these inflammatory Speeches that have been thrown out by some Gentlemen upon this Occasion. For my Part, Sir, I disdain the Distinction that has been made between Civil Magistrate and Minister of State. And, I hope, I never have given any Grounds, by my Behaviour as a Minister, to imagine I would have a Regard to any such Distinction. And I am sure, Sir, the Behaviour of the Ministry upon this Occasion can give no room for any of these inflammatory Insinuations. The Subject of the present Bill was thought to be in the other House of so important a Nature, that they spent a great deal of the present Session in the Examination of this Affair, and have sent down the Bill to us in the Shape it is at present. We ourselves, Sir, after a long and painful Examination, have found there has been a cruel Murder

Murder and a Rebellion committed in that City. There is no Gentleman but must own, that these are two Crimes that ought to be severely punished, upon not only the Authors, but even upon such as in the most distant Manner were their Abettors. And, Sir, from the Course of Evidence that has been laid before this House, I can with a good Conscience say, that had the Towns of *Bristol*, *Norwich*, &c. or any of our great Incorporations in *England*, behaved in the Manner the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* did in the present Occasion, I should have been as forward as any Gentleman in this House to have inflicted as severe, if not a severer Punishment upon them, than what is implied by this Bill against the other. In short, Sir, I think that we should err against all Prudence and good Politics, should we, without once committing it, reject the present Bill. If, after it is committed, Gentlemen should think fit to make such Amendments upon it, as may leave the Privileges of the Incorporation of *Edinburgh* untouched, and remit the most penal Part of the Punishment of the Lord Provost: And if these Amendments should be founded upon Reason and Equity, I shall by no means be against them: But in the mean Time I heartily vote for committing the Bill.

Anna. 10. Geo.
II. 1737.

W—r P—r, Esq; stood up next, and among other Things said, 'He was of Opinion there could nothing new come out in Debate, when the Bill should be committed, that did not then appear; and that as they had heard the Evidence examined, he thought there was no occasion to take up the House's Time longer about it at this advanced Season. For since they had no other Rule to go by in the present Affair, than what arose from the Evidence; and as that appeared so lame, that not a single Point was proved against the Provost or Citizens of *Edinburgh*, he was of Opinion; they could do nothing more agreeable to Equity or Reason, or to the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, than to drop the Bill entirely.'

It was then resolved, that the Bill should be committed to a Committee of the whole House: It was next resolved, that the House would on the *Monday* following resolve itself into a Committee upon the said Bill.

Upon this Occasion it was at first proposed, that the House should next Day resolve itself into the said Committee; but some Members took Notice, that next Day, being the 10th of *June*, they thought it a very improper Day for them to go into a Committee on such a Bill. The Scope of the Bill, as it then stood, was for demolishing the Ports, and dismissing the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, those very Ports, and that very Guard which had enabled that

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1737. that City to keep the *Pretender* out in the Year 1715; and for doing this they were to chuse that very Day which was

celebrated by all *Jacobites* as the *Pretender's* Birth-Day. This they thought was not very prudent; it would be a Matter of Triumph to all *Jacobites*, who would not fail to represent it as a Judgment upon the City of *Edinburgh* for shutting their Gates against their lawful and rightful Sovereign, as *Jacobites* were pleased to call the *Pretender* to his Majesty's Crown and Kingdoms. This Consideration, they hoped, would have some Weight against agreeing to that Part of the Bill, when they went into a Committee upon it; but they took Notice of it at that time only to prevent the House's going into a Committee upon such a Bill on such a Day. For this Purpose they hoped it would be of sufficient Weight; and that therefore no Gentleman would insist upon the House's going into a Committee upon that Bill till *Monday* then next.

This seemed to be the Occasion of putting off the Commitment of the Bill till *Monday*; and on *Monday* the House having resolved itself into the said Committee, the Preamble and every Clause of it was opposed, and upon each there was a Sort of distinct Debate, several of which were pushed so vigorously, and with so much Success by the opposing Party, that the Bill not only changed its Name, but in some manner its Form.

Nay, in the Committee, the Bill run a very great Risk of being quite lost; for after all the Amendments had been made, the Bill then appeared to be so very different from what had been sent them by the Lords, that when a Motion was made for reporting the Bill with the Amendments to the House, the same was strenuously opposed; and after a long Debate, when the Question was put, the Division was 130 for reporting, and 130 against it; so that it came to the casting Vote of Colonel *Bladen*, who was Chairman of the Committee, and who gave his Vote in favour of the Bill. But there was another Circumstance which contributed to the passing of this Bill, or rather prevented its being lost; for at this very time, when this equal Division happened, *J—s*, *E——ne* of *G——ge*, Esq; and Mr. *S——r* *G——l* for *Scotland*, were both in the House of Peers engaged as Counsel in the Hearing of an Appeal there; which both of them endeavoured as much as they could to have put off, in order that they might be present and upon their Duty in the House of Commons; but this Request was refused; so that neither of them was present, upon this Debate or Division in the House of Commons; and as both of them had often before declared themselves
against

against every Part of this Bill, it is probable, if they had been present, they would have voted against reporting the Bill, which would have prevented its being in the Chairman's Power to do what he did.

Anno 10. Geo. II.
1737.

The Motion being thus carried for reporting the Bill with the Amendments, the Report was ordered to be received the next Morning; and Colonel Bladen having accordingly reported the Amendments that Day, the first Amendment made by the Committee, which was that for leaving out the several Clauses for demolishing the Nether-Bow Port, and for taking away the Guard of the City of Edinburgh, was read a second Time, and agreed to by the House; then the other Amendment made by the Committee, being the Clause for imposing a Fine upon the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh, was read the second Time; and a Motion being made for re-committing that Amendment, after a long Debate, the Question was put upon that Motion, and was carried in the Negative, by 144 to 123; after which this Amendment was agreed to by the House; and then the Bill was ordered to be read a third Time next Morning.

June 13. The said Bill was read a third Time, and several Amendments were made to the Title, which had become necessary from the Amendments made in the Committee to the Bill itself; after which a Motion was made for passing the Bill; and upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 128 to 101; and Colonel Bladen was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them that the House had agreed to the same with some Amendments, to which they desired the Concurrence of their Lordships, which were agreed to, and the Bill pass'd into an Act.

The Bill relating to the City of Edinburgh, on account of Porteous's Murder, pass'd into an Act.

June 21. The King came to the House of Peers, and put an End to the Session, with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am come to put an End to this Session of Parliament, that you may be at Liberty to retire into your several Countries, and, in your proper Stations to promote the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

The King's Speech at putting an End to the Third Session.

" I return you my Thanks for the particular Proofs you have given me of your Affection and Regard to my Person and Honour; and hope, the Wisdom and Justice, which you have shewn upon some extraordinary Incidents, will prevent all Thoughts of the like Attempts for the future. The Conduct of this Parliament has been so uniform in all your Deliberations upon publick Affairs, that it would be as unjust not to acknowledge

VOL. IV.

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" it,

Anno 10. Geo. II.
1737.

“ it, as it is unnecessary to enumerate the several Particulars,

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ Your Care, as well in raising the Supplies necessary for the Service of the current Year, as in doing it in the Manner least grievous and burthensome to my People, is a fresh Instance of your equal Concern for the Support of my Government, and for the true Interest of your Country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You cannot be insensible, what just Scandal and Offence the Licentiousness of the present Times, under the Colour and Disguise of Liberty, gives to all honest and sober Men, and how absolutely necessary it is to restrain this excessive Abuse, by a due and vigorous Execution of the Laws ; Defiance of all Authority, Contempt of Magistracy, and even Resistance of the Laws, are become too general, altho’ equally prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People, the Support of the one being inseparable from the Protection of the other. I have made the Laws of the Land the constant Rule of my Actions ; and I do, with Reason, expect in Return all that Submission to my Authority and Government, which the same Laws have made the Duty, and shall always be the Interest of my Subjects.”

The Parliament prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by the King’s Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of August.

F I N I S.





I N D E X

O F T H E

NAMES of the several SPEAKERS
in the *Fourth Volume*.

A.



Andrews Townshend, 52.
Archer Henry, * 226.
Areskine Charles, 73.
Aston Sir Thomas, 5, 14.

B.

Bacon Sir Edmund, 479.
Bagot Sir Walter Wagstaffe, 87.
Baltimore *Lord*, 277, 370, 477.
Bance John, 370.
Barnard Sir John, 22, 55, 61, 88, 90, 93, 121,
126, 131, 133, 137, 245, 277, 370, 401, 417,
447, 453, 477, 478, 507, 521.
Bathurst Henry, 277.
Bladen Martin, 48, 49, 52, 61, 78, 89, 131,
479.
Boone Daniel, 101.
Bootle Thomas, 277.
Bowles William, 479.
Bramston Thomas, 88.
Bromley Henry, 88.
Burrel Peter, 401, 454, 479.
Byng Robert, 101.

C.

Campbell Alexander Hume, 101.
Campbell Sir James, 72, 524.
Campbell John, 5.
Carew Sir William, * 225.
Conduit John, 131.

Z z z z

Corbet

I N D E X.

Corbet Thomas, 101.
Cornwallis Stephen, 101.
Cotton Sir John Hinde, 90, 99, 101, 109, 118,
* 235, 370.

D.

D'Anvers Joseph, 9, 48, 101, 166.
Drummond John, 69.
Dundas Robert, 5, 14, 69, 87.

E.

Erkine Hon. James, 69, 71, 93.
Eversfield Charles, 115.

F.

Forbes Duncan, 69, 507, 533.
Fox Stephen, 101, 105.
Frederick Thomas, 277.

G.

Gibbon Philips, 5, 14, 55, 81, 121, 126, 131,
277.
Glanville William, * 226.
Gore Thomas, 417, 453.
Grenville Richard, 277.

H.

Hamilton Alexander, 524.
Hampden John, * 226.
Handafide Roger, 71.
Harris John, 4.
Haye William, 88.
Heathcote George, 87, 116, 133, 169, 370, 401,
454, 479.
Hedges John, 277.
Herbert Henry Arthur, * 234, 277.
Holden Samuel, 169, 370, 401, 454.
Howe John, 66, 93, 99, 417, 453, 478.

J.

Jekyll Sir Joseph, 5, 28, 55, 81, 93, 97, 101,
153, 174, 370, 417, 453, 479.

Knight

I N D E X.

K.

Knight Robert, * 234, 401, 454, 479.

L.

Lawson Sir Wilfrid, 166, 277, 479.

Lewis Thomas, 101.

Lindsay Patrick, 68, 88, 101, 510, 524, 527.

Lisle Edward, 87, 114.

Lloyd Richard, * 234, * 235.

Lyttleton George, 101, 221, 277, 479.

M.

Maister Thomas, * 225.

More Robert, * 234, * 235.

Morpeth *Lord*, 5, 14, 55.

N.

Noel Thomas, 277.

O.

Oglethorpe James, 9, 22, 101, 401, 454, 479, 507.

Oxenden Sir George, * 231.

P.

Pelham Henry, 9, 48, 49, 87, 89, 96, 101, 239, 265.

Perry Micajah, 87, 477.

Pitt William, 101, 131, 223, 277.

Plumer Walter, 5, 14, 73, 86, 96, 105, 113, 117, 119, 121, 126, 131, 161, 453, 477.

Polwarth *Lord*, 101, 131, 169.

Pulteney William, 5, 14, 28, 49, 50, 55, 81, 87, 90, 93, 109, 126, 131, 153, 245, 277, 313, 347, 370, 477.

R.

Rider Dudley, 101, 530.

Rushout Sir John, 277, 370, 530.

Sandys

I N D E X.

S.

- Sandys Samuel, 5, 14, 48, 49, 50, 77, 88, 90, 93, 96, 99, 121, 126, 131, 137, 245, 370, 417, 453, 477.
Saunderson Sir Thomas Lumley, 93, 277, 370, 479.
• Shippen William, 5, 14, 90, 105, 166.
Sloper William, 479.
Somerset *Lord* Noel, 5, 14, 55, 166.
Speke George, 477.
St Aubin Sir John, * 226.
Strange John, 531.
Sundon *Lord*, 370, 479.

T.

- Talbot John Ivory, * 225.
Tyrconnel *Lord*, 105, 166.

W.

- Wade George, 88, 101, 401, 453, 454.
Wager Sir Charles, 119, 124, 401, 454, 479.
Waller Edmund, 277, 347.
Walpole Sir Robert, 22, 39, 52, 61, 77, 87, 89, 93, 101, 124, 133, 159, 166, 172, 239, 261, 295, 370, 377, 454, 477, 478, 508.
Walpole Horatio, 22, 39, 49, 52, 61, 77, 89, 96, 124, * 231.
• Willes John, 89, * 236.
Williams Charles Hanbury, 101, 105.
Willmot Robert, 22, 133, 137.
Winnington Thomas, 9, 48, 49, 52, 61, 77, 89, 112, 115, 121, 131, 133, 370, 446, 477.
Wortley Edward Montague, 99, 417, 453.
Wyndham Sir William, 5, 22, 49, 50, 55, 74, 88, 90, 101, 277, 347, 370, 479, 509.
Wynne Watkin Williams, 99.

Y

- Yonge Sir William, 9, 48, 49, 52, 61, 77, 96, 124, 131, 133, * 231, 239, 370, 479, 508.