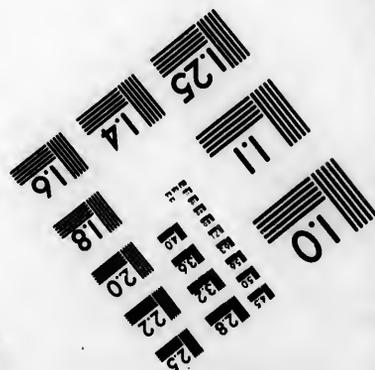
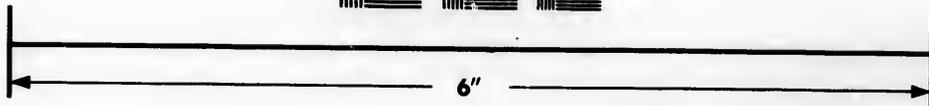
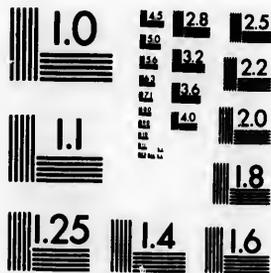


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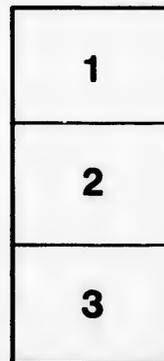
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A FULL
ANSWER
TO THE
LETTER
FROM A
BYSTANDER, &c.

WHEREIN

His false Calculations, and Misrepresentations
of Facts in the Time of King CHARLES II.
are refuted;

AND

An Historical Account is given of all the PARLIA-
MENTARY AID^S in that Reign, from the Jour-
nals of the House of Commons; the Ancient
and Modern Power of the Crown, and the excel-
sive Height to which it is risen of late, are clear-
ly represented;

AND

Reasons offered for restoring to the FREEHOLDERS
of ENGLAND their Ancient Right of chusing
High Sheriffs and Justices of Peace in the County
Courts, as a proper Means towards restoring the
Ballance of our Constitution, and putting a Stop
to the Progress of Corruption.

By R—— H——, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBINSON, at the *Golden Lyon* in
Ludgate-street. 1742.
(Price Two Shillings.)

A. N. S. W. E. R.

L. E. T. T. E. R.

1844

My dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above mentioned subject.

Yours truly,

J. W. ...

Yours truly,

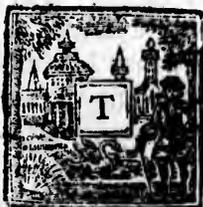
J. W. ...

W. D. ...

...



A FULL
ANSWER
TO THE
LETTER *from a BY-STANDER to a*
Member of PARLIAMENT, &c.



THE Author of a *Letter from a By-Stander to a Member of Parliament*, seems to insinuate by the Title, that he is an impartial Writer; though the whole Tenor of his Performance, evidently refutes all his Pretensions to that Character. He sets out with professing a Regard to his Country, and a Desire of correcting some mistaken Notions in the People of *Britain*, which are the Motives of his Writing; Professions which cost very little to Writers who have no Regard to Truth, and which are ever made by those who find it necessary to deceive a Nation, before they can effect it's Ruin. No Constitution was ever yet subverted under any other than fair Pretences; but *Impostors are known by their Fruits*, and the Vanity of their Pretences is discovered by the Methods they take to support them, and by the Nature of the Measures they recommend. Writers in a good Cause never have Recourse to Artifices, which none

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but the worst can need, and scorn to abuse the Reader with such Misrepresentations of Facts, as run throughout the *Letter of the By-Stander*; whose corrupt Views, as well in representing a Standing-Army to be necessary, and Public Credit to be precarious, as in endeavouring to revive a Distinction of Parties, have been already exposed by the Author of *A proper Answer to the By-Stander*, so that I have little Occasion to add any Thing on those Subjects.

That no Nation hath ever been enslaved by any other Means than the Force of a Standing-Army, is a Truth so evident from the Experience of all Ages, and the Testimony of all Historians, that a free People, learning from others Ruin what must naturally prove their own, ought ever to guard against it, as the greatest of Evils, and what threatens the most immediate Danger to their Liberties. *The By-Stander* * however, out of the tender Concern he pretends for his Country, is not ashamed of recommending to it the Examples of other Nations thus enslaved, and would fain have a Standing-Army kept up in *England*, as long as any *European* Monarch shall keep up that Badge and Means of Slavery in his own Dominions; which probably may be for ever. He pleads for the Necessity of one in this Country; where by its Situation as an Island, it is undeniably less wanted, in all Circumstances whatever, than in any other; and by the Superiority of its Force, and the natural Bravery of its People, the Nation is sufficiently secured from any Danger of being attacked by the Land Armies of Foreign Potentates. The Kings of *France* therefore and *Prussia* may keep up mighty Armies, and load their Subjects with Taxes to support them; but this, though they do it not merely for Pomp or Shew; but even to invade their Neighbours as Opportuni-

* Page 6.

ties offer, can be no just Subject of Terror to us who are Masters of the Sea, and separated from their Territories by that Element. A Passion for preying on others is natural enough for Princes that delight in having Slaves for their Subjects; but the primary Design of those Monarchs in maintaining such numerous Forces, is to continue the Slavery to which their People are reduced.

They know that human Nature abhors that State, and think their Subjects would throw off the Yoke, if they were not kept under by the same Force which first subdued them; and 'tis this which puts them upon other Expences, besides that of a Standing Army. For this is the very Reason why in *France*, the Treasury will not alter the present Method of collecting the Revenue, though of every Forty Millions raised upon the Nation, Twenty-four Millions are spent in the Charge of collecting. There are 150,000 Men employed in the Salt-Duty alone, and a much greater Number of Excisemen and Officers employed in other Branches of the Revenue; so that a Town not bigger than *Northampton*, has in it 500 of these Officers, who with a Salary of 500 Livres (not 25 *l.* Sterling) a Year, still take Care to die rich at the Expence of the People they oppress: And after the Revenue has been got in at such an enormous Charge, one Third of it is given away in Pensions to all the noble Families in the Kingdom, the better to reconcile them to Slavery, pursuant to the Plan of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who was never at Rest 'till by an infinite Variety of Arts and Pretences, he had drawn every Gentleman, that was happy in his Fortune, and respected in his Country, to Court; and kept him there all his Life in a State of Dependance, to the Ruin of his Fortune, and Beggary of his Family. Such immense Sums does the Arbitrary Power of the Monarch cost the Kingdom of *France*.

These Politics are not much different from those of the late King of *Prussia*, whose Fancy for tall Men, and giving them vast Premiums to enlist in his Troops, was (as I have been assured by a Gentleman of very good Sense and Learning, who had spent a great deal of Time at *Berlin*) merely a Pretence; and calculated in Virtue of a Scheme he had formed, for impoverishing and crushing all the Nobility and Gentry in his Dominions; who serving generally in his Armies were, in order to make their Court the better, put upon procuring such Gigantic Fellows at any Rate: And whenever any of them pleaded Inability, in Excuse for not doing it, they were readily offered and supply'd by him, with such Sums of Money as were necessary for the Service, upon Mortgages of their Estates; which by such Means he got into his Power, and dying left his Successor the general, and almost the sole Proprietor of Lands in the Territories of *Brandenburg*. Such are the Precedents, which the *By-Stander* recommends so earnestly to the People of *England*; nor is it unnatural to think that he does it with the same Views; since in a Nation already overwhelmed with Debts, the bare Charge of an Army will go far towards producing the same Effects, were there not other Mischiefs attending it, that co-operate likewise towards enslaving the People and ruining the Constitution.

Cowards giving a loose to their Imagination, may fancy ten thousand Dangers where there is not one in reality; and as Fear betrays the Succours which Reason would offer; Knaves may succeed, as well as find their Advantage, in heightening those Fears; but surely more ridiculous Schemes never entered into any Body's Head; than those which the *By-Stander* * has formed of Embarkations

* Pag. 16.

of *French* Troops from *Bourdeaux*, and various other Places, in order to make Descents in *England*. Every Body that knows any Thing of Transport-service, and the inconsiderable Proportion that the *French* naval Force bears to ours, will laugh at them as mere Chimeras; but others will better judge of them, and of the like Attempts, by Experience on former Occasions.

The *By-stander* refers us to two in the Time of King *William*, that of *La Hogue*, and the other proposed from *Calais*, not (as he says) in 1692, but in the Beginning of 1696. There was not any Imbarkation made in either of these: But in the first of them, the *French* depended entirely on the Superiority of their Fleet, which they hoped would have destroyed the *English* Squadron before the *Dutch* could join it; and then being Masters of the Sea, the Descent proposed might indeed have been made with Safety, and the Forces landed might have been duly supplied with all Necessaries, and reinforced as they saw Occasion. But when the Junction of the *Dutch* Fleet to the *English* rendered us superior at Sea, and part of the *French* Navy was destroyed, the intended Invasion was laid aside as impracticable. In the other of 1696, it was purely owing to the late K. *James's* Importunities, that the *French* Court ordered any Forces to the Side of *Calais*; but they resolved, at the same Time, not to embark a Man, 'till an Insurrection was actually made in *England*. All the Sollicitations of King *James*, and Representations of his Friends, could not divert *Lewis XIV.* from this Resolution; so that to remove the Difficulty, the late Duke of *Berwick* made the hazardous Voyage of this Kingdom, to prevail with those whom they expected to rise on the *French* landing, to begin the Affair with taking Arms themselves. All his Arguments were in vain, and up on his Return, the few Troops drawn

drawn about *Calais* were removed to their old Quarters.

In short, no Prince in the World, who is not Master of the Sea, will ever be prevailed on to send a Body of Troops into a potent Island, (because he will deem it sacrificing so many Men, when however plentiful the Country is, he cannot succour them from Time to Time with Recruits, Ammunition, and other Necessaries) unless he can be sure of their being joined by the People of the Country: Nor will he look upon any Representations of an exiled Prince, of a few Refugees Abroad, or of discontented Particulars that come over to be proper Assurances in that Respect. No Prince or State ever did, or ever will, engage in such an Enterprize upon such Grounds; and let them be never so fully convinced of the general Discontent of a Nation, this will not however make them depend on being joined, or tempt them to run the Hazard of the Experiment. No body doubted of the general Uneasiness and terrible Apprehensions of this Nation before the late Revolution; yet it was not that Disaffection, but the solemn Invitation and Association, signed by great Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry, Persons of the greatest Fortunes, Credit, and Power in the Kingdom, and their Assurances of joining the Prince of *Orange* upon his landing, which determined the States of *Holland* to fit out a Fleet, and send a Body of Forces to make the Attempt. Besides the Situation of *Europe* at that Time, was such as probably never will be again; the Allies knew that the Accession of *England* was necessary to reduce the Power of *France*; and since King *James* could not be brought in to join them, they wished to have a King on the *British* Throne who was the Soul of the Alliance. For these Reasons they readily came into the Measures of the *English*, alarmed at the wild Steps, into which Bigotry and
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the Counsels of a treacherous Minister had led that Prince ; for no thinking Man can believe the Allies had any View for preserving the Church of *England*, when one Article of the grand Alliance was to restore the Pope to his Rights, and crush the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, where every Thing seemed ripe for a Reformation. The *Dutch* had still stronger Reasons to wish a Change here ; they well knew that one Reason which inclined King *James* to a Neutrality, was the Prospect of an immense Increase of Trade and Riches to *England*, whilst all *Europe* was engaged in War ; they well knew that when Trade takes a new Channel, it seldom returns to the old ; they well knew that in King *Charles's* Time Schemes had been laid for demanding Reparation for *Amboyna*, and for encouraging our Fishing Trade ; they knew King *James* understood Trade, and would encourage it ; another Reason too might possibly weigh with their Politicians ; for though the Prince of *Orange* was a true Lover of his Country, the *Dutch* always dreaded the Power of a Stadtholder, and by setting him on the Throne of *England*, they freed themselves from that Fear, and became more confident of his consulting and promoting the Good of his native Country, to which he was naturally inclined ; and if he failed, they might, by disclaiming any Hand in the Attempt, and deposing him that made it, at once get rid of the Stadtholder, and make their Peace with King *James*. And after all, that Expedition was attended with such a monstrous Expence (according to the Account thereof in the Appendix, No. 1.) that no foreign Prince, or State, will ever put themselves to the same Charge, to make the like hazardous Attempt in any Circumstance of the Kingdom whatever.

I call it an hazardous Attempt, because, though the Men of War in the *Dutch* Fleet were a third
more

more in Number than the *English*, yet it was purely owing to Accident, to a Variety indeed of Accidents, that they were able to make a Descent. It may however be allowed, that the Association aforesaid was a rational Ground for such an Enterprize; and if we are to wait for another 'till the like Method be taken, a Man must be an utter Stranger to the present Temper, Spirit, Way of Thinking, and Jealousies of Gentlemen in *England*, that can think it possible, however discontented any Number of them may be, for any three of that Number to be brought to trust one another, so far as to join in such an Act; so that as it is not reasonable for any foreign Power to make such an Attempt, without the like Invitation and Assurances, we may sleep securely 'till Doomsday without the Apprehensions of any.

The *Scots* indeed before the Union, not yet generally corrupted by *English* Pensions and Luxury, had a greater Confidence in one another than they will ever have again: And when they saw the Independency of their Kingdom, which so many thousands of their gallant Ancestors had lost their Lives to maintain, given up at once, their old Constitution destroyed, and the whole Nation inflamed on these Accounts, many of their chief Nobility and Gentry made (as some Writers tell us) a like Invitation to the Court of *France*, which seemed to hearken to it, more perhaps to curry Favour, and renew a Correspondence with a Kingdom, which had been formerly in League with them for many Ages, than with any Prospect of Success. In Consequence thereof, a few Forces were put on Board the Chevalier *Fourbin's* Squadron in 1708; but with how ill a Will, is plain from the Circumstances of that Affair, as I have heard it from the *French* and others concerned therein. The Fleet was ready, and the Men embarked: But *Fourbin* not caring to quit

quit *Dunkirk*, dallied away the Time, and could not find a Wind fit for Sailing. The Person whom his public Orders required him to obey, chanced to be seized with the Measles; but being impatient to be gone, was continually asking after the Wind, and hearing it was fair, sent for the Admiral, who then owning it, was surprized to hear the other say he would be carried on Board, and sail immediately. In vain did *Fourbin* remonstrate the Danger of such an Action in the Height of his Fever; the other was resolved, said he must lie in Bed wherever he was, and could do so on Shipboard as well as at Land; and giving his peremptory Orders for sailing, was put on Board, and the Squadron quitted the Port of *Dunkirk*. The Admiral could not help obeying thus far; but being got out at Sea, thought fit to stop two Days in the Flats off *Newport*; during which Time, a Gentleman of great Worth and Honour, still living in this Place, being dispatched by the Duke of *Marlborough*, to give Sir *George Bing*, who then lay at the Mouth of the *Thames*, Notice of the Sailing of the *Dunkirk* Squadron, passed from *Ostend* in a small Vessel through the Middle of the *French* Fleet, and having executed his Commission, was dispatched back by Sir *George*, and passed a second Time through the same Fleet without being stopped, and came safe to *Ostend* with Advices to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who then employed him to hire Transports for sending a Body of Troops over from *Flanders* to *Scotland*: *Fourbin* after the Loss of two Days, by which Time the Violence of the Measles was over, was forced to sail on; but though the Course to *Leith* is very well known, he took Care to stand so far Northward, that the first Land discovered in *Scotland* was the Height of *Peterhead*, 60 Scotch Miles North of *Edinburgh*; so that he was forced to sail back as many Miles towards the South, to get into the Frith

of *Leith*, where he might have landed his Men if he had pleased; but delayed it, and refused even to put the Person, whose Order he was to observe, on Shore with his own Followers, under one Pretence or other, 'till Sir *George Bing's* Fleet appeared; and then he made the best of his Way back to *France*.

If *France*, under all the Pressures of an unsuccessful War against a formidable Alliance, to whose Force hers was unequal, was so unwilling to venture a few Troops, in an Invasion which might probably have diverted a considerable Part of the confederate Army, and disconcerted the intended Operations of the approaching Campaign, it cannot with any Colour of Reason be imagined, she should be more inclined to run the like Venture, when she is in no Distress, and seems on a Foot of Friendship with the Administration. Far from wishing or promoting a Change, she would think it the greatest Misfortune that could befall herself; for her Counsels are always directed by certain Maxims, which whoever comes into the Ministry there, is sure to adopt whatever his private Sentiments or Inclinations were before. Among these there is none so firmly received, or that will be so inviolably observed, as "That *England* is their eternal Enemy, " both by Interest and Inclination; that it is indifferent to them who is on the Throne of that " Kingdom, provided it be one that cannot hurt " them; that whatever Services they may do, or " Obligations they may lay upon him, they can " never expect Friendship from a King of *England*, " who is wise enough to know, and honest enough " to pursue the true Interest of his Country; that " as the weakening of an Enemy's Power is really " an Advantage of their own, it is their Interest to " keep *England* divided, rent asunder by the Feuds " of Parties, enervated by Corruption, alarmed with

“ with continual Jealousies and Apprehensions, and
 “ put to enormous Expences (to the Ruin of the
 “ Trade, and exhausting of the Wealth of the Na-
 “ tion) to guard against these Alarms; and that in
 “ short, it would be a sort of Suicide in them, to
 “ make any Attempt that might put the Kingdom
 “ upon another Foot, or help to remove any of the
 “ Inconveniencies arising from a disputed Succes-
 “ sion”. These are Maxims which the *French*
 Ministers unanimously profess: They were laid
 laid down to them by old *Louvois*, and there is a
 remarkable Effect in them, in diverting *Lewis* the
 XIV. and his Counsel, from the Resolution they
 had taken at the Revolution, to assist the late King
James effectually, the Execution whereof was only
 suspended ’till the Return of the Minister from the
 Waters of *Forges* in *Normandy*, but laid aside after-
 wards upon his Remonstrance, related in the *Me-
 moirs* of the late *Mareschal de Villars*, Tom. 1.
 page 156.

There is therefore no manner of Reason to dread
 any Invasion from *France*, or from any State upon
 which she has an Influence: It is utterly inconsistent
 with the Maxims and Politics of that Crown to
 make one, whatever it may be to alarm us with the
 Apprehensions thereof: And if People have been, at
 different Times, frightened out of their Senses by
 such groundless Apprehensions, and tempted to sell
 their Stock to Disadvantage, it hath been owing
 chiefly to the Artifices of Parties and Stock-jobbers,
 who proposed and found their Interest in such false
 Alarms. It is very hard indeed, that honest Men
 should be thus choused of their Money by a Pack
 of Knaves: But yet I see no manner of Ground
 for the *By-Stander’s* Outcries * of *Millions being
 annihilated on such Occasions*; nor can I conceive how
 the Nation in general could be a loser by one *En-*

* P.

glifman's felling, and another's buying Stock at lower Rates than usual; for Foreigners, tho' too wise to be bubbled by such senseless Stories, lay at too great a Distance to profit of them by purchasing at those Rates before the Panick was removed. But though these false Alarims did for this Reason occasion no Diminution of the Nation's Stock, it is however very happy for particular Persons, that all the Inconveniencies which they used to suffer from thence, are (as the *proper Answer* justly observes) now removed by the Act against Stock-jobbing, passed in 1734.

Whatever were the Motives why Men of Sense, at the Head of the Administration, who ought to know the Maxims of Government, and the true State of Affairs in all Parts of *Europe*, have affected to give Credit to such idle Rumours of Invasions, spread about, from time to time, to that last ridiculous one of the *Swedes* in 1739, all of which have still appeared to be without Foundation; the Use which the *By-Stander* makes of them, is to inculcate the Necessity of a Standing Army, and to plead for an Augmentation of Forces on such Occasions; but certainly with the worst Policy in Nature. For considering the extreme Poverty of the Kingdom, the immense Load of Taxes that lie upon it, the Distresses of all Sorts and Orders of People throughout it; the running into new Expences, is increasing a Burthen too great already for the Nation to bear, and under which it must, in all Appearance, sink at last; and is running into a real Danger, to avoid one that is only imaginary.

As the *By-Stander* is fond of comparing the State and Conduct of Affairs in the Reign of King *Charles II.* with those of the Reigns since the Revolution, it may not be improper to consider his Situation and Conduct on the like Occasions. He had been restored to his Throne by the admirable Prudence

dence and Address of General *Monk*, who made an Army, generally averse to the Thing he had in view, contribute to his Design, without letting one of his Officers into the Secret of his Intentions; which had they discovered, it would have been perhaps impracticable to have been effected, at least without much Bloodshed: and perhaps there never was upon Earth an Enterprize of so nice a Nature, attended with such a Variety of Difficulties, and requiring such a Number and Series of Steps, all properly adapted to the End, all to be taken in their due Order, and so justly to be timed, that a Mistake in any one, or the moving of it unseasonably, might have ruined the whole Scheme, ever conducted so happily to Perfection.

But this Prince's Difficulties were not over with his Restoration, tho' none ever took more Pains to quiet the Minds of his Subjects than he constantly did, from the Moment of his Accession, to the very End of his Reign. He found in the Kingdom an Army of 40 or 50,000 Men, which it was his first Care to disband; an Army of Sectaries and Fanatics, disaffected to Monarchy, grown insolent by a continued Licentiousness of many Years, and which on former Occasions knew how to disobey when ordered to be cashiered. They did indeed submit to be broke at this Time: But the old Leaven still remained in both Officers and Soldiers, who were generally Enthusiasts, daring and fit for any desperate Enterprize, bitter Enemies to the Constitution in the State, but infinitely more so to that of the Constitution of the Church of *England*, which they soon saw restored to all her Rights, contrary to their Expectation. This enraged them to such a degree, that for the first eight or ten Years after the Restoration, there passed scarce a Day, in which a Conspiracy was not carrying on in the City of *London*, or in some Part or other of the Country to
raise

raise an Insurrection, and involve the Nation in the like Troubles from which it had just before been delivered. The Wisdom, Experience and Vigilance of the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the Intelligence which he kept in all Parts, were of infinite Service for the Discovery, and in Consequence thereof, for the defeating of those Designs; but still the Nation was kept in a continual Alarm by such Discoveries.

Besides these disbanded Soldiers, every Part of the Nation was full of unquiet Spirits, bred up, poisoned and corrupted in the Times of Confusion, exercised in Military Affairs during the Fury of the Civil Wars, despising Dangers to which they had been accustomed, and not to be terrified by a View thereof, from engaging in any Undertaking, to which they were disposed by their Passions, Interest, or Principles. They had been absolute Masters of the Kingdom for near 20 Years past; and seeing themselves turn'd out of all, were ready in the Fury of their Resentment, to run any risk to recover their Power. They wanted not Arms to equip them for the Field, the People not being then stripped of their Arms, as they have been since under the Pretence of Game Acts, &c. And they had 2000, popular, though factious Teachers, provoked at the loss of their Livings by the *Bartholomew-Act*, dispersed all over the Kingdom, to incite their late Congregations to join in an Insurrection. The like Spirit prevailed in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; in the first of which the disbanded Fanatic Officers formed a Design to seize the Castle of *Dublin*, and raise an Insurrection, in which all of that Stamp, who apprehended themselves aggrieved by the Act of Settlement, would readily have concurred; and in the latter a Rebellion actually broke out, though it was happily crushed by the Victory gained at *Pentland-Hills*, over the Forces of the Rebels.

In

In some Part too of this Interval, the King was engaged in a War with the *Dutch*, the Form of whose Religious Principles agreed with the Sentiments of this furious Party of Malecontents; who therefore depended upon Succours from *Holland*, to support their Insurrection, and had a regular Council of their Leaders, that sat in *London*, and held a constant Correspondence with another Council formed at *Amsterdam*, and composed of *English* Officers of their own Set and Principles; who after being broke in *England*, had entered into the *Dutch* Service, The States for their Part were ready to favour the Enterprize, whenever they saw it practicable; and were able by their Naval Force, which was then at its Height, to give them at any Time powerful Succours. But *Holland* was not the only Enemy King *Charles* had to oppose; *France* was so too at the same Time, in all the Greatness of her Power by Land, and Mistress of a much better Fleet at Sea, than she has at present, which enabled her, whilst ours was diverted by the *Dutch*, to make a Descent whenever she could think it might be done with Success. *Ireland* during the War with these two Powers, was in no little Distress, being cut off from all their Commerce with both, of which she used to make an Advantage; interrupted in all her Trade with Foreign Parts; and exasperated likewise against *England* for the Prohibition of *Irish* Cattle, by which the Trade of the People of that Kingdom, was destroyed with this, in a Juncture when they could carry it on with no other Part of the World. The Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, had not at that Time half the Strength it has now, and the *Roman Catholic* Gentlemen, as well as Inhabitants of the same Religion, were then twice as numerous as they are at present; and were incensed by the late spoiling them of a great Part of their Estates, by the Acts of Settlement, and the Decrees

crees of the Court of Claims; so that there could not be a Conjunction more favourable and inviting, either for the *French* to make a Descent in *Ireland*, or for the *Dutch* to do the like in *England*; nor better Reason to presume that their Forces, if once landed, would be joined by great Numbers in both Kingdoms.

In this Situation, infinitely more ticklish and exposed, than any that has been known in our Days, what Method did *K. Charles* take to secure himself and the Nation against Commotions at Home, or Invasions from Abroad? Did he apply to that Parliament, which the *By-Stander* represents so very complaisant to him on all Occasions, for Power to take up and detain whom he pleased in Prison, and to suspend the *Petition of Right*, and all the Laws formerly made for the Liberty of the Subject? Did he seize any of their Members, and then acquaint the House with the Breach of their Privileges? Or, indeed take up any Number of his other Subjects upon bare Suspicion? Did he raise a Land Force of 40 or 50000 Men to be kept in the Kingdom for its Defence? Did he load the Nation with the Tax of a Million, to maintain such an enormous Body of useless Forces? Did he seize the Occasion to lay any Difficulties upon the Merchants, or any Embargo upon Shipping? No, he took none of these Methods; he loved his People too well to put them to needless Charges, though they laboured under no Debt; he thought that no wise State would dare to attempt an Invasion here, whilst he had a Fleet at Sea to secure the Coast, and hinder their Design; he trusted to the Affections of the Nation in general; who finding themselves easy and happy under his Government, were averse to any Change, and so much out-numbered the discontented Parties, that they were able to crush any Insurrection before it could get to an Head. It was a War in earnest,

not with an Enemy, weak, contemptible, remote, and unprovided with a Naval Force to dispute the Sea, or venture an Engagement; but with powerful Enemies, lying almost round the Dominions of *Great-Britain*, and so near that the *By-Stander* * stiles the Passage *stepping* from one Country to the other, being separated only by a narrow Channel, and Masters of Fleets superior in Number of Ships, and only equal'd, by the Bravery of the *English* Seamen. And yet though the King was oblig'd to have a Fleet strong enough to fight the *Dutch* and *French* Fleets united; and to have Capital Ships always in, Readiness to re-inforce his own after the bloody Engagements, which happened in the Course of the War; he still took Care that the Merchants should never be without Convoys; whenever they were wanted; their Ships were not kept waiting at a vast Expence, nor disabled to sail by having their Hands pressed; the Seamen too had such Care taken of them, and liked the Service so well, that *they offered themselves in such Numbers, and were so earnest to be listed, that they employed and made Friends to the Sea-Captains, to accept them.* See *London Gazette*, N^o 38. In a Word, so much Care was taken in this Respect, so good Order observed in the stationing of our Men of War; and so much Vigilance used by the Captains of those Cruizers; that all the *Gazettes*, *Intelligences*, and other News-Papers of those Times, are constantly filled with Accounts of Fleets of Merchant-men, sailing under Convoy of our Ships of War; of *Dutch* Capers, *French* Privateers, and other Vessels and Prizes taken from the Enemy, so that the Intelligence of *January 2d*, 1664, gives a List of 100 brought into *Portsmouth* alone. Trade suffered little during the War; and the Nation, notwithstanding its Losses by the Plague and Fire of *London*,

* Page 13.

came richer out of it, than she entered into it, as Dr. *Davenant* observes; and received great Benefits from it for many Years after, as Sir *Josia Child* has shewn in his Discourse of Trade; particularly with Regard to the vast Number of *Dutch* Fly-boats that were taken in it, proper for the *Baltick* and *Eastland* Trades, which were of prodigious Use to us, and the only Thing that could have enabled us to carry on that Branch of Commerce with Advantage.

With Regard to the Land Service, King *Charles* did not think it needful to raise a single Regiment on Account of the War; but trusting entirely to his Guards, and the Militia for the Defence of the Kingdom, found these abundantly sufficient. This appeared on a remarkable Occasion, for the *French* having in Favour of the *Dutch* declared War against us, on *January 27, 1665*, an Invasion was threatened and expected immediately; Advice too was spread of their being actually landed in the Isle of *Purbeck*. The next Maritime Counties hereupon put themselves in a Posture of Defence; and there appeared in little more than a Day's Warning, between sixty and eighty Thousand able resolute Men, well armed to defend them; so that no Descent was then attempted, and his Majesty satisfied with this signal Instance of Alacrity and Zeal, for his and their Country's Service, directed on *Feb. 14*, (See *London Gazette*, N^o. 27.) this Militia to be dismissed. The *French* afterwards at different Times during the Course of the War, drew down numerous Forces to the Coast of *Normandy*, in order to give this Kingdom Apprehensions of the like Design; but they did not so much as alarm his Majesty, or occasion the least Expence to the Nation; and even when the *Dutch* in the Year 1667, in the last Month of the War, taking Advantage of our Security in a Dependance on the Peace, then on the
Point

Point of Conclusion, coasted with a great Fleet along our Shore from the Land's-End in the *West* to *Newcastle, Northward*; they never could land a Body of Men, but they were immediately drove back to their Ships by the Militia; so little Reason is there to despise that Body of Men as useless, or to imagine a Standing-Army of regular Troops to be necessary, *even in a Time of War.*

Experience is infinitely a better Foundation for Judgment than any Man's Imaginations, especially such wild Ones as those of the *By-Stander*, who may, if he pleases, frighten himself with Embarkations from every Part of the Universe; but they will never have the least Effect upon any Man of Sense, who considers the Situation of the Nation at the Time above-mentioned, and how well we were even then secured from an Invasion, merely by our Fleet and Militia, without any Standing-Army. This single Experience is a sufficient Refutation of all the Pretences of the Advocates for the Necessity of a Standing-Army; for if ever a Descent in *England* was practicable, easy and safe, it was when *France* and *Holland* were united against us; those two Powers having better Means and Facility of doing it, than *France* (now *Holland* is out of the question) could have, even in Conjunction with all the other Powers of *Europe.*

We have very little Reason then to tremble at every Motion of the *French* Troops, as the *By-Stander* is fond of representing us *. If he really does so himself, it is no great Argument either of his Courage or his Judgment, any more than it is of his Modesty or Regard to Truth, to impute such Fears to the Nation in its present Spirit, which breathes nothing so much as a War with *France*, for the Recovery of our Trade, and Support of the Queen of *Hungary.*

* Pag. 13.

I need not take Notice of several Blunders and Mistakes of the *By-Stander*, which are already exposed in the *Proper Answer*, nor of his Ignorance, very gross if real, and very insincere if affected; that the *French* getting Possession of the *Spanish* Monarchy was owing not to the disbanding of the *English* Army after the Peace of *Ryswick*; but to the Treaty of Partition. I shall only observe farther, that had the Force kept up in *England* been ten Times greater than it was, it could not have prevented the fatal Effects of that Treaty; or if it would, King *William* must have had less Regard to the Interest of this Nation; less Concern for preserving the Ballance of Power in *Europe*; less Credit with the People of *England*, or less Capacity for Government, than King *Charles II.* had; (none of which I fancy will be easily granted in these Times,) or he might have saved *Flanders* at least, from falling into their Hands. In the Beginning of the Year 1678, when the Troops of *Lewis XIV.* were over-running that Country like a Torrent, and no other Means appeared of saving the least Part of it; King *Charles*, though he had no Standing-Army on Foot, did yet in the Space of forty Days, put 90 Men of War to Sea, and raised a Body of 30000 Men; 10000 of which were immediately transported over to *Flanders*, and the rest were following with all possible Expedition; when *France* not yet weakened with a Ten Years War against a mighty Confederacy, thought fit to consent to stop the Progress of her Arms, and submit to the Peace of *Nimeguen*. Such was the Vigour with which that *English* Prince, exerted himself to stop the exorbitant Greatness of the *French* Monarch. Had King *William* (after the Power of *France* had been reduced, and her Finances exhausted by a long War) with potent Allies to support him; whose Parliaments were ever as ready to grant, as he was

to crave, any Sums, how immense soever, that were wanted for a *French* War; who had already a number of old Regiments on foot, so thin of Men, and so overstocked with Officers, that their Force might have been trebled in a Week; besides a vast number of Half-pay Officers, an Establishment never known before in *England*; had, I say, King *William*, with these and other Advantages, which his Uncle wanted, exerted himself in 1700, in the same manner that King *Charles* did in 1678; the *Dutch* Troops would not have been so easily turned out of their Garrisons, in the strong Towns of *Flanders*; which afterwards cost this Kingdom an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure, and that victorious General, the late Duke of *Marlborough*, (though attended with a constant Train of Success) ten Years Time to recover.

The *By-Stander* * imputes the Reduction of the Army to 7000 Men to the Malice of the *Tories*, and the Infatuation of the *Whigs*. But what room is there for the Charge of Malice, when the *Tories* did the same Thing in the Time of Queen *Anne*, (to whom certainly they had no Malice) after the Peace of *Utrecht*, as they contributed to the doing after that of *Ryswick*? The Administration and all the Power of the Nation was in their Hands, when the Peace of *Utrecht* was concluded: And if they had entertained any ill Designs, they would naturally have kept up a Standing-Army, and have modelled it for their Purpose, as other Ministers have done since for theirs. They could have found their Private Interest in it, as much as any Ministers have done since; had it been consistent with the Duty they owe their Country, and the Regard they profess to its Liberties: And if they have constantly opposed a Standing-Army since, it shews such a Consistency in their Conduct; (which has been in

* Page 12.

this

this Point so equal on all Occasions) that it must be the Height of Prejudice and Injustice to impute so constant a Series of Conduct to any other Motive than Principle, which ever shews itself uniformly in all Times and Situations whatever.

What the *Tories* did after the Peace of *Utrecht* was entirely their own Act; but what was done for breaking the Army after that of *Ryswick*, they were not able to effect of themselves; and it would be unpardonable to rob the *Whigs* of any Share of their Merit in that Act of Justice to their Country. Every Body that knows the Affairs of that Time, knows likewise that the Government had taken such Measures with the Members of Parliament; that when it met, they thought themselves sure of carrying their Point for a numerous Army; of which the *Dutch* Troop of Horse-Guards, and Lord *Portland's* *Dutch* Regiment of Horse, making the first 220, and the latter 699 Men, and the *Dutch* Blue Foot Guards of four Battalions, making 267 Men, were to be a Part. But Mr. *Trenchard* publishing, at the meeting of the Houses, his famous Pamphlet, entitled, *An Argument against a Standing-Army*; in the Title-Page of which appears the well known Fable of the Horse and Stag, quoted out of *Horace*, this opened the Eyes of all the World, and shew'd them so evidently the imminent Danger of a Standing-Army, that it defeated all the Measures of the Ministry: The Army was reduced, and the *Dutch* Guards sent to their own Country. But why must the *Whigs* be charged with Infatuation in this Conduct, when it was perfectly agreeable to their avowed Principles? Were their Predecessors in 1641, and 1680, to rise out of their Grave, and see any Pretenders to that Name, voting now for a Standing-Army, they would denounce them Apostates from their Principles, and treat them with as much Scorn and Detestation, as the *By-Stander* puts upon the

the *Dutch* Guards, when *stepping from an ungrateful Land*, that chose to trust their Liberties to their own Countrymen, rather than to foreign Mercenaries.

I have not observed the *By-Stander* affecting to shew his Eloquence on any Subject so much, as on this of the *Dutch* Guards, for whom he expresses a Tenderness, that it would have become him much better to have shewed in the Behalf of his native Country; he breaks out into a pompous Declamation, and represents even the heroic General himself in Tears upon the Occasion. With what View he does this, he can best explain: But every true Friend to Liberty will ever reflect, (with Gratitude to that Parliament) on the Merit and Consequences of this Action of sending away the *Dutch* Guards, to which a little Thinking will convince them, that the Name and Shadow we as yet retain of Liberty is in a great Measure owing. *Give the Waters Passage, not even in a little*, is one of the wisest Maxims in Politics: Precedents are the Rule of Bodies of Men; Particulars that compose them scarce know what they do when they create them in any Case, much more in Points of high Importance and a dangerous Nature; for a single Precedent is often worth more than a thousand weighty Reasons against it in a Debate. And had a Parliament once created a Precedent of keeping a standing Force of *Dutch* Guards in this Kingdom, no body can tell what might by this Time have been the Consequence. A Confidence placed in one Government cannot, with any Grace, nor even without the highest Affront, be denied to another. The like Merits would easily be found out in other Foreigners, and as fine Declamations made in their Favour, as the *By-Stander* uses in Behalf of the *Dutch*; whose Complaints on this Subject are so very unreasonable and extraordinary, as to give weak People, who do not see into the Depths of Politics, room to suspect that

he wanted a Precedent which would have flattered some Views of his own, and serve to introduce other Foreigners, whenever his Patron's Interest, or the Distress of his Affairs, should make it necessary for his Purpose; nor will they easily get rid of these Suspicions, or find out any other Reason for those terrible Complaints trumped up at this Time of Day, 'till he shall be pleased to assign a better.

It is scarce worth while to take Notice of the wild Schemes, which the *By-Stander* forms for the attacking of *France* in *Page 19-20*, and *23*. That an *English* Fleet, with a considerable Land Force on Board, may make Descents on the Coast, harra's the maritime Provinces, and put the *French* to the Expence of raising the *Ban* and *Arriereban*, is easy enough to be imagined, though two such Enterprises in King *William's* Time did not turn to any Account; but how an Attack should be made by Sea in the Heart of the most fruitful Provinces of that Country (*p. 23.*) is perfectly incomprehensible. The *Cevennois*, in truth, made an Insurrection during the late War, and subsisted for some Time, by the Help of their Situation, in a vast Tract of craggy Mountains, running from the Extremity of the *Vivarais*, on the Side of *Lyon*, for 150 Miles in length to the *Gevaudan*. But our Fleet contributed nothing to this Insurrection, nor was it able to convey them any Succours; the only Way by which this was possible to be done, was from the Coast of *Languedoc*; and this when attempted was found impracticable, as were all the Schemes formed, either by the Marquess of *Miremont*, or by *M. de Guiscard*, either for sending those People Relief, or for raising Insurrections in other Provinces. I have been several Times in *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, and *Languedoc*, and never found any Signs of Discontent in those Provinces. There is no Prince of the Blood now to head an Insurrection; there is no powerful united
Body

Body of Protestants able to make a Stand against the Power of the Crown, and support the Cause of Liberty; even the Nobility, corrupted by Pensions necessary for their Subsistence, suitably to their Quality, are as fond of their Chains as the common People, after being so long used to them, and have adapted the same mean servile Spirit; so that no Head can be formed there for an Insurrection, and as there are no strong Holds in the Heart of the Kingdom to secure People that rise, for a few Days, 'till they can get to an Head, it is utterly impracticable to raise a Rebellion (however People were disposed to it) but it must be quelled in a Moment.

Were it otherwise, it would still be a strange Madness in Politics, for us to beggar ourselves with Taxes, to maintain a large standing Army in Time of Peace (which the *By-Stander*, in his great Wisdom and Providence recommends) in order to attack *France* in this Way, whenever a War shall break out. The Instance of King *Charles II.* abovementioned shews, that this Nation is always in a readiness to send Forces Abroad when necessary; since forty Days Time has been found by Experience sufficient for that Purpose; and the same Experience shews us, that new raised Forces are not useless because they are unexperienced; for the 10,000 *English*, which charged under the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Ossory*, at the Battle of *St. Dennis* near *Mons*, distinguished themselves by their Bravery, above the rest of the Confederate Forces in that Action, and it was chiefly by their Efforts, that the great *Luxemburg*, at the Head of a *French* Army, composed of *Veterans*, and better Troops than *France* can boast of now, was forced to quit the Field, and the Blockade of *Mons* was raised. No Troops of our own in the late War ever behaved themselves better, than these fresh Men did in that Battle; and indeed, I have heard it allowed univer-

fally by Officers of different Nations in *Europe*, that the *English* Recruits will fight as well the first Campaign (which can be said of no other Nation), as if they had been inured to Service, and will never quit their Officers in any Danger whatever, but stand their Ground as long as their Leaders will dare to keep the Field. Nor is this a new Observation; the Case was ever the same; so that though we had no standing Army in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* or King *James I.* yet that great General Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, chose to fight with the new raised *English* sent to his Succour, even before their *English* Beef was digested in their Stomachs.

The *By-Stander*, having laboured for 28 Pages with Dreams of Imagination rather than Arguments, to lull the People of *England* into a false Security, under all the Dangers and Grievances of a standing Army, endeavours, in the rest of his Performance, to reconcile them to the *present enormous Power of the Crown*, (p. 31.) and would fain have them believe it much less than its ancient Power, which he is willing to confound with the *Prerogative*. He complains heavily of the Author of the *Dissertation on Parties* for concealing every Branch of its antient Power, and misrepresenting the State of Things; though after above 70 tedious Pages of wretched Suppositions and unfair Calculations, fit rather to puzzle a Cause than clear it, he leaves him at last as he found him, *i. e.* unrefuted.

It is a strange Thing, that People will be giving themselves Airs of pronouncing in a decisive Manner, touching Things of which they must be conscious they are utterly ignorant. One naturally pities Ignorance, when it is attended by its decent Companion *Modesty*; but when it struts forward with an insolent *Air*, accompanied with *Self-Confidence* and a *Censure* of others, it is inexcusable, and deserves to be exposed. The *By-Stander*, when he
speaks

speaks, p. 30. about the ancient Power of the Crown, expresses himself so unintelligibly to every Antiquary, that it is plain he knows nothing of the Matter, and one must have Recourse to Guess-work to make out his Meaning. I am willing, however, in Consideration of his Ignorance, to impute to his wretched Informers the Mistake about *W. Rufus's* exacting 20 Shillings a Head from 20,000 Men, whom he had summoned for his Service in *Normandy*: It is lamentable that they can't so much as tell him Truth in mere Trifles. *W. Rufus*, with less Sense, was full as arbitrary as his Father the Conqueror: And no Precedents of his were thought fit to be copied in other Reigns. *Matthew Paris* relates this Passage in the Year 1094, and says, that *W. Rufus* falling unjustly, and contrary to the Sentence of their common Arbitrators, upon his elder Brother *Robert* in *Normandy*, the latter invited to his Assistance *Philip*, King of *France*, who came with a mighty Army, which would have invested and taken *Rufus*, if he had not by a Sum of Money prevailed upon that King to retire with his Forces. *Rufus*, in this Circumstance, had more Occasion for Money than he had for the Service of the Men he had summoned, and therefore ordered them to be dismissed at the Sea-side, upon paying not 20, but 10 Shillings a Man for their Victuals; which, whether they were supplied with out of his Magazines, the Historian does not say; nor does he complain of it as an Oppression, which he seldom fails to do in the Case of any Grievance.

Before I take Notice of what the *By-Stander* says further on this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that by the *ancient Power of the Crown*, I mean that Power which was inherent in it, and exercised by it constantly and regularly in ordinary Cases in the common Course of Government: And by the *Prerogative*, I mean that Power which it as-

sumed on extraordinary Occasions, sudden Emergencies, and in Cases of Necessity ; in which Cases Mr. *Locke*, in his Discourse of Government, is an Advocate for its Exercise. This I take to be the Sense in which these Words, *the royal Prerogative*, are generally used by Writers, that express themselves determinately ; and in this Sense the *Prerogative* certainly was little more than a *Phantom* ; because the Exercise of it being unusual, it always created ill Blood, and did more Prejudice than it ever brought Profit to the Crown. Of this Kind I take *the Loans, Benevolences and free Gifts* (of which the *By-Stander* complains) to be : But the People were so far from being continually forced to grant them, that I do not believe he can produce a dozen Instances thereof from the Conquest to this Time : I am sure that I have observed no more than these following, *viz.* One in the 11th of *Edward I.* two in each of the Reigns of *Richard II.* and *Edw. IV.* and one in each of the Reigns of *Henry VII.* *Henry VIII.* King *James* and King *Charles I.* which last brought in so little, and occasioned such general Discontent, that no Prince in his Senses will ever venture on the like Experiment again.

Fines were anciently paid for the Grants of Liberties and Franchises, in Law-Proceedings, for Licenses to marry, and in other Cases, for Offices, Privileges, and Favours of different Natures ; but I do not believe it cost the Subject more to obtain these in former Times, than it doth now ; only the Money went into the King's Treasury, and now it is sunk in the Pockets of his Ministers and Servants. But *Compositions for Scutage and Knights Service* were never heard of by any Mortal, 'till the *By-Stander* has thought fit to bring them on the Stage, and (what is yet more extraordinary) by a creative Talent, which would, in the Time of King *Henry VII.* have enabled him to supplant *Empson* and *Dudley* in that

that Prince's Favour, and have recommended him to the first Post in his Finances, hath raised *an inexhaustible Fund of Wealth* out of these Compositions to the Crown. Knight-Service was a Kind of Tenure, by which Lands were held either of the Crown or of the Lords, and which obliged the Tenant to no Payment of Rent, but only to personal Service. Scutage was indeed a Payment in Money, assessed upon Knights Fees in lieu of personal Service; for every Person who held of the King as of his Crown by Knight-Service, was obliged to do personal Service in the King's Army, or in some of his Castles, or find another Knight to do it in his stead; and could not be excused from this Service, though he was ready to pay the Scutage, without the King's express Consent; though such as held Lands by Knight-Service, as of some Honour devolved to the Crown by Escheat, were not obliged to the like personal Service, being excused by paying their Scutage. This Scutage, or pecuniary Payment in lieu of personal Service, varied often as to the Quantity of the Rate; but the same Rate was assessed upon every Body in Proportion to the Number of their Fees; it was generally from one to three Marks a Knight's Fee, sometimes 10 Shillings, but hardly ever above three Marks, and very seldom so high. Now the ordinary Value of a Knight's Fee in those ancient Times was 20 Pounds a Year (though the Lands now might well be set for 500 Pounds a Year) and I am apt to think the Gentlemen of *England* would now-a-days gladly enough submit to such Payments, rather than to the heavy Taxes, which they pay out of their Estates every Year, whereas the Scutages were but rarely levied. In the active Reign of *Henry II.* more infested with Wars than any other in our History, I find but 7 Scutages assessed; in that of *Richard I.* but two; in King *John's* eleven, fifteen in the 56 Years of *Henry III.* and

and one in his Son King *Edward's* Reign; after which I find no Mention of them either in the Pipe-rolls, or in our old Historians or Statutes. So that if these Scutages be what the *By-Stander* means by his *Compositions for Scutage and Knights Service*, I can't see any Reason for his Assertion, that an inexhaustible Fund of Wealth arose from them to the Crown.

Whatever this Branch of the Revenue originally produced, the Crown was soon defrauded of a great part of it, as Mr. *Madox* informs us in his *Baronia Anglica*. *William* the Conqueror distributing the Lands of *England* among his Barons created, some say 60,000, and others 32,000 Knights Fees; Mr. *Madox* inclines to this last Opinion. These Grants were made by the Crown to the Barons upon Terms easy enough, no Rent being reserved upon them; only the Tenant was obliged to serve the King personally in his Wars, and without Pay for forty Days, and was subject to three occasional Aids, *viz.* for the King's Ransom, the making his eldest Son a Knight, and the Marriage of his eldest Daughter. If the Tenant could not conveniently attend the King in the Field, nor get another Knight to go in his stead and perform the Service, he paid Scutage; which at the highest Rate of 40 s. a Knights Fee, was an easy Commutation enough for a personal Service in all the Dangers and Incommodities of the Field for forty Days, at his own Expence, (it being but 1 s. a Day) and even this Money he was repaid by his own Under-Tenants, as he would have been in Virtue of the King's Writ, had he performed his personal Service; so that Gentlemen suffered no great Hardship in this Respect. Now this Scutage was scarce above once in forty Years rated so high as at 40 s. the Knight's Fee, and at this Rate it would have produced 64,000 *l.* if it had been duly paid, and no one Body had performed his Duty of personal Service.

Service. But Mr. *Madox* tells us, that when the Barons and Knights were summoned to the Field, they were, upon their Arrival in the Host, mustered by the Constable or Marshal, and delivered in Certificates or Accounts of the Number of the Fees they held, and generally took Occasion to sink or conceal a good Part of them; a Fraud which those great Officers, not having by them the old Rolls and Certificates lodged in the *Exchequer*, could not discover: And the Fraud went daily on continuing and increasing, 'till this Branch of the King's Revenue was reduced to a Trifle. For when Process issued out of the *Exchequer* to levy Scutage, (according to the Certificates and Rolls there lodged) upon the Absentees, these pleaded they were charged with more Knights Fees than they held, and produced the Certificates of the Constable and Marshal for their former Service, fraudulently obtained as is said above. This introduced great Confusion in the levying of Scutage, Persons being charged for some Time for so many Fees as they owned, and for so many as they did not acknowledge; and no Way could be found to remedy this Disorder, but by leaving it to the Nobility and Gentry to fix the Number of their own Fees, and getting them to meet together to settle the Rate of the Scutage; which being seldom above 20 s. a Knight's Fee; and the Number of these Fees being thus reduced, probably to one half, the Scutage would not produce above 16000 l. This being the Case, and *Edward I.* having settled the Form of our Parliaments agreeable to their present Constitution, our Kings (I suppose) finding the Way of Subsidies upon Land more profitable and convenient for their Affairs, did not think fit to insist any longer upon this Revenue of Scutage, which the *By-Stander* represents as *inexhaustible*.

By

By *Compositions for Knight's Service*, I fancy the *By-Stander* means *Compositions for Knighthood*, every Person being obliged by ancient Custom, if he held 20 *l.* a Year (the Value of a Knight's Fee) of the King *in Capite*, to receive Knighthood at his Hands, if summoned, when he came to a certain Age, to receive it: In ancient Times when the Feudal Customs were kept up in all their Rigour, there were so many Privileges annexed to Knight-hood; that every Tenant of the Crown by Knight's Service, would gladly have given more than the Fees of Creation, to have his eldest Son knighted; so that there was little Occasion for any such general Summons, as (like that of the 25 *Henry VIII.*) was used in King *Charles I*'s Time, who thought he mitigated the Law, in summoning only such as held 40 *l.* a-Year (double the reputed Value of a Knight's Fee) immediately of the Crown, and empowered Commissioners in each County, to compound with such as did not care to be knighted; of which, as Lord *Clarendon* has given an Account in his *History of the Rebellion*, I shall say no more; only observing that whatever Revenue arose from hence in ancient Times, it came in by small Sums, and was too inconsiderable to engage the Notice of our Historians.

The Grants of Monopolies brought in little or nothing to the Crown, whatever they did to the Ministers and Officers about Court, by whose Recommendation, and through whose Hands they were to pass. They were made upon the Pretences of useful Discoveries, and of Improvements for Public Good; and passed in the usual Forms, after having undergone the Examination of the proper Officers, and been approved of by the King's Counsel. If the King was deceived in any of these Grants, it is a Misfortune that has happened to the wisest, through the Avarice and Corruption of their
Mini-

Ministers, upon whose Report they rely in such Cases; and it happened in many Cases to Queen *Elizabeth* herself, notwithstanding all her Sagacity, Strictness of Enquiry, and Jealousy of all that were about her Court.

Ship-Money had been an old Tax levied by the Prerogative, even in the *Saxon* Times, and paid in Virtue thereof in every Reign after the Conquest, till we lost all the Provinces that belonged to us in *France*; after which there were few Occasions of fitting out Ships for foreign Expeditions and Services. It seems to have lain heavier on the Maritime Places, on some Occasions, in former Times, than it did in King *Charles's*; for King *Edw. III.* had eleven Hundred Ships fitted out upon his Writs at the Siege of *Calais*, of which 44 were furnished by the Town of *Foway* in *Cornwall*, which must have occasioned a vast Expence, though borne by the whole County. Since Men of War are come in use, the Ships of such Towns are of little Service in War, and the Tax was grown obsolete, when King *Charles* revived it, to enable himself to clear the Sea of Pyrates, to support the Honour of the *English* Flag, and to put the Royal Navy into a good Condition. He raised it for four Years, and it brought in about 200,000*l.* a-Year; and it would be very happy for *England*, if the immense Sums of Money since raised for the Sea-Service, had been as faithfully and effectually employed to the use of the Navy, the Benefit of Commerce, and the good of the Kingdom.

The *By-Stander* is further pleased to assert it as a Thing, than which, nothing is more evident, that the Prerogative gave the Crown a Power almost unlimited, over the Lives and Properties of the Subjects; but he does not vouchsafe to specify any one Point of the Prerogative, which carried with it such a Power. *Dolus latet in generalibus*, is an old

Maxim; 'tis the Practice of all Deceivers to advance Things boldly which have the not least Foundation; and to deal in general Assertions, which prove nothing, and ought ever to be mistrusted, as calculated only to impose on the weak and credulous Part of the World. What little Reason there is for this of the *By-Stander's* will appear, when I come to compare the Power of the Crown in former Times, with what it is at present; which I had chiefly in my View, when I begun these Remarks on the *By-Stander* *, who has the Assurance to maintain, that the Power of the Crown is not increased since the Revolution; (and what must be more surprising to every Man that feels the Burden of our Taxes,) not even in *the Power of Money*. As this is the main Point for which he labours from Page 31. to the very End of his Pamphlet; though he takes Care often to lose Sight of his Argument by interspersing Reflections foreign to the Subject, and to amuse his Reader with ridiculous Suppositions; I shall therefore consider this Point more particularly than he has done, and with more Method than he could have done without exposing himself.

Our Kings for some time after the Conquest had very few Aids from their Subjects; but lived almost entirely on their own Revenues. *William* the Conqueror's first View in dividing the Lands into Knight's Fees, and distributing these among his Barons, was to provide for the Defence of the Realm. What was not thus distributed he either kept in Demefne to supply his Housho'd with Provisions, or granted out to Towns and Beroughs, at a certain Fee-Farm Rent, and subject to some occasional Duties. Lands held of the Crown *in Capite*, by Knight's Service, paid nothing in Money to the King, except occasionally in three Cases, *viz.* to marry his eldest Daughter, to make his eldest Son a

* Page 35.

Knight,

Knight, and to ransom his Person if taken in War; in all which Cases these immediate Tenants of the Crown, received the like Aids from their Vassals or Under-Tenants, so that they were no Losers by these Duties and Payments. The Towns also and Boroughs, Manors and Lands of the King's Demesne, were subject to these occasional Aids, paid generally under the Name of *Hidage*; none of which could be charged above once in a King's Reign; and the last never happened but once, in the Case of *Richard I.* when it was rated at 20s. the Knight's Fee. The Rate assessed for the other two Aids, varied at different Times. *Henry I.* took 3s. for each Hide (which was about 100 Acres) for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor. *Henry II.* for the Marriage of his to the Duke of *Saxony*, levied one Mark upon each Knight's Fee. There was no Aid of these Kinds in the Time of *Richard I.* or of King *John*, whose Daughter *Isabel*, was not married to the Emperor 'till his Son's Reign, when two Marks were paid out of every Knight's Fee, a greater Assessment than ever was made on the like Occasion; for when *Henry III.* married his own Daughter, the Quota was but 20s. a Fee; and this was the last Time any King of *England* fixed the Rate; it being assessed in the Time of *Edward I.* and ever after by Consent of Parliament. And if it be considered how much the Number of Knight's Fees was lessened by the Concealments, used to defraud the King of his Scutage, this Aid can hardly be thought to exceed 16000 l.

If this Aid was raised but seldom, that for knighting the King's eldest Son, was levied still more rarely. Mr. *Madox* being able to find but one Instance of it, in the Time of *Henry III.* when Prince *Edward* was knighted, and then the Aid was settled by the Grant of the Barons themselves as-

sembled in Parliament, at 40 s. a Knight's Fee, at which Rate it might amount to about 32,000*l.* These were all the Sums raised upon Land on these three Accounts to the Time of *Edward I.* when the regular meeting of Parliaments occasioned the old Duties to be disused, and all Aids were granted in the Way of Subsidies upon Land, and of Tenths, Fifteenths and Twentieths upon Goods and Merchandize, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The Crown had likewise some casual Branches of Revenue arising from vacant Sees and Abbies of Royal Foundation, whose Lands were on the Death of Prelates seized into the King's Hands, and he enjoyed the Profits thereof during the Vacancy. Such also were the Wardships and Marriages of Minors, and the Reliefs paid by Heirs when admitted to the Possession of their Estates; (for which however they received an Aid from their own Tenants) Fines for Liberties, Privileges and Licenses, and in Law-Proceedings; of which in those early Times it is not easy to make a just Estimate; and therefore I do not attempt it; and the rather because whatever Payments were made on these Accounts, they were not raised out of the People in general; which may be said likewise of the Tallages levied occasionally upon the *Jews*.

The constant standing Revenue of the Crown in Money, seems to arise only from the Customs and Prilage of Wines, (no great Matter in Times of so little Trade,) the Fee-Farm Rents of Counties and Towns, which being paid to this Day in the Sheriffs Account seems so inconsiderable, that no-body, for this Reason, or because they were Rents originally, reckons them in the List of our Taxes; and from the old *Saxon* Tax called *Danegeld*; which, if we compare the Rates of Counties, as *Essex* 252*l.* 6*s.* *Wiltshire* 199*l.* *Middlesex* 85*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* a Year,
 £c.

Ec. did not amount to above 7000 *l.* a Year ; and this too was laid aside in the Time of *Henry II.*

As for extraordinary Supplies to defray the Expences of Wars, which we now find so insupportable ; our ancient Kings had no Provision of their own, but what arose from Ship-Writs, which brought in no Returns of Money, but only of Vessels for the destined Service, and from the Scutages payable in Case their Tenants *in Capite* did not come to the Field in Person ; which were scarce equivalent to the Loss of their personal Service ; and supposing one in Ten to fail in obeying the Summons, would not amount at first to above 3200 *l.* and at last to not more than 1600 *l.* each Year of a military Expedition. What was further necessary for the War, was raised by the free Gift of the Barons, Towns and People, assembled in a Common-Council, or in Parliament ; and our first Kings of the *Norman* Race, were either so good Managers, or so averse to burdening the People, that they seldom had Recourse to this Method.

To enumerate particularly all the Taxes raised on the Nation by our Kings, besides what has been already mentioned on the subject of the three Aids, and that of Scutage ; *William I.* levied only 6 *s.* an Hide on Land in the fifteenth Year of his Reign ; and *William Rufus.* in his Time raised nothing on his People, but the 10000 *l.* which at the Rate of 10 *s.* a Man he received from 20000 of his military Tenants, whom he had summoned to pass over for his Service into *Normandy.* No Tax whatever was laid in the Reigns of *Henry I.* or King *Stephen.* *Henry II.* had very few, though it is amazing how he could carry on the continual Wars wherein he was engaged during a long Reign of 35 Years, with so little Charge to his People ; for all that was raised upon them, was a Subsidy of 2 *d.* in the Pound on arable Lands and Vineyards, and a 1 *d.* in

in the Pound on Houses and Goods in the 12th Year; and in the 34th and 35th of his Reign, a Tenth of all Moveables; nor were these last for his own Service, but for the Relief of the Holy Land, a romantic kind of Piety very fashionable in those Days, to which the King himself contributed large Sums. *Richard I's*. Expedition to the Holy Land in Performance of his Vow, not only forced him to sell the County of *Durham* to the Bishop, and to pawn a great Part of his Revenues; but occasioned a Tax on the People. Being taken as he was returning Home, another was laid to defray his Ransome; and returning in want of all Things, a Tax of 2 s. an Hide was in his Sixth Year laid on Land to supply his Wants, as another of 5 s. was in his Tenth Year to support the War with the King of *France*. This, though the shortest, was the most chargeable Reign to the Kingdom that had been since the Conquest.

King *John*, besides his Exactions on the Clergy, which were grievous enough, and one of the Causes of the Troubles of his Reign, raised only a Tax of 3 s. an Hide on the People. *Henry III.* in his 5th, 8th and 9th Years, had Grants of 2 s. an Hide; in his 17th a 40th on Goods; in his 22d a 30th; in his 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, a Fifteenth, which with his Tallages on the *Jews*, Taxes on the Clergy, Scutages, and other Aids, levied in the first 41 Years of his Reign, *Matthew Paris, A.D. 1257.* computes to have amounted in the whole to 633333 l. 6 s. 8 d. after which the People were burdened with no other Tax, but a Twentieth in his 51st Year, and (what the Religion of those Days put them upon) a Fifteenth in his 55th Year, for his Son the Prince's Expedition to the Holy Land. *M. Paris* is an Author that never lessens any Charge laid by the Crown on the People, and yet we shall hardly in these Days think it so enormous a Sum as he does, to be raised in the longest Reign

Reign of any Prince that ever sat on the Throne of *England*.

Edward I. the wisest and greatest of our Kings, laid two Tallages on his Demesne and Soccage Tenants: He had from the Laity Three Tenths, and Six from the Clergy, some of them for Relief of the Holy Land; to which purpose were also destined some of the six Fifteenths given by the former: The Clergy gave him one Fifteenth, and once a Moiety of their Goods, besides two Twentieths; as the Laity did two Thirtieths and one Twentieth; besides which in his eighth Year, the Boroughs gave him a Sixth, and the Commons an Eleventh, as they did a Seventh and Twelfth; in the 25th Year of his Reign. These were all the Taxes raised in the Time of this active Prince, whose Wars for the subduing of *Wales*, and with the Crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, for the greatest Part of the 35 Years of his Reign, necessarily required Supplies too large for his own Revenue to furnish. It must be observed that, except four or five in the first Years of his Reign, all these Taxes were granted to him by Parliament; for having regulated the Constitution and Assemblies of that representative Body of the Nation, he laid aside all former Ways of Taxation, and chose to have every Thing raised on the Subjects flow from their Grant, for which Purpose he passed an Act in the 34th Year of his Reign, providing that no Tallage or Aid should be levied upon the People, but by their own Consent in Parliament; so that from this Time we have a sure Guide from our Statutes to know what Taxes were raised on the Nation.

Nor were they many or great in the following Reigns. *Edward II.* upon his coming to the Crown, had an Aid and Subsidy granted him for the *Scotch* War, in which he was involved. The Pope gave him two Tenths on the Clergy; and in

his 16th Year the Parliament gave him another Subsidy. These were all the Taxes laid in his Time on the People.

Edward III. his long Reign of 51 Years was most of it spent in War, either with *France* or *Scotland*, and sometimes with both. The glorious Successes therein elated the People, and engaged them to part with their Money very freely, with a vast Expence to themselves, and very little Advantage to their Country; nothing at last remaining to them of all their Conquests, but the Town and Territory of *Calais*. There were raised in his Time, besides a Tallage in his 6th Year, three Tenths of the Clergy, a Ninth of the Laity in the 14th; and a Poll-Tax of four Pence an Head in his 51st Year; 17 Tenths and Fifteenths, (the Commons paying a Fifteenth when the Cities and Boroughs paid a Tenth) two Subsidies on Land, and seven on Wool; which last brought in more considerable Sums of Money than any of the rest. But however difficult it may be to ascertain the particular Amount of these Taxes, there can be none in fixing that of the Aid in the 45th Year of this King's Reign; (which is the first Instance of any Sum of Money to be raised by a Tax being particularly specified,) when the Clergy granted him 50000*l.* towards his Wars with *France*, as the Laity did the like Sum to be levied at the Rate of 5*l.* 16*s.* a Parish; the greater to help the lesser, throughout *England*. But whatever Aids were given to this Prince, they were still scarce equal to his Wants and Necessities: So that after all he had very little Power of Money.

Richard II. had from his Parliaments 7 Fifteenths and Tenths, and as many Subsidies, some of which were appropriated, as particularly that in his fifth Year, being a Duty of 2*s.* a Ton upon Wine imported, and 6*d.* in the Pound upon all Merchandize, except Wool, Leather, &c. which Aid was not

not only appropriated, but was likewise appointed by Parliament, to be paid into the Hands of the famous Sir *John Philpot*, and two other Receivers of their naming, to be wholly applied to the safe keeping of the Sea, and no part thereof for any other Purpose. So that Appropriations of publick Money are much antienter than the Revolution, and were secured by much better Precautions, than any that have been taken since, or indeed are like to be taken, if the *By-Stander* hath any Influence, since he exclaims against them in *p. 49.* where he pronounces, that *to put the Management of the Taxes into any other Hands than the Crown's, is erecting two supreme independant executive Magistrates.*

Henry IV. besides two Aids, the one a Moiety of Knights Fees, the other a Noble out of 20 *l.* had three Tenths and two Moieties of the Clergy, seven Tenths and Fifteenths of the Laity, and eight Subsidies, besides one in his eighth Year of a very unusual Nature, such as had never been raised in the Reign of any lawful King, and so horribly oppressive to the People, that the Parliament which granted it, declared it should be no Precedent, nor any Memorial of it be kept upon Record. Several of these Taxes, particularly those in his 4th, 6th, and 8th Years, were also appropriated.

Henry V. besides Tonage and Poundage, and three Tenths of the Clergy, had seven Tenths and Fifteenths from the Laity, and one Subsidy on Wares; Aids that bore little Proportion to the Expences his Wars with *France* must occasion. There was no Tax upon Land in all his nine Years Reign; so that it is probable his Conquests, which were very rapid, contributed much to subsist his Army: However, he was so far from having any considerable Power of Money, that he left his Jewels, and those of the Crown, in pawn at his Death.

Henry VI. was engaged for thirty Years together in a continual War with *France*, which ended with the Loss of all the Provinces which he held in that Country. To supply this unfortunate War, besides Tonnage and Poundage, he had from his People three Poles and a Twentieth, nine Tenths and Fifteenths, (in which were some Appropriations) and thirteen Subsidies, either on Land, Wool, or Goods, not sufficient to keep him from Indigence in every part of his Reign.

Edward IV. besides a general Subsidy on all Foreigners, and an Aid of 37,000 *l.* in his third Year, had only six Tenths and Fifteenths in all the twenty-two Years of his Reign, to defray all his extraordinary Expences in the civil Wars, and in his Expedition into *France*.

In the Reigns of *Edward V.* and *Richard III.* there was no Tax, but only the Grant of a Tenth by the Clergy.

Henry VII. besides two Aids for particular Occasions, had from his People five Tenths and Fifteenths, and three Subsidies; the last of which produced only 36,000 *l.* These were but small Sums for a Reign of twenty-four Years, yet he took Care to die rich, by the Fines he levied for the Breach of obsolete penal Laws and pecuniary Statutes, all parts of the Kingdom being brought into Trouble through the shameful Encouragement given to Informers; Evils to which this Nation never lay more exposed than it does at present.

Henry VIII. (besides two free Gifts, and that of Abbey and Church Lands, the Possessions whereof were soon devoured by his rapacious Courtiers) had from the Clergy a Moiety of their Goods, to excuse them from the *Premunire Act*; four Tenths and two Subsidies; and from the Laity four Tenths and Fifteenths, and six Subsidies. *Edward VI.* had in his second Year an Aid of twelve Pence in the Pound

Pound on Goods ; another in the Year following, which being found troublesome to collect, was repealed presently after, and supplied by a Subsidy. These Grants, with a Subsidy and two Fifteenths in his seventh Year, were all the Taxes raised in his Reign. This last Subsidy was remitted by Queen *Mary* as soon as she came to the Throne, in the same Act that settled Tonage and Poundage on her. The Clergy granted her a Subsidy for three Years, to be levied at 2 s. in the Pound a Year, and another afterwards for four Years at the like Rate. The Commons also in her third Year granted her a Subsidy on Land and Goods, and another in her last Parliament, with a Tenth and Fifteenth for carrying on the War against *France*.

Queen *Elizabeth*, in her long Reign of forty-four Years, had of her Clergy seventeen Subsidies, and from her Commons twelve Fifteenths, eighteen Tenths and Fifteenths, and seventeen Subsidies. Not to deduct what she remitted of these Taxes after they were granted, the Produce of them altogether, is not computed to amount to more than is now raised upon the Subjects of *England* in one Year by the Land and Malt Taxes alone at the present Rate ; and yet by her wise and frugal Management, she was enabled thereby to crush a powerful Insurrection in the North of her own Kingdom ; to send four or five thousand Men for some Years together to the Assistance of *Henry IV.* of *France*, against the Holy League and the *Spanish* Faction in that Kingdom ; to succour the distressed States of *Holland* with much greater Forces, and for a much longer Series of Years ; to carry on a successful War against the Crown of *Spain* for twenty Years together, whilst that Kingdom was in the Height of its Power and Riches, and under the Government of the most politic of her Princes ; to quell various Rebellions in *Ireland*, supported by

foreign Succours, and to maintain in the two last Years of her Reign an Army of twenty thousand Men to reduce that Country to an entire Obedience. She never indeed burdened her People with an useless Standing Army at Home, not even when she knew of the vast Preparations making in *Spain* and *Portugal* for the *Grand Armada* to invade her Realm, though there were then ten Times more *Roman Catholics* than there are now in *England*: But trusted herself entirely to the Affections of her native Subjects, conscious that she meant nothing but for their Good; and trusted to them with Reason, because they felt their own Happiness in the Wisdom, Justice, Lenity, and Oeconomy of her Government.

It is not easy to ascertain the particular Sum, to which every Subsidy, Tenth or Fifteenth amounted in antient Times: But it was certainly inconsiderable, because it appears from the Journal of the Commons, *June 22, 1663*, upon the Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the old Subsidy Books and Ways of Taxation, that an Estate there taxed at 20*l.* a Year, was in 1663 worth 1000*l.* a Year improved Value; and it was greatly improved by the new Valuations taken in the 32d, 34th, and 37th *Henry VIII*; about which Time the like Valuation was made of Ecclesiastical Livings, as may be seen in the *Valor Beneficiorum*, published by Mr. *Eaton*; according to which the Subsidies of the Clergy were ever after rated; so that one of their Subsidies of 6*s.* in the Pound, payable, as they generally were, in three Years, did not amount to more each Year than the present Value of their Tenths; which possibly may be about 8000*l.* a Year; I have not that Book by me to consult, and therefore will not be more particular. But as to the Subsidies of the Laity of 4*s.* in the Pound upon Land, and 2*s.* 8*d.* upon Goods (which with á Poll on other Persons, so to make every Body contribute

bute to the publick Charge, was the general Method) they amounted from the Time of those much improved Taxations, 'till the 31st of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, to about 100,000 *l.* a Year (as *Dr. Davenant* observes in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, p. 62.) but from that Time the Crown neglecting to have new Surveys made, People naturally recurred to their old Books of Taxation, and the Subsidies fell (as appears by the *Exchequer* Accounts from that Year to the 18th of King *James I.*) to 70,000 *l.* a Year; and the great Oracle of the Law, *Sir E. Coke*, (whom yet *Sir Francis Bacon*, who knew him well, thought much better versed in Affairs of the *Exchequer* and Revenue than he was in Law) fixes the Amount of them to that Sum, as he does a Tenth and Fifteenth at 20,000 *l.* a Year. It appears hence, what inconsiderable Sums of Money were granted to this Queen and her Predecessors, in Comparison of what are now granted.

The *Irish* Army in the two last Years of her Reign, put *Q. Eliz.* to the Charge of 400,000 *l.* a Year, and she had been forced to borrow 40,000 *l.* of the City of *London*. She died before *Tyrone* submitted; but her Death was not known 'till after his Submission. There were Reasons to fear he might be encouraged by that Event to break out into a new Rebellion, to which he and his Followers were sufficiently disposed. This obliged the King to keep up the Army in *Ireland* for the first Year of his Reign, in order to secure the Peace and Tranquility of that Country. The Charge of the Maintenance and disbanding of those Forces lay upon him; he paid his Predecessor's Debt of 40,000 *l.* to the City; he remitted (though with all possible Secrecy) for four Years after his Accession (pursuant to a Stipulation between him and *Henry IV.* settled by the Duke of *Sally*.) considerable Sums of Money to the *Dutch*, to enable them to oppose the *Spaniards* in the Low

Countries; he was at the Expence of about 100,000 *l.* in the Marriage of his Daughter to the Elector Palatine; he had sent 10,000 *l.* to that Prince after his Defeat near *Prague*, and 30,000 *l.* to the Princes of the Union; yet, notwithstanding these Expences for the Honour of the Crown, the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Good of his People, he received in the first twenty Years of his Reign but six Subsidies and seven Fifteenths from his Parliaments. Nor was it for want of meeting them; for they sat in the 1st, 3d, 4th, 7th, 10th, 14th, 18th, and 21st Years of his Reign; which was at least as often as ever they met in Queen *Elizabeth's*, and perhaps in any of his Predecessor's Times; so little Ground is there for the Charge laid upon him by the *By-Stander*, p. 32. that he was unwilling to meet a Parliament.

Nor is the Reason there assigned for this Unwillingness better founded; for as to the pretended Mismanagements of his Government, after all the Recollection I can use with regard to the Passages and Conduct of his Reign, I can think of no Mismanagement, but in the Case of the Monopolies; which he granted indeed, but granted upon Pretences of the publick Good, which he conceived might be promoted by them according to the Representations of his Ministers, at whose Instance they were granted. For he was honest, frank, and open himself, (perhaps too much so for a King that would be deemed a Politician) and this naturally disposed him to be credulous, and rendered him easy to be imposed on by the fair Pretences of others. But when he found by the Complaints of his People, that he had been deceived, and that these Monopolies had proved a Grievance instead of a Benefit to them, he recalled his Letters Patent, and by a publick Proclamation, vacated, condemned, and suppressed them all in general; nay, he went so far as (by an Exam-

Example too rare in common Life, and still rarer among Princes) honestly to confess his Error; declared against the Advisers of them in his Speech to the Parliament, and passed the well-known *Act against Monopolies* to prevent the like for the future. *England* could not fail of being happy, if all Kings were as ready to retract their Mistakes, and redress her Grievances.

It is grown a Fashion (for what Reason I cannot see, with what View I leave his Calumniators to explain) to rail against the Government of this King, the Honesty of whose Nature, even *Buchanan* his Preceptor could not corrupt, tho' he infused into him a pedantick Vanity, which hurt his Character, by making him appear ridiculous on some Occasions. Whatever Inconveniences flowed thence, they terminated generally in himself, and did not affect the Nation, any otherwise than as they affected his Character. He had Penetration, Sagacity and Judgment, more indeed in the Nature of Affairs and Actions than in that of Men; but he wanted Firmness to adhere to his Sentiments, and to take a Resolution. He was plain and familiar, even to excess; merciful, humane, and beneficent; he really loved his Subjects, and desired nothing more than to see them happy, unless it was to be the Means of making them so. A greater Injustice could not well be done his Character, than to represent him as crafty, the Essence and Foundation of which Quality is Falshood and Secrecy; whereas the reverse of this appeared in his Temper and Conduct; for he was but too sincere and open, and too free in speaking his Sentiments. It is not without good Grounds, that I presume to do this Justice to that part of his Character; for though I never conversed with this Prince any more than his Accusers, I have read Hundreds of his Conversations fully, particularly, and nakedly related in the Letters of the *French*,

Venz-

Venetian, and other foreign Embassadors that resided about his Court; all which prove what I here say beyond the possibility of Dispute.

I have the same Authority to vindicate him from another Slander maliciously raised and thrown by a proud, spiritually proud, restless set of Men called *Puritans* (the Pest of those Times) upon all that differed from them, and did not espouse their absurd Notions in the Points of the quinquarticular Controversy, and upon this King in particular, of being popishly affected; to which every Letter of those Ministers, wrote to the Princes and States that employed them, and to other Embassadors at *Rome*, in which they have continual Occasions to speak of this King's religious Sentiments, is a flat Contradiction; they always representing him as the firmest Protestant in Nature, and the Man in the World the most averse to Popery, and this Aversion so rooted in him, that he was not to be imposed on by any Arguments, nor wrought upon by any Motives or Considerations whatever, either to slacken in his Zeal, or cool in his Inveteracy (so they term it) against the Tenets, and even against the *Pe...*, of the *Roman Catholics*. Yet groundless as it was, this impudent Calumny, boldly asserted, and industriously propagated through the Nation, with the Jealousies and Discontents which it occasioned, (and which the King's Fondness for the *Spanish Match*, and his Affectation to shew his Learning in the Popish Controversy, were wrested to countenance) caused all the Difficulties and Uneasinesses of his Reign, and being conveyed down to his Successors, contributed more than any Thing else to the Troubles of King *Charles I's* Time, and the Calamities which in Consequence thereof have since attended this Nation.

To return to the Taxes of King *James's* Time. We have seen, that in the first twenty Years of his Reign,

Reign, he had received but six Subsidies, and seven Fifteenths from his People; and it must be observed, that of the Money arising thence, 36,000 *l.* was appropriated to other Uses; to the Relief of poor Towns and Cities decayed. He had retrenched the Expences of his Household, yet was indebted 40,000 *l.* for his Wardrobe, and had been forced to borrow 120,000 *l.* of the City of *London*. The Distresses of the Elector Palatine, and the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, which then bid as fair, as *France* does now, to domineer over all *Europe*, had engaged him in Measures to prevent the Ruin of the former, and reduce the exorbitant Power of the latter. He had, for this End, before the Meeting of the Parliament in 1621, remitted 50,000 *l.* to Count *Mansfield*, to enable him to keep his Ground in the Palatinate, had borrowed 75,000 *l.* of the King of *Denmark*, and was on the Point of making it up 100,000 *l.* and had paid above 200,000 *l.* more in assisting the Palatine, besides 20,000 *l.* which he had expended on his Navy. This Representation of his Circumstances in the Year last named, had procured nothing from the Parliament, more than two of the Subsidies before mentioned, and the Promises of a powerful Assistance when the War began for the Recovery of the Palatinate. The King had been treating for a long Time, and at a great Expence for that Purpose, and for the Prince of *Wales's* Marriage; and his Wants were still greater, when he called his Parliament in *February*, 1623-4, and passed all the Acts they recommended to him for the Good of the Nation. He laid before them his own great Difficulties at Home, and the melancholy State of Affairs Abroad; and as by Reason of his breaking off the two Treaties above-mentioned, to gratify the earnest Desires of his People, he was going to be immediately engaged in a War, he proposed to them the sending an Army

of 25,000 Foot and 5000 Horfe under *Mansfield*, to recover his Son-in-law's Dominions. Parliaments were not used in thofe Days to take all the Estimates and Representations of a Court for granted, and comply with all its Demands, how burthenfome foever to the Kingdom: They gave Money with a fparing Hand, and tho' they faw the imminent Danger and Neceffity of a War, they gave his Majesty but three Subfidies, and as many Fifteenths and Tenths for carrying it on, amounting to about 270,000 *l.* a Supply which was not only very flow in collecting, but very unequal likewise to the Service for which it was deftined: And yet of this Sum they appropriated 18,000 *l.* to the Relief and Repair of certain decayed Towns; the Refidue only being to be expended in the Management of the expected War.

To be fure alfo of the right Application of this Money, they appointed eight Citizens of *London* to be Treafurers, and ten other Perfons to be of his Majesty's Counfel of War, both being obliged to take an Oath; the Treafurers, that none of the Money fhould iffue out of their Hands without Warrant from the Counfellors of War; and thefe laft, that they would make no Warrants for the Payment of any of the faid Money, but only for the End abovementioned; and all of them to be accountable for their Doings and Proceedings to the Commons in Parliament. We have here a remarkable Instance (at a Time when the Nation was loaded with no Debt, and had grown rich by a continued Peace of above twenty Years) not only of a ftrict Appropriation of an occafional Supply, the Neceffity whereof was evident, but of the Receipt, Ifsue, and entire Management thereof, - being put into other Hands than thofe of the Crown. The *By-Stander* (p. 49.) (with a View he will not care to own, but which every Body will fufpect) may, if he

he pleases, exclaim against this, as *erecting two supreme independent Magistrates in the same Government*); but it is plain it was not deemed so formerly; and a Nation impoverished by heavy Taxes, of which they can see no End, hath Reason to wish the same Method were now taken: And if they see all Means of Inquiry into an Account of public Money stopped up, and all Attempts of that Kind baffled and defeated, they may possibly, to save themselves from imminent Ruin, be forced to revive the Precedent. In the Case before us indeed, the King himself proposed the intrusting the Management of the Subsidies to Commissioners named by Parliament, tho' this Body carried the Point further, by appointing other Persons to be Members of the Council of War, without whose Order no Money could be issued; for which however they seem warranted by ancient Precedents. For the Commons, having in the 12 and 14 *Edw. IV.* granted the King some Tenths and Fifteenths for a War against *France*, not only appointed Commissioners to receive them, and be Treasurers thereof, but ordered them to issue no Money out of their Hands, 'till the King's Proclamation for the Muster of the Forces was published; and the like Commissions had been appointed in 12 *H. 7.* to levy the Aids then granted in case of a War, but not to levy them at all, if Peace or Truce ensued. See *Rot. Parl.* 124. 4. n. 41. and 14 *E. 4. n. 7.* and 12 *H. 7. n. 12, 513.* We may observe further, that this was an Offer made by a King who was infinitely jealous of his Prerogative, tho' still more desirous of giving entire Satisfaction to his People; a Point of great Consequence which no Prince ought to neglect. We may possibly be surprized to see stricter Precautions taken for the right Application of such an inconsiderable Sum as 270,000 *l.* than have been taken in our Times in the disposing of 200 Millions; but were our wise

Ancestors to look out of their Graves and see our present Conduct and implicate Confidence, they would be infinitely more amazed, and would close their Eyes again with Indignation, at the Stupidity or Tameness of their Descendants, who make no better Use of their Example.

K. *James* dying after a Reign of 22 Years, in which besides the Tonnage and Poundage, which Sir *Edward Coke* (*Inst.* vol. 4. p. 33.) tells us was farmed in his Time at 160,000 *l.* a Year; all the Aids he received from his Subjects amounted at most to 83,000 *l.* which at a Medium of 22 Years, is less than 40,000 *l.* a Year; so frugal and sparing in those Days were Parliaments in giving the People's Money. The Aids granted in the last of King *James*, far from providing an Army of 30,000 Men for a War to recover the *Palatinate*, of which the Nation seem'd universally desirous, hardly sufficed for sending *Mansfield* with 12,000 Men on that Expedition; so that no Provision being made for the Payment of the great Sums which his Father had spent for the Public Service in the Affair of the *Palatinate*, King *Charles I.* found himself at his coming to the Crown, involved * in a Debt of 12,000 *l.* to the City of *London*; 40,000 *l.* to the Wardrobe; 150,000 *l.* to *Denmark*, and on the *Palatine's* Account; 20,000 *l.* to *Mansfield*; and 20,000 *l.* to the Navy, which was still so out of Repairs, and in want of Stores, that it required 300,000 *l.* more to put it in a good Condition: He had likewise been at 42,000 *l.* Expence in his Father's Funeral. This was laid by the Lord-Treasurer before the first Parliament in this Reign; to which the King represented likewise the Engagements he was under to his Allies, with Regard to the *Palatinate*, and the War he was embarked in with *Spain*, in Consequence of the Advice given

* *Rusworth's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 179.

the late King by a former Parliament. All that his Majesty could obtain, was an Aid of two Subsidies or 140,000*l.* too scanty a Supply for the War alone, much less could it suffice for the Discharge of a Debt of 392,000*l.*; and for putting the Fleet into a proper Condition to do Honour and Service to the Kingdom. The King, however, struggling with his Difficulties as well as he could, fitted out a Fleet with a Body of 7000 Land Forces on Board to attack *Cadiz*, but the Attempt miscarried. Two others were fitted out afterwards for the Assistance of the *Hugonots* in *France*, and the Relief of *Rochelle*; and towards the Expences of these Expeditions, and others in which he was involved on the *Palatine's* Account, he had from the Parliament in his fourth Year a Grant of five Subsidies, which in the Collection fell very much short of the 350,000*l.* which they should have raised.

The King had found his Parliaments disposed, not so much to relieve as to make Advantage of his Necessities, and was forced to have Recourse to other Methods for raising Money to support the Charges of the Government, protect the Commerce, and provide for the common Good and Interest of the Nation. He resolved to make use of none that were contrary to any Law in being, particularly to the Statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*. It could not be pretended that Compositions for Knighthood were, because they had been confirmed by an express Law in 1 *Edw. II.* two Years after the passing of that Statute; and were a Consequence of the Obligations which his own *Tenants in Capite* for none else were affected by them) lay under to him, by Virtue of their Tenures. His Judges likewise assured him that Writs for levying Money upon Towns and Counties for the Sea-Service, having been continued as constantly in Use after that Statute as before, could not possibly be con-

ceived to be within its Meaning: And thereupon such Writs were issued out, for the levying of it for four Years, at the Rate of 200,000*l.* a Year. If the right Application of the Money arising from a Tax, or a just Equality in levying and distributing the Charge, could reconcile People to the Payment of an unusual Assessment; these Motives might well have been urged in this Case. For all the Money arising from it was paid into the Hands of the Treasurer of the Navy, and employed for the Honour of the Nation; the Dominion of the Sea; the Security of the Commerce, and strengthening the Fleet of *England*. The Parliament too after the Restoration, when they had by a special Committee examined into all the Ways of raising Land-Taxes, as well in the Times of former Kings, as of the late Parliamentary Usurpations, in order to fix the most equal Way of raising Subsidies upon all the Counties of this Realm, found none so equal as that which was settled by the Writs of Ship-Money, and therefore made it the Model or Rule, by which they went in assessing their Land-Tax of 70,000*l.* a Month, as *Dr. Davenant* observes, in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, p. 72. The whole Amount of Ship-Money for four Years being 800,000*l.* and that of the seven Subsidies before-mentioned computed at 490,000*l.* it appears that in the first 15 Years and an half of King *Charles's* Reign (before the meeting of the fatal Parliament of *November 1640*,) all the Money raised out of the Kingdom in general, for the Service of the Crown was 1,290,000*l.* *i. e.* about 86,000*l.* a-Year.

I know very well that the Writs of Ship-Money are exclaimed against, as an insupportable Grievance, for raising Money without Authority of Parliament; and the *By-Stander* probably knows full as well, that Money is so raised in our Days by less Periors than Kings, by Commissioners of the Treasury,

fury, &c. without any such Clamor. Lord *Coke* (*Inst. II. p. 533.*) in his Comment on Statute *de Tallagio Concedendo*, says, “ That it comprehends
 “ all new Offices erected with new Fees, or old
 “ Offices with new Fees, for that is a Tallage put
 “ on the Subject which cannot be done without
 “ common Assent by Act of Parliament. This
 “ appears (says he) by a Petition of the Commons
 “ (*Rot. Parl. 13 Hen. IV. n. 43.*) complaining,
 “ that an Office was created for the measuring of
 “ Cloths and Canvas, with a new Fee for the same
 “ by colour of the King’s Letters Patent, and
 “ pray that the Patent be revoked; for the King
 “ could erect no Offices with new Fees to be taken
 “ of the People, who may not be so charged but
 “ by Parliament. *Henry IV.* promised to observe
 “ the Statute, and the Patent was adjudged ille-
 “ gal.” Sir *Edward Coke* goes on to cite a like
 Complaint in Parliament against another new Office,
 erected in the Time of *Edw. III.* and attended with
 the like Effect; and on this Occasion cites the *Par-*
liament Roll, 22 Edw. III. n. 31. a Time when
 Writs of Ship-Money were issued out in greater
 Numbers, and more constantly than was ever known
 in any other Reign, and this without any Com-
 plaint from Parliament, or from any other Quarter,
 of its being a Breach of that Statute. Times are
 certainly much changed when King *Charles* could
 not, without raising a Flame in the Nation, do an
 Act which had been practised for Ages without be-
 ing deemed so; and Ministers can now a-Days do
 what is undeniably contrary to the Statute, can raise
 Money without Consent of Parliament, by creating
 new Offices for the Benefit of their Relations and
 Creatures, with Impunity, and without the least
 Clamour or Censure.

Whatever the Case was, as to the Way of raising
 Money in King *Charles’s* Reign, my Point is only
 to

to consider the Sums raised for his Service, in order to see whether *his Power of Money*, bore any Proportion to that which has of late Years been vested in the Crown. Far from doing so, it is too well known that he was under great Necessities from the beginning to the end of his Reign; and these Necessities proved his Ruin. The Power of Money lay in the Hands of his Enemies, and made them Masters of the Kingdom, which they plundered, and harrassed for eighteen Years together by Sequestrations, Compositions, Sales of Crown and Church-Lands, Contributions, Excises, Subsidies, Assessments, and Taxes of various kinds, raising in that short space of Time upon the Nation, to the Amount (as it is generally computed) of Ninety-five Million, Five Hundred and Twelve Thousand, Ninety-five Pounds, Five Shillings and Eievenpence Half-penny; a Sum above five Times greater than had been raised by all the Kings of *England* in above 570 Years, from the Conquest till those Times of Usurpation.

I now come to the Reign of King *Charles II.* whose Revenue after the Restoration, the *By-Stander* (page 60, and the following Pages) is fond of comparing with the Civil List settled since the Revolution; and takes care to represent the former as much larger than the other, by the unfairest Calculations that were perhaps ever offered to impose on Mankind; but of which possibly he may have acquired an Habit, which generally takes away all Remorse, and even Sense of the Iniquity of a Practice.

He begins his Calculation with an Account of the Sums granted by Parliament, from *May 29,* to *December 29,* 1660; which he states thus, *viz.*

	l.	s.	d.
1. Act of Three Months Assesment from <i>June 24, 1660.</i> }	210,000	0	0
2. Act of Tonage and Poundage, from <i>July 24, to Dec. 25, 1660, Five Months</i> }	140,000	0	0
3. Two Acts for continuing Excise to <i>Christmas 1660, for Seven Months.</i> }	200,000	0	0
4. Pole-Tax, and 2 s. in the Pound on Estates, for disbanding the Forces. }	1,000,000	0	0
5. Act for raising 70,000 l. for a Month, commencing <i>Sept. 29, 1660.</i> }	70,000	0	0
6. Act for Two Months Assesment, commencing <i>Nov. 1, 1660.</i> }	140,000	0	0
7. Act for Arrears of 12 and 6 Months Assesment, ending <i>June 24, 1660.</i> }	300,000	0	0
8. Act for Six Months Assesment, for disbanding the Army and paying the Navy. }	420,000	0	0
9. Act for a Months Assesment, to commence <i>July 1, 1660.</i> }	70,000	0	0
10. Small Branches computed by Sir <i>W. Petty</i> , at 130,000 l. a-Year. }	130,000	0	0
	Total 2,680,000 0 0		

His Accompts of Disbursements is very general, because it would not have answered his Purpose to have entered into Particulars; and yet he cannot huddle up even this loose general Accompt, without

out exerting his usual Talent of Misrepresentation ; for he says (*page 64.*) that after the Grant of the Poll-Tax, the Sum of 140,000*l.* was deemed sufficient for the *compleat* disbanding the *whole* Army, and paying the Navy. See here, O Reader ! if thou canst without Indignation, a true Specimen of the *By-Stander's* unparallell'd Assurance and natural Veracity ! He had the very Titles of the Acts, to which he refers thee, before him, when he scored the Words *compleat* and *whole*, to have them distinguished by *Italic* Characters ; and yet has expressed himself so as to deceive thee into a Belief that the *whole* Fleet was to be paid off likewise : Whereas the Title of that Act (*12 Car. II. c. 20.*) after the Words *whole Army*, adds, *and paying Part* of the Navy. The Parliament knew very well that Sum would go but a very little way, towards paying off the whole Debt of the Navy, and therefore proposed only the paying of a *Part* thereof ; but had not the *By-Stander* represented the Case otherwise, he must in his next Year's Calculation, have inserted among the Disbursements, an Article for paying off the Remainder of the Navy, which he hath knowingly omitted, and hoped to cover by so wretched an Artifice.

His Motive for prevaricating in this Point is evident enough ; but I can't easily imagine why he should pretend in the last Part of the same Paragraph, that the *Crown afterwards demanded*, and obtained 420,000*l.* more for discharging the *Remainder* of the Forces ; when the House of Commons had taken that Affair into their Consideration before the King had left *Holland*, and carried it on after he came to *England*, without any Interposition of his, by Speech, Message or otherwise ; nor did any of his Officers deliver any Estimates in the Modern Way to the House ; but all was transacted by the Parliament alone, and by special Commi.tees appointed

pointed to make the necessary Enquiries. This is a Circumstance of so little Consequence to the *By-Stander's* Calculations, that did not an inveterate Habit draw him irresistably into such Misrepresentations of Facts, he might have waved the Exercise of his Talent in this Instance.

It may not be amiss to state this Matter of disbanding the Army, as it appears in the Journals of that House of Commons. They had passed the Bill for disbanding the Army, when the Lords in a Conference on *Sept. 7, 1660*, sent the House of Commons some Observations thereon, *viz.* “ That
 “ the Bill provided only for disbanding the Army :
 “ Whereas the Poll-Bill was not only for it, but for
 “ disburthening the Kingdom of the great Debt of
 “ the Navy, the Charge of which was 40,000 *l.*
 “ a Month, a Charge which the King found here :
 “ For the Navy was not of his setting forth, and
 “ 25 Ships lay usefess in Harbour at the Charge of
 “ 15,000 *l.* a Month, which Charge would be cut
 “ off by about 120,000 *l.* That there was but a
 “ Fortnights Pay provided for Support of the Ar-
 “ my 'till disbanded, and no Provision made, in
 “ case it was not disbanded within that Time ;
 “ that there were two Hospitals full of maimed
 “ Soldiers, and no Care taken for their Discharge ;
 “ that some Care should be taken for *Ireland* to dis-
 “ band part of the Army there, and a constant
 “ Charge settled for the Payment of the rest that
 “ was to be kept up for the Defence of that King-
 “ dom; and that the former Poll-Bill had fallen
 “ short of what was expected, and this might do
 “ so too.

“ * The next Day after this Message from the
 “ Lords, the Commons resolved, that a fourth
 “ part of the Money from the Poll-Bill should be
 “ applied towards paying the 25 Ships in Harbour ;

* *Sept. 8.*

“ and ordered a Bill to be brought in for an Assess-
 “ ment of two Months, to raise 140,000 l. to com-
 “ plet the disbanding of the Army, and the Resi-
 “ due to pay part of the Fleet in Harbour, and to
 “ no other Use”; which passed, before the House
 adjourned on *Sept. 13.* to *Nov. 6,* 1660. The Com-
 missioners appointed to disband the Army, did all
 that was possible to be done with the Supplies then
 granted, in the Execution of their Commission dur-
 ing the Recess: And the very Day * of the next
 Meeting of the House, Sir *W. Doyley* made a Re-
 port from the Commissioners, “ declaring what
 “ Forces they had paid off, what Sums had been
 “ paid to every particular Garison, Regiment,
 “ Troop and Company, and for the discharging of
 “ Ships, as also what Forces were not paid off, with
 “ an Estimate of what Money was still necessary
 “ to pay off the Land Forces to *Nov. 6.* and the
 “ Ships to *Sept. 17,* last past, and what Money
 “ certain and casual the Parliament had consigned
 “ to those Uses, with the Ballance between the
 “ Charge and the Monies consigned.

“ They had disbanded 23 Garisons, 15 Regi-
 “ ments of Foot, and 5 of Horse, and 6 of the
 “ Ships lying useles at Wages in Harbour.

“ There still remained on Foot of Forces that
 “ were to be disbanded,

l. s. d.

“ In *England,* 11 Garisons, 3 Re-
 “ giments of Foot, and 9 of Horse, }
 “ besides the Life-guard and 19 } 369834 15 10
 “ Ships, to which was due

“ In *Scotland,* 4 Regiments of }
 “ Foot, one of Horse, and Ge- } 75,681 16 4
 “ neral *Morgan's* Troop

“ The Money appointed by Parliament to pay
 “ off the Land and Sea Forces was, *viz.*

* *Nov. 6.*

	l.	s.	d.		
" Assignations on 3 Months Af-	}	23,000	0 0		
" fessment from <i>June 24, 1660,</i>					
" <i>Ditto</i> to the Amount of				40,000	0 0
" Poll-Bill estimated at				210,000	0 0
" The 2 Months Assessment		140,000	0 0		
	Total		413,000 0 0		
" The Sum paid, and the Charge	}	685,819	8 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		
" of Forces to be disbanded, a-					
" mounting together to					
" There wants to answer it		272,819	8 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		
" Besides other Sums from casual	}	150,000	0 0		
and uncertain Charges					
" So the Money to be ordered on	}	422,819	8 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		
" a clear Ballance is					
" The monthly Charge by Sea	}	32,653	12 0		
" and Land of the undisbanded					
" Forces is					

This monthly Charge was too heavy to be suffered to continue on the Nation; yet the House of Commons, before they would remove it, by making a sufficient Provision for paying off the Forces, resolved to wait the Report of a special Committee, which they had appointed to examine the Debts of the Navy and Army.

This Report was made on *Nov. 12.* by *Sir Tho. Clarges,* and represented, " That the Sum of 678,000 *l.* " was necessary to discharge what was due to the Navy " to *Nov. 10.* besides the 25 Ships which were under the Consideration of the House, and besides " likewise the Ships that his Majesty receives into " Pay, amounting to 248,049 *l.* 8 *s.* that after " computing what the Poll-Bill and the monthly " Assessments would bring in, there would still be " wanting

“ wanting to disband the rest of the Army, and
 “ such of the Ships as were not yet discharged,
 “ the Sum of 422,819 *l.* and that the Commission-
 “ ers of the Navy had also represented, that all the
 “ Stores were empty both of Victuals and Necessa-
 “ ries for the Fleet, and the renewing them would
 “ cost 200,000 *l.* and (without comprehending the
 “ Ships to be kept in pay by his Majesty) the other
 “ three Services required in the whole 1,300,819 *l.*
 “ 8 *s.* and of this Sum there was immediately want-
 “ ed for the paying of Officers and Mariners, and
 “ for disbanding the Army 670,868 *l.* 8 *s.*”

On *Nov.* 23. Sir *W. Doyley* made another Re-
 port from the Commissioners for disbanding the
 Army, giving an Account of their having paid off
 and disbanded since his last Report, one Ship, six
 Regiments in *England*, and three Troops of Lord
Falkland's Horse in *Scotland*; and they had not been
 able to disband more for want of Money, *viz.*
 269,480 *l.* 1 *s.* and for casual Charges 150,000 *l.* in
 all 419,480 *l.* 1 *s.* He had in his former Report
 of *Nov.* 6. given an Account of 73,185 *l.* 4 *s.* 1 *d.*
 which had been paid into the Chamber of *London*
 on the Poll-Bill; and he now gave in a particular
 of Money received on the same Bill, (which was
 found defective) from the Nobility, Members of
 the House of Commons, Aldermen, and Compa-
 nies of *London*, Officers of the Courts of Law, and
 from the several Counties of the Kingdom, amount-
 ing to 99,578 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* all which the Commis-
 sioners had paid away; and as to the rest of the Mo-
 ney of that Tax arising from the Counties, it had
 been assigned by them for disbanding the Regiments
 of Horse and Foot quartered therein, and (as the
 Commissioners were informed) it was all in Effect,
 paid and issued for the Purposes aforelaid, *except*
some small Sums that are inconsiderable.

The Commissioners, to hasten the disbanding, had borrowed Money upon the two Months Assessment for 140,000 *l.* of which Loan they had accounted for 24,445 *l.* 4 *s.* in the Report of *Nov.* 6. and in this of the 23^d it appears, that they had given Bills for 32,197 *l.* 2 *s.* 9 *d.* more; as it does in a following Report of *Sir W. Doyley's* on *Dec.* 8. that they had borrowed also 37,765 *l.* 10 *s.* of the City of *London*, upon the Credit of the said Assessment. Thus was all the Poll-Bill, and the greatest part of the two Months Assessment employed, and the Remainder of this last Tax was on *Nov.* 23. immediately after the abovementioned Report, ordered by a Vote of the House, to be applied to pay off the particular Regiments named and quartered in several Counties.

The Nation's Charge was increasing by every Delay, as well in paying off the 24 Ships still left in Harbour at Wages, tho' useless, (which cost 16,000 *l.* a Month, as *Mr. Hollins* had reported on *Aug.* 2.) as in disbanding the Army, to which, by *Sir W. Doyley's* last Report of *Dec.* 3. there was still due an Arrear of 287,624 *l.* 17 *s.* besides,

8000 *l.* claimed by Officers and Soldiers not formerly stated.

9000 *l.* to make good the Warrants of the Commissioners of the Army on the Excise and Assessments.

5244 *l.* 19 *s.* part of 8000 *l.* allowed to reimburse the Army's March from *Scotland*.

4500 *l.* allowed for the Charges of Auditors Clerks, Treasurers, &c. and 1100 *l.* a Day for pay to the Forces by Sea and Land still undischarged, and what his Majesty pays for Victuals to the Seamen.

To supply which, the Commissioners saw nothing but the Arrears of the 12 Months Assessment, commencing *June* 24, 1659. and of that of 6 Months

commencing *Dec. 25, 1659*; and the inconsiderable Arrears of the defective Poll-Bill.

The Commons hereupon brought in and passed the Act, (which makes the 7th Article of the *By-Stander's* Account of the Money granted this Year,) for levying the Arrears of the 12 and 6 Months Assessments, (the immediate Payment of which, in order to prevent the Soldiers living at free Quarters, they had pressed by former Orders on *May 17*, and by a Royal Proclamation at their Instance on *Sept. 7*; so that considering how readily Monies were generally raised at that Time, these Arrears cannot well be supposed to amount to the third part of Mr. *Coke's* Computation,) and another Act for raising 420,000 *l.* by a 6 Months Assessment, to commence from *Jan. 1, 1660*; to which they added another Month's Assessment of 70,000 *l.* for a further Supply, which probably was designed to make good the Deficiencies of the former Acts, arising either from the Interest to be paid for Money advanced thereon, or from the Charges of collecting them; and to provide likewise for the further Pay of the Ships and Army 'till the Time they were actually discharged. And whoever considers, that by Sir *W. Doyley's* Report of *Nov. 6.* there was on *Sept. 17.* an Arrear due to the 19 Ships to be paid off, of 138,132 *l.* 10 *s.* that 2 Months Pay and a half to *Dec. 1.* amounted at least to 25,000 *l.* more; that according to the Report of *Dec. 3.* there was a growing Charge for the Ships and Forces undischarged of 1100 *l.* a Day, and that there were 68 Days between *Dec. 1.* and *Feb. 14.* when the disbanding (as the *By-Stander* says, *p. 64.*) was finally completed, will think this additional 70,000 *l.* but a scanty Provision for those Purposes.

To form a right Notion of what the *By-Stander*, *p. 65.* calls *the profuse Liberality* of this Parliament to the Crown, it will be proper to examine in what manner

manner they proceeded in making a Provision for the King's Revenue. Their first Step on that Subject was on *May 3.* when they ordered a Bill to be brought in for taking away Tenures *in Capite*, and the Court of Wards; which was stripping the Crown of the most influencing part of its Power, as well as of the most considerable Branch of its Revenue. They proposed indeed to settle on it instead thereof, another Fund to the Value of 100,000 *l.* a Year, of which the Committee appointed to bring in the Bill were to consider. They did this in Breach of their ordinary Rules, and without any previous Committee for inquiring into the real Value of that Branch of Revenue, which they were taking away. They might have known that a Parliament in the middle of the Reign of *K. James I.* had offered that Prince 200,000 *l.* a Year in lieu of the same Revenue, and it was not thought an Equivalent; they knew that in the most desperate Situation of the Affairs and Person of *King Charles I.* the Rump Parliament offered him 100,000 *l.* a Year for it at the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, and would have given him 200,000 *l.* a Year, rather than have broke off upon that Article; but having the making of the Bargain entirely to themselves, they took Care to do it to their own Advantage, and that of their Constituents; less scrupulous or less generous in this Point, than Parliaments have since been in other Cases of less Importance, when in a bare Apprehension of the Crown Revenue being diminished by a salutary Act, they would not take the proper Measures for saving People's Lives, 'till they had provided no less a Sum than 70,000 *l.* a Year, by way of Compensation for a Loss which the Crown might possibly suffer.

The part which *King Charles* acted with regard to his own undoubted Rights, was very different from that of the Parliament, and might with some

Colour of Reason be censured as a *profuse Liberality* in the Crown. For when the Act of *general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion* had passed the Commons, and was sent to the upper House, the Lords taking Notice of the 5th Clause, “in which all Persons are discharged against the King and his Heirs of all *Sums of Money*, Intrusions, mean Profits, Wardships, Marriages, Reliefs, Liveries, *Ouster le Mains*, mean Rates, Respites of Homage, Fines and Seizures for Alienations without License, Arrearages of Rents, of Tenths and first Fruits, &c.” and knowing how many Millions were in the Space of 18 or 19 Years last past due to the King on these Accounts, could not pass it without first applying to his Majesty, to know whether he consented to the Clause. The King sent his Answer to the Lords in Writing, which being by them communicated to the Commons, is entered in the Journal of their House on *July 31*, to this Effect.

“His Majesty is very well informed in these Concessions which are to pass in the Act of Indemnity: He knows very well that the Arrears of the Wards, the Licenses of Alienation, and Alienations without License, Purveyance, Respite of Homage, the Arrears of Rent, still in the Hands of the Tenants, and the other Particulars, amount to a great and vast Sum, all which are released and discharged by this Act: But his Majesty is so well satisfied of the good Affection of the House of Commons, and of their Intentions and Resolution to settle such a Revenue upon his Majesty, as may preserve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalued by his Neighbours, that he is resolved not to insist upon the Particulars which the House of Commons have desired his Majesty should release.” The Arrears of these and other Parts of his Revenue given up in that Act, amounted in the Course of so many Years, (according

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ing to the Estimate made of King *Charles I's* Revenue, which descended to his Son, in Sir *Hencage Finch's* Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into it by this Parliament, as it appears on the Journal of *Sept. 4.*) to above twelve Millions Sterling; an immense Sum, which few Princes but King *Charles II.* would sacrifice for the Ease and Satisfaction of their People.

The Commons upon this Message, appointed a Committee to consider of such a Revenue as might maintain the Grandeur of the Crown; and on *Sept. 4.* resolved that it should be made up 1,200,000 *l.* a Year, and that Bills should be brought in for establishing of a Post-Office, for Wine Licences, and to prevent any Alienation of the Crown Lands for a longer Term than 3 Lives or 21 Years. They had already passed the Act for Tonage and Poundage, and on *Nov. 21.* having resolved to settle a Moiety of the hereditary Excise on the King in lieu of Tenures and the Court of Wards, it was moved that the other Moiety should be towards the 1,200,000 *l.* a Year; but the Motion was rejected. The House however thought better of it six Days after, on *Nov. 27.* and then agreed that it should be so applied. A Bill was brought in accordingly, and consolidated with the Act for abolishing the Court of Wards and Tenures *in Capite*; but when they had referred it to a Committee to consider, what Satisfaction should be made to the Patent Officers in that Court for the Loss of their Employments, and a Report had on *Dec. 21.* been made of the particular Sums proper to be given them for that Purpose, scarce any amounting to more than one Years Value of the Employment, tho' they amounted in all to 26,850 *l.* the House made no Provision in the Case; but left upon the King the Burden of making them a Recompence.

The Commons had before, by various Votes, charged different Branches of the Revenue, chiefly the Excise and monthly Assessments, with Sums of Money to be paid to divers Persons, to the Amount of 387,269 *l.* 10 *s.* a List of which is in the Appendix, N^o. 2. but on *Dec.* 29, the last Day of the Session, they took particular Care of their old Friends, by passing Votes in favour of Assignments, many of which seemed to be antiquated, particularly of Debts charged by Parliament on the Excise before *Dec.* 7, 1648, 35,110 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* and a great many others charged on the same Revenue, and yet unsatisfied ;

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
As also to the distressed Prote-			
stant's of <i>Piedmont</i>	75,010	13	5½
Assignments on the <i>Excbequer</i> be-			
tween <i>A. D.</i> 1653, and <i>March</i>	477,151	10	0
1, 1660			

These they resolved should be paid with all convenient Speed, tho' they thought fit to suspend for a Time others which had been between 1652, and *Feb.* 13, 16½, to the Amount of 95,000 *l.*

The same Day Col. *Birch* made his Report of the Debt of the Navy for Stores and Wages, (for which no Fund had been provided,) to the Sum of 673,720 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* besides Freight of Ships in 1642, 1643, and 1644, still unpaid. These either Incumbrances on the Revenue, or Debts utterly unprovided for, amounting to 1,743,263 *l.* 1 *s.* 8½, were left upon a King in want of every Thing, just come from Exile, and from giving a general Release of all that was due to him, to struggle with as well as he could ; besides what has been already mentioned (in Sir *F. Clarges's* Report to the House on *Nov.* 12.) of the Emptiness of the Stores, both as to Victuals and Necessaries for the Fleet ;

Fleet; so that the renewing of them, would cost the Sum of 200,000 *l.* and what the Lords took Notice of in their Conference with the Commons on *Sept. 7. viz.* the Necessity of paying off and disbanding a great part of the Army in *Ireland*, and taking care to defray the Charge of subsisting and paying the Standing Force that was to be kept up for the Defence of that Kingdom; for which no Provision was made, nor any Fund assigned by this Parliament. Such was its *profuse Liberality to the Crown*, of which the *By-Stander* makes so heavy a Complaint; not considering that it was composed chiefly of Presbyterians, for whom he seems to have a tender Regard.

The Act for dissolving the Rump Parliament and calling another to meet in *April 25, 1660*, had provided, that no Person who had ever been in Arms against the *Parliament* since 1641, or his Son, should be capable of being chosen for this new, and as they were fond of styling it, Free Parliament. By this Means the Cavaliers were generally excluded, and tho' some were elected notwithstanding this Disqualification, they were yet much fewer in number than the old Presbyterians, who had taken up Arms against his late Majesty, tho' seeing no End of the Oppressions, Calamities, and Confusions of the Kingdom under the various Usurpations of those Times, they were disposed to support *Monk* in his Measures for restoring King *Charles II.* They were however for doing it by a Treaty and upon Terms, probably such as they would have imposed on his Father at the Isle of *Wight*; and Sir *Matthew Hale* was persuaded by them to move in the House, that they should consider the Terms upon which it was proper to restore his Majesty. The General stopped the Motion by his Firmness, and telling them in plain Terms, that he would not answer for the Army, if they proceeded in the slow Way of a Treaty, which would

would be attended with numberless Difficulties, give the Regicide Party Time and Means to embarrass the Affair, and be such an Encouragement to them at the same Time, that it dispirited others who wished well to their Country, that the Event would be doubtful, and perhaps fatal to the Constitution.

The Presbyterian Party had ever had it in their View to reduce the Kingly Power; it was their darling Passion; and tho' they had miscarried in their Motion, resolved to pursue their Point by other Measures: And it was from their Obstinacy on this Head, that arose in a manner all the Difficulties which General *Monk* had to struggle with, after he came to *London*, in effecting the King's Restoration; as the late Lord *Lansdown* (from whom I derive this Relation) frequently heard explained by his Father Sir *Bernard Grenville*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Bath*, in their Conversations upon this Subject. They tried again, by the Deputies which they sent over to the King in *Holland*, to engage him to submit to the Restrictions and Concessions, with which they were desirous to fetter him and clog the royal Authority; and perhaps would have succeeded, had not the General come to a Knowledge of their Instructions and Views, and sent Sir *Bernard Grenville* over in the same Ship with the Deputies, with the strictest Orders to get before them to his Majesty, and prepare him for their Reception, by a full Discovery of their Designs, and proper Answers to be given to the several Articles of their Desires.

'Twas in Pursuance of this Plan, and for the gratifying of this Passion, that the Party, the very Day after they had proclaimed the King, ordered a Bill to be brought in for abolishing the Court of Wards; and had read it twice, and committed it before the King came to *London*; though it lay by afterwards till they had agreed upon another Fund
by

by way of Compensation for it, in the Point of Revenue; for in Point of Power they never propos'd to give any Equivalent, being fond of every Occasion to lessen that of the Crown. They could not do it in any Instance more acceptably to the Gentry of the Kingdom, if not more considerably in Respect of Royalty. For the King, in Virtue of his Tenures *in Capite*, had a vast Interest in every County by his Premier Seifins, Enjoyment of all Estates during a Minority, Wardships of the Persons and Lands of Minors, &c. He did not indeed make half, or perhaps, a third of the Profit he might have done by such Minorities; because he generally gave away, to great Men whom he had a mind to oblige, and to faithful Servants whom he wanted to reward, the most profitable of these Wardships; but by Means thereof, he had it continually in his Power to restore a decayed, and to raise a new Family, to recompence every Subject answerably to his Merit and Services, and to make the Fortune of an infinite Number of Persons. He had likewise the Education of all Minors, which afforded an Opportunity of correcting the ill Principles of some Families, and drawing off others from the Errors of Popery; so that probably we should not have had a *Roman Catholick* of a noble Family left in *England* by this Time, had this Power still remained in the Crown. It was a Power the most desirable of any to a Prince, because it enabled him to make vast Numbers of People happy, and to encourage Virtue, Merit and Services by adequate Rewards: No-body knew better how to distinguish Merit, nor was more desirous to reward it than King *Charles*; he well knew the Value and Importance of this Power, and had more Occasion to keep it in his Hands, than any King of *England* ever had before, yet to quiet the Minds of the People, and to oblige the Kingdom in general without obliging

any one Man in particular; he gave it up in Compliance with the demand of a Parliament, at a Time when it would have enabled him to have provided for an infinite Number of Persons and Families, who had served or suffered for him or his Father at Home, or had followed his Fortune A-broad.

To disable him from doing so, was probably one of the Motives, why those who govern'd in this Parliament, were so eager for stripping the King of this Power; in Hopes that a needy Set of Men, who had long laboured under Oppression, been sequestred, plundered, forfeited, and perhaps banished for their Loyalty, might be tempted, in a recent Sense of their Sufferings, and a full one of their Merits, under all the Pressure of their Indigence and sudden Disappointment of their Hopes, to clamor against the Neglect and Ingratitude of Princes, and grow in Time as disaffected to Monarchy as they were themselves. This at least was their Meaning in the Address to the King, the very Day that they first came to a Resolution of settling the Revenue at 1,200,000*l.* a-Year; which was five Weeks after his Majesty's gracious Message of releasing all the Arrears due to him for his Rents, or on Account of his Tenures, and pressing the Lords to pass the Act of Indemnity. Though the King had thus released all the Arrears, yet he might still dispose of the Wardships, and other Profits arising from his Tenures, within the present Year, for the Benefit of his suffering Friends, the Cavaliers; and the rather, because the Revenue proposed in lieu of the Court of Wards was not yet granted, nor was intended to take Place 'till the End of the Year. There was no Justice in debarring the King from the Benefit of an old Revenue, till they had given an Equivalent; there was no interposing in the Case with any tolerable Decency,

'till

'till they had done something for his Majesty; but they took Care to seize the first Moment that was favourable for their Application. The Bill about the Court of Wards had lain by since the King's Arrival, 'till they had settled an Equivalent; which indeed was not done 'till the Month of *December*, a little before *Christmas*: And they had deferred coming to a Resolution about the Revenue of the Crown 'till *September 4*; but then having passed a Vote for 1,200,000 *l.* a-Year, they immediately addressed his Majesty, *Not to grant or make use of his Tenures, 'till they had settled a constant Revenue, &c.*

The Funds which they settled for that Revenue, fell 300,000 *l.* a-Year short of what they had voted, as appeared upon Examination in the next Parliament; and were afterwards found still more defective, than they were even then computed to be. This Deficiency, the utter Neglect of providing either for disbanding or subsisting the Army in *Ireland*, the establishing such a Burthen of old Debts, as were warranted by the Votes of this Parliament, the last Day of their sitting, and leaving the King under the heavy Load of Two Millions of Debt and Charges, without any Means to pay and defray them, however it might flatter the Passions, or suit the Views of those who were at the Head of Affairs in this Parliament, was very inconvenient for the Kingdom.

They had given nothing new towards the 1,200,000 *l.* a-Year, but the hereditary Excise, the Post-Office, and the Wine-Licences, and these did not pass 'till just before *Christmas*; so that the King not having wherewith to subsist his Household, or carry on the Affairs of Government, for the first Year of his Restoration, was necessitated to borrow Money, and run into Debt, to provide what was necessary on both those Accounts, agreeable to what Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* said in his Speech

to the Parliament, the Day of their meeting at Oxford, Oct. 9, 1665. "That his Majesty being returned was forced to support himself a good while upon Credit, 'till the Armies were disbanded, and the Fleets paid off: Which Debt was exceedingly heightened by the necessary Supplies of his Magazines and Stores, which were at that Time so exhausted, that there were not Arms for 5000 Men, nor Provisions for the setting out of Ten new Ships." The Mischief of it was, that the King being, at his very Entrance upon the Government, loaded with such heavy Debts contracted by the usurping Powers before his coming, could never get clear of them afterwards; but was ever labouring under Necessities from this Time to the End of his Reign: And whoever considers with an impartial Mind the false Steps or Mistakes that happened in the Course of it; the Affair of *Dunkirk*, *Chatham*, shutting up the *Exchequer*, &c. will find them to be originally owing to those Necessities, in which he was first left involved by this Parliament.

The *By-Stander*, page 65. passes over some Articles, which he mentions in such a manner as to tempt People to imagine them considerable; it may not therefore be improper to observe, that the Present of the Convention, the States (6000 *l.*) and the City of *London* (10000 *l.*) to the King cannot be supposed sufficient to discharge his Quarters, in which he and his Brothers, with their Household, had subsisted for a long Time under very great Difficulties; that the Presents of private Persons at that Time will be found very inconsiderable, and ought not to be charged to the Publick Account; and that (as appears from the Journal of the House of Commons, *June* 18, 1661; and *June* 4, 1663;) the forfeited Estates of the Regicides, and excepted Persons, instead of 38,000 *l.* a-Year, at which they were estimated by the Convention, did not produce
above

above 5000 *l.* I shall add one Remark further, that the Presents made to the Queen-Mother and her Children bore no manner of Proportion to the 18 Years Arrears of her Jointure of 30,000 *l.* a Year; and the 50,000 *l.* assigned for the repairing of the King's Houses, was not the Twentieth Part of the Damages he had sustained in the Buildings, (which was all that the Parliament regarded, and only as to those near *London*;) and by the Plunder and Sale of the Furniture thereof. For in the Year 1642, when the Rebellion broke out, King *Charles* had 24 Royal Houses compleatly furnished; so that there was no Occasion, when he removed from one to another, to carry either Goods or Hangings with him (as is practised in other Countries); and adorned with the finest Pictures, (in which that King had an excellent Taste and Judgment,) and the richest Tapestry known in *Europe*; which being pillaged and sold by the Rebels, besides a vast Quantity that fell into private Hands, now serve for Ornament in the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*. King *Charles II.* never had any Satisfaction given him in this Respect; but was left to undergo all the Expence of providing new Furniture; which he was ill able to bear, considering the Load upon him, and the necessary Expences of the Government.

l. *s.* *d.*

These Things premised, I come to
 consider the *By-Stander's* Calculation for the Year 1660; the Grants whereof he states at

} 2,680,000 0 0

And the Disbursements for Public Services, at

} 1,560,000 0 0

In Order to put the Remainder upon Account of the Civil List

} 1,140,000* 0 0

* It should be 1,120,000.

It has been already proved that the Poll-Bill was not estimated by the Parliament at more than 210,000 *l.* and that it proved defective, as is expressly said in the Reports on the Journals of *Nov. 6.* and *Dec. 3.* What the Deficiency was, is not said, but allowing for it only 10000 *l.* the Account will stand thus;

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1. Assessment of 70,000 <i>l.</i> per Month, for Three Months from <i>June 24,</i> 1660. }	210,000	0	0
2. Tonnage and Poundage from <i>July 24,</i> 1660. }	140,000	0	0
3. Two Acts for continuing the Commonwealth Excise to <i>Christmas</i> 1660. }	200,000	0	0
4. Poll-Tax for disbanding the Forces. }	200,000	0	0
5. Assessment of 70,000 <i>l.</i> for a Month from <i>September 29,</i> }	70,000	0	0
6. Assessment for 2 Months. }	140,000	0	0
7. Arrears for 12 Months Assessment of 100,000 <i>l.</i> per Month. }	300,000	0	0
8. Assessment for six Months, from <i>Jan. 1,</i> 1660. }	420,000	0	0
9. Assessment for one Month from <i>July 1,</i> 1661. }	70,000	0	0
10. Small Branches as he computes them for a whole Year. }	130,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Disburfed for Public Services	1,870,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Remains for Civil List	320,000	0	0

Now upon some of these Articles there are further Observations to be made; as that there was (by a
Vote

Vote of *May 7.*) the same Appropriation of the Assessment mentioned in the first Article, as had been made of the last Assessment in the Rump-Times; and cannot therefore well be charged to the King's own Account; that the Third Article is much over-charged; because Wines which were rated to the Excise till *July 24, 1660,* were by the Act of Tonage and Poundage discharged of it from that Day; which in the five Months following probably lessened at least 50,000*l.* of the usual Amount of the Excise; that there is no manner of Reason to imagine, that the small Branches in the 10th Article, were paid for the whole Year to the King, especially since the Act of Indemnity cuts off all Arrears of Rents, Tenths, &c. to *June 24, 1660;* and as to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Articles of Assessments, it hath been already shewn that they were applied to the Payment of the 25 Ships laid up in Harbour, and the disbanding of the Army; and were scarce sufficient for that Purpose. So that the only Articles to be accounted for, being the first, second, third, and tenth, which make, according to the *By-Stander's* Calculation, 680,000*l.* I have no Occasion to make any Reduction of his Charge therein, because they are so vastly disproportioned to the Public Charge of the Kingdom, that it would not suffice for above one or two Articles thereof, had not those Parts of the Revenue been charged by the House of Commons, with the immediate Payment of 387,269*l.* 10*s.* the Particulars of which may be seen in the Appendix.

In the Observations of the Lords, communicated to the Commons on *Sept. 7.* it is said, that the Charge of the Navy was 40,000*l.* a Month, of which 15,000*l.* went to those 25 Ships which were paid off at the End of this Year; the other 25,000*l.* a Month for the Ships still kept up, will for 8 Months
of

of the 13, from *May*, when they were first employed for the King's Service, to the End of the Year, amount to 200,000 *l.* and the Garison of *Dunkirk*, consisting of a Regiment of Horse of 490 Men, and of 3600 Foot, at 8 Stivers a Day *per Man*, (7 Stivers and a half being 8 *d. English*, as I find by the Commons Journal *Aug. 25.*) must for their Pay, their Ammunition, Ordnance, &c. come to above 100,000 *l.* a Year, which I think proper to charge for the whole Year, because I see by the Journals of the Commons, that the Orders of the Council of State (charged with the executive Power of the Government from *February* 'till the King's Restoration) for their Pay were not answered, nor indeed a vast number of other Orders of theirs on different Branches of the Revenue for the like Payment, amounting to near 100,000 *l.* as may be seen in the List which they presented to the House on *May 16.* The Account then may stand thus ;

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Charge by Article 1, 2, 3, and 10	680,000	0	0
<hr/>			
Discharge by Disbursements for 8 Months of the Navy	200,000	0	0
————— Garison of <i>Dunkirk</i>	100,000	0	0
————— By special Orders of House of Commons	387,269	10	0
	<hr/>		
	687,269 10 0		

These three Articles of Disbursements swallowing up 7269 *l.* 10 *s.* more than the Funds of the public Revenue (besides those appropriated to the Payment of the Army that was to be disbanded, and spent entirely in that Service) produced, there is nothing left either for the Ordinary of the Navy, or for the Guards and Garisons in *England*, (which last were in greater number than now, because there were

were several Castles then standing, which were soon after dismantled,) or for disbanding the part of the Army that was to be broke in *Ireland*, and paying that which was necessary to be kept on Foot in that Kingdom; or for many other publick Services less considerable; much less was there any Thing left for the Civil List, the ordinary Expences of the King's Household, and other Outgoings which will be seen when I come to specify the particular Articles of Expence included in the general Title of the Civil List; or for the immense Debt mentioned before, as left without any Provision by the Convention Parliament.

A new Parliament was called, and met on *May 8, 1661*, which the *By-Stander* hath equipped with the Character of a *Tory-Parliament*, tho' the Name of *Tory* was not then known. It was in Truth composed so generally of Gentlemen that were attached to the true Constitution of *England* in Church and State, and of such as were distinguished in those Days by the Name of Cavaliers, that old Mr. *Ajse* of *Heylesbury*, a Gentleman of very different Principles, who was Member of it, hath told me, that they sate down but 56 Members of the same Sentiments with himself in the House when the Parliament first met, and yet by their constant Attendance upon every Occasion, and by their Industry in getting their Partisans chose in the stead of deceased Members, they came to be a Majority before it was dissolved; an Example that should naturally recommend the like Diligence, Perseverance, and Attendance in our Times, and keep every Body from despairing of their Country.

The *By-Stander* (p. 66.) seems much offended at the Conduct of this Parliament, but with little Reason, even the five Acts, which he has picked out of a vast number, that they passed in the Space of 18 Years, as the most liable to Exception, and best deserv-

deserving of Reproach. But whoever knows the History of 1641, and considers the Circumstances of the Times when they passed, will be apt to think them not only expedient, but necessary. The tumultuous and riotous manner of presenting Petitions to the King and Parliament by thousands of People, using horrible Clamours, Threats, and Insolencies, had been in 1641, a great Means of terrifying the Members of both Houses from voting according to their Conscience, and forcing them for the Safety of their Persons to abstain from their Attendance in Parliament; and had contributed exceedingly to the late unhappy Wars, Confusions, and Calamities, from which the Nation had been so lately delivered. It was absolutely necessary to guard against a seditious Practice, so destructive to the public Peace and the Freedom of Parliaments: Yet such was the Moderation of the Cavaliers in this Parliament, and so tender were they of the Lives and Liberties of the People, that they forbid it under no heavier Penalties than a Fine and 3 Months Imprisonment; Penalties inflicted in the case of an ordinary Riot. They confined them likewise to this particular Point, and did not extend their Prohibition to every Concourse of People upon any Occasion whatever; much less did they think of putting it in the Power of a Justice of Peace to make the Offence capital by his reading of a Proclamation, and of executing by an infamous kind of Death every Man, who did not disperse immediately. These Severities were none of the Exploits of what the *By-Stander* calls a Tory Parliament.

In the Rump Times, all the Corporations in *England* had been garbled and new modelled to the Purpose of the Usurpers, and all Members that would not take the solemn League and Covenant, Engagement, and Abjuration Oaths then imposed, had been turned out illegally. Others had been as

illegally placed in their stead, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the Charters and Liberties of those Corporations; which hereby ceasing to be rightly constituted, all their Elections made afterwards of Magistrates, Officers and Members, were questioned as illegal. This gave Occasion to an infinite number of Law-suits and Disputes, Heats and Animosities, which endangered the public Peace, and caused terrible Distractions in every part of the Kingdom. To terminate these as soon as possible, was absolutely necessary for the Tranquillity of the Nation, as well as the Security of the Government: And the Corporation Act, empowering Commissioners to restore, remove, or put in Members and Officers in these Corporations, was a very proper Provision for that Purpose. And it must be observed, that the Commissions issued out upon this Occasion, were (as may be seen in the Commissions upon the Record, and in the News-papers of those Days, giving an Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners,) granted not to such Persons as Affidavit Justices in some Counties, and six-penny ones in others, but to Gentlemen of the first Quality and the greatest Honour, Worth, and Estates in their respective Counties; the fittest Persons certainly to be entrusted with such a Power, and with the Regulation of the Corporations in their Neighbourhood.

The Declaration in the Corporation Act, which so highly offends the *By-Stander*, did not regard this part of the Act; being intended only for perpetuating, in such Corporations, a Succession of Persons well affected to the established Government. This was a Test natural enough for a Church of *England* Parliament to make, the Doctrine laid down therein, being the same as is asserted in her Homilies, drawn up at the very Time of the Reformation, in Terms every whit as strong and ex-

press, as those that are used in this Declaration ; but this after all, did not raise so many Scruples then; as it does now ; and was less excepted against than another, which follows it in this Act, and in that of Uniformity, and was to be taken likewise by all that held either Offices in Corporations, or Benefices in the Church : I mean the *Declaration of renouncing the solemn League and Covenant*. A Word or two of the History thereof may perhaps gratify the Reader's Curiosity.

The Party which prevailed in the Convention Parliament, had set their Heart upon establishing the Presbyterians, exclusive of all other Denominations of Christians; and allowed the Clergy of that Sect to send over Deputies along with their own to the King then in *Holland*, to extort from him a Promise agreeable to their Wishes. These Deputies would not even allow the Use of the Common Prayer in the King's Chappel ; but his Majesty being well instructed by General *Monk* of their Designs, absolutely rejected that Restriction, and for every Thing else referred them to his Declaration, which submitted every Thing to the Decision of Parliament. Soon after the King came Home, they passed an Act (12 Car. II. c. 17.) *for the confirming and restoring of Ministers*, “ by which all Persons or
 “ Ministers, who had been ordained by any Eccle-
 “ siastical Persons before the last *Christmas*, and had
 “ not renounced their Ordination, and were on last
 “ Dec. 25. in Possession of any Benefice, to which
 “ they had been named or admitted in any manner
 “ whatsoever since *Jan. 1, 1642*, were confirmed
 “ in the Enjoyment thereof, and of the Profits annexed thereto.” The King being a Patron, *cui nullum Tempus occurrit*, this Act cut off at once all his present Right to the Patronage of that great number of Livings which are in the gift of the Crown, and confirmed the Usurpations which had
 been

been made upon that Right : But his Circumstances were such at this Time, that he could refuse nothing which the Parliament tendered for the royal Assent.

There were several Clauses in it, which excluded the Independants, as well as the Anabaptists, from the Benefit thereof : And filled both with Resentment and Fury, not so much to see themselves outed, as to see the Presbyterians, who (they thought) had been as deep in Rebellion as themselves, confirmed in the Possession of what they had got in the Iniquity of the late Times. They clamoured in all Places against the Difference that had been made between them : And Dr. *Owen*, the Head of the first Sect, and who knew the last well, went to the Lord Chancellor, and represented to him, “ That
 “ there was no manner of Reason for such a Distinction between the Presbyterians and the Independants; the former being full as dangerous as the latter; that if the Church of *England* and her Clergy, whose Merits to the King were so exceeding great, and who had been turned out of all for their Loyalty to him and his Father, were restored to all their Rights, as he had been to his Crown, there would be no Room to complain, were it but done out of a Principle of Justice, *i. e.* indifferently, and without any Distinction of Parties; that the keeping in of the Presbyterians was a Distinction in their Favour, infinitely odious to the other Sects, and utterly inconsistent with the Safety of the Government; for being too restless and aspiring to be content with what they had, and too proud of their Merits to be obliged by any Favours shewn them, they would still go on in their old Ways, propagate their seditious Doctrines, enflame the Nation, and soon throw it into the same Disorders and Confusions, as they had done formerly, that leaving them the Parish Pulpits, was leaving it in their Power

“ to execute their Schemes; and tho’ it was diffi-
 “ cult to find out a Test, which they would not
 “ take rather than quit that Advantage, yet there
 “ was one Way to get rid of them, and he believed
 “ no other would do it, which was to require them
 “ to *renounce the solemn League and Covenant.*”

This Covenant had been the chief Instrument of
 the late Rebellion, of which it laid the Foundation
 and advanced the Progress: It had contributed more
 effectually than any other Means, towards bringing
 his late Majesty to the Block, and towards the Ruin
 of the King’s Affairs. The Presbyterians still
 maintained the Obligations of it, as abundance of
 them do even to this Day; and those, who had as
 yet Possession of the Church Livings, did not fail
 from the Pulpit to insist on them, and (as the Lord
 Chancellor complained in his Speech to the Parlia-
 ment on *May 8, 1661,*) “ to repeat the very Expres-
 “ sions, and teach the same Doctrine they had set
 “ on Foot in 1641, and bid *People stand to their*
 “ *Arms.*” *Venner’s* Insurrection had been lately
 quelled, but it had appeared to have been made
 with a more general Concert, than was at first ima-
 gined of such a Sett of wild Enthusiasts. Discove-
 ries had been made of other Treasons and intended
 Designs of rising, which in the late Times of Ufur-
 pation, would have produced High Courts of Ju-
 stice for taking Vengeance on the Conspirators:
 But the King hoping to gain his People over by
 Goodness, was averse to such Severities, and only
 laid out his Care to prevent the Effects of such Con-
 spiracies. It is no great matter of Wonder, if a
 Church of *England* Parliament should, in such a
 Juncture, think fit to order the *solemn League and*
Covenant to be burnt by the Hangman, to erase the
 Subscription of the Rump to it out of their Books,
 and to provide for the Peace of the Realm and the
 Security of the Government, by requiring a Re-
 nunci-

nunciation thereof from all Officers in Corporations, and all Ministers that enjoyed Benefices in the Church.

This was what, after the sad Experience of the Treatment which the Church of *England* had met with from the Covenanters in the late Times of Usurpation, they could not well neglect to do, without being necessary to their own Ruin; yet they did not take hasty Steps in the Affair. For before the Act of Uniformity passed, the House of Commons had Advice from several parts of the Kingdom, of Designs to disturb the public Peace, which they ordered to be laid before the King on *December 3, 1661*; and on the 19th of that Month, the Lords in a Conference acquainted the Commons, “ that
 “ there had been a Design forming ever since *March*
 “ last, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and
 “ named several of the Parties engaged, with the
 “ manner and Contrivance of the Design, and the
 “ Progress thereof; and that tho’ their Designs
 “ were disordered as to the effecting them in Town,
 “ (to which End they had made a general Invitation of disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and other disaffected Persons to resort thither about
 “ *Dec. 11.*) yet they were still practising to execute
 “ the same in the Country”; proposing in the End, that the Commons would name a Committee of 24 of their Body, to join with 12 of theirs, to examine into the Design; which was done accordingly.

This Committee, in the Course of their Examination into this Affair, found (as appears by their Report *Jan. 10, 1661.*) “ that great Numbers of
 “ Persons pretending to be *Quakers* had met at
 “ *Huntingdon*, and had rode in Multitudes about the
 “ Country by Night, to the Terror of his Majesty’s Subjects.” Such a Situation of Affairs naturally drew on a Bill against the *Quakers*, and afford-
 ed

ed abundant Reasons for the Declarations required in the Corporation Act, and that of Uniformity.

If 2000 *pious* Divines, who had made use of what Learning they had, and exerted their *Orthodox* Principles for covering three Kingdoms with Blood, Confusion and Desolation, were obliged to quit their Livings, out of which they had first ejected the Church of *England* Clergy, and into which they had intruded by usurping on the Rights of Patrons, (which was the Case of most of them) for want of making Declarations, necessary to give the Government in a Time of Danger, a reasonable Assurance, that they would not re-act the Crimes of which they had been lately pardoned, nor encourage others to do so, who were left under their Direction or Influence; what is there singular in their Case, to to make it deemed a greater Hardship than they themselves had thought it so lately in the Case of the Independants and Anabaptists; and a few Years before in the Case of the Clergy of the Church of *England*? They had been the Authors of the Precedent, *nec lex est justior ulla*. They had pushed on the Covenant with a Fury unknown to former Ages; all their Assembly of learned Divines could not answer the Reasons given against it by the University of *Oxford*; and yet (such was their Piety) they imposed it on the Consciences of all the World, Consciences perhaps as tender as their own. They had turned out 7 or 8000 Church of *England* Divines, who were legally and justly possessed of their Livings and Preferments, to make Room for themselves, and whilst they were starving with their Families, had fattened themselves for 19 Years together with their Spoils: And if that fatal Engine of theirs for subverting the Constitution, their darling Covenant; proved by a Turn of Times the Occasion of their own being dispossessed of Benefices, into which it had been the Means of their Intrusion, serious and im-

impartial Minds will not be so biassed by their natural Compassion, as not to reflect at the same Time upon the Justice of Providence.

I am no great Friend to Tests ; but all Governments have thought it proper to take such Precautions for their Security. Thus we have seen in our Times seven excellent Bishops, and near 1000 Clergymen of the Church of *England*, and the whole Body of the Clergy (almost to a Man) of another Kingdom, now united to ours, turned out of their Freeholds, because they could not comply with such Tests, though their former Conduct had been in all Respects irreproachable. There have been some invented, which a Son of one of the Trustees for the Charities to the *Bartholomew* Divines, has been said to glory in contriving so, as to damn one half of the Clergy and starve the other. The Difference of Persons, whether Presbyterian or Episcopal Divines, doth not surely alter the Nature of Things ; what Occasion then for Complaints on one Account more than the other ? The Dissenters are at present embarrassed but by one Test ; and that does not hinder them from enjoying Offices of Place and Trust ; whilst an Act passeth regularly every Session, *To indemnify Persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices, Employments and Promotions within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for that Purpose* ; and is so far from alarming those that used to be affected with every the least Appearance of Danger to the Church-Establishment, that it is come to be considered by them as a *Bill of Course*, and is neither opposed nor attended. Whether this be owing to any Promise made them, or how far such Promise, or other Assurance of Favour may extend, they best know ; but when they are thus let into Offices in the State, and an Education in their Academies, is no Bar to Promotion even in
the

the highest Dignities of the Church; they should set themselves not so much to revive old Stories, as to rejoice in their present Situation. For though they be employed as yet in lesser Numbers, than perhaps their Wishes suggest, or their Merits deserve, 'tis always a great Matter to have begun well; their Condition and Numbers may improve in Time; those Means to an End are surest that work gradually; Impatience only serves to defeat the best laid Projects.

After complaining of the *Act of Uniformity*, the *By-Stander* proceeds to take Notice of that for *preventing Abuses in printing Seditious, Treasonable and unlicenced Books and Pamphlets*; which did not pass 'till the latter End of *July 1663*; a Time when the Press swarmed with virulent Pamphlets, justifying the execrable Murther of King *Charles I.* (as may be seen in *Hodgkinson's News-Papers*, published about that Time, N^o. 1, 3, 4, &c.) and it is no great Wonder if the Horror of the Thing transported the Parliament then sitting, to put a Restraint on the Liberty of the Press. There could not be a stronger Temptation, than they lay under on that Occasion; especially since they had the Example set them by the great Patrons of Liberty, in the Rump-Parliament; this Act being copied after two Ordinances of theirs, which are printed in *Scobell's Collections*. The Republicans of those Days, were the first Invaders of the Liberty of the Press; which I am afraid is not so entire at present as a free People might wish, for the Safety of it's Liberties: It ever was free for one side of the Question; notwithstanding any Act that was made to restrain it; but is it so now on the other. The *By-Stander* indeed enjoys it in it's full Perfection, and may make what Misrepresentations he pleases, with Impunity; but such a Liberty was never yet indulged to any but

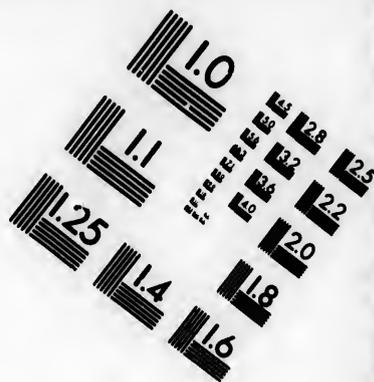
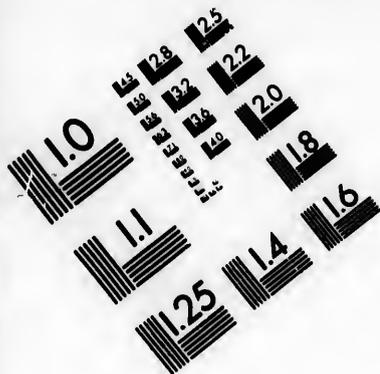
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the *Orthodox*, (in *Jerry White's* Definition of the Word) to those *who have the Gallows on their Side*.

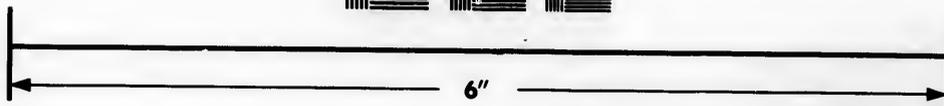
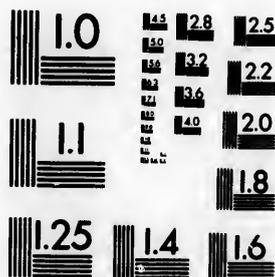
When the *By-Stander* shall think fit to publish his Volume of the other *Worthy Exploits* of the Parliament, whose Acts we have been considering, I may then possibly think it proper to take Notice of what he waves mentioning in this Pamphlet: At present I am called upon to examine his next Calculation.

Before I enter thereon, it will not be amiss to recapitulate the Circumstances in which the King was left by the Convention Parliament; cut off from all Arrears of the Rents and Profits of his own Lands and Revenue, to *June 24, 1660*, by the Act of Indemnity; all Grants of Wardships either by himself, or his Father, since *March 25, 1641*, discharged to *June 24, 1660*; debarred from any use of his Tenures for the rest of the Year, till the Parliament had settled a constant Revenue on him; that Revenue voted, but not settled; and the Part which was given not commencing to the End of the Year; loaded with an immense Debt of Two Millions, without any Fund assigned or given to discharge it; and utterly destitute of every Thing but Credit, to raise Money for Publick Services of the greatest Importance, and the most absolutely necessary to be provided for immediately. Such were the disbanding of the greatest Part of the *Irish Army*, and the paying off of above 100 Ships of the Navy which he found here in Pay, (besides the 25 which were lying in Harbour, whose Pay had been provided for by the Parliament:) And on these Accounts he stretched his Credit so, as made him uneasy for all the rest of his Life; nor could any Alienation of the Crown-Lands, or the Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents ever extricate him out of the Debt in which he was first involved upon this Occasion.





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A King cannot well be in a more uncomfortable Situation, than to find himself under a Necessity of running into Debt for his own Safety and that of the Kingdom; and thereby laid under a Disability of recompensing the Merits, Services, and Sufferings of his Friend's as he wished to do. Nothing sits so uneasy on a generous Mind, as the being forced to a Conduct that looks like Neglect and Ingratitude. King *Charles* did all that he could for those who had suffered for the Royal Cause; but he could not do more than his Abilities permitted. He passed large Grants of the Crown-Lands and Fee-Farm Rents to the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earls of *Bath* and *Sandwich*, and others that had been serviceable in his Restoration. He created Perpetuities and Pensions for Lives and Terms of Years on the Exchequer, Customs, Tenth, Post-Office and other Branches of the Revenue, by which it was considerably diminished: And more so after the Year 1672, (when the Payments at the Exchequer were stopped) by the yearly Charge of 79,566 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* payable for perpetual Interest to the Goldsmiths who had Money there. I do not find that the Perpetuities amounted to above 1469 *l.* 12 *s.* but the Pensions for Lives and Years amounted to about 150,000 *l.* a-Year, even after the Revolution, as appears by Sir *Rob. Howard's* Accompt and List of Particulars delivered to the House of Commons, on *March* 20, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, and *April* 27, following. This List took in only the Survivors at that Time, and as Mrs. *Jane Lane*, who had 1000 *l.* a-Year, was then dead, and probably a vast Number of others in the Space of near 30 Years that passed between the Restoration, and that Report to the House of Commons, and who therefore are not mentioned therein, it is reasonable to suppose that the Pensions arose to a much greater Sum in the Years immediately following the King's Restoration: However, not to afford

ford the least Occasion for Cavil, I will in examining the *By-Stander's* Calculation, charge this Incumbrance on the Revenue only at 150,000 *l.* a Year.

The *By-Stander's* Comparison of what King *Charles* might save from it, (after he had provided for the Publick Services) with the Civil Lists established since the Revolution, forces me to observe, that as those Accompts were after the Revolution called for from Sir *Robert Howard*, when the House had the settling of the Civil List under their Consideration; so that Revenue was settled clear upon King *William* and his Successors, exclusive of 145,800 *l.* 1 *s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* there charged for Pensions and Perpetuities, and the 79,566 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* to the Goldsmiths; so that though they were a great Load on King *Charles's* Revenue, they have been none at all to the Civil List since the Revolution. But if they are no loss to the Government, they have probably been of some Advantage to Ministers and Officers of the Treasury; for though the House of Commons allowed of these Pensions at the Time above-mentioned, yet such Difficulty is made about the paying of any of King *Charles's* Grants, that I have known Gentlemen, entitled to some of these Pensions forced to part with one half of them to get the other. I have now before me King *Charles's* Letters Patent for one of those in the List, granted in Favour of an old Servant, for 200 *l.* a Year, to be paid at the Receipt of the Exchequer, and payable 'till about Eight Years ago, not one Farthing of which hath ever been paid since the Revolution. This possibly may have been the Case of a great many others; if so, the Civil List (if I take the Matter right) would be proportionably improved; and if any have been regularly paid, such a Favour doubtless would be thought to deserve some not unusual Returns. 'Tis not uncom-

mon, even in private Life, to see People bribed by their own Money; and on whatever Account it comes into some Persons Hands, they know how to make it a Fund of Corruption.

I come now to the *By-Stander's* Calculation for the Year 1661; which stands thus:

	l.	s.	d.
1. The Customs then farmed at } about	350,000	0	0
2. Hereditary and Temporary } Excise, then farmed at	275,952	0	0
3. Wine-Licences first paid at } <i>Lady-Day</i> that Year.	7000	0	0
4. The Small Branches com- } puted by Sir <i>William Petty</i> , as follows: l.			
Crown Lands <i>per An-</i> } num, 70,000			
Post-Office, 20,000			
Coinage and Pre-emp- } tion of Tin, 12,000	130,000	0	0
Forest of <i>Dean</i> , 4000			
Courts of Justice, 6000			
First Fruits and Tenths, 18,000 }			
5. Act for vesting Money, &c. } collected in the late Times, and still in the Hands of the Collectors, and not pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, com- puted at	50,000	0	0
6. Voluntary Present to his Ma- } jesty, computed by Mr. <i>Coke</i> at	300,000	0	0
7. Arrears of Excise and new } Impost, computed by Mr. <i>Coke</i> at	300,000	0	0
			8. Assess-

	l.	s.	d.
8. Assessment for 18 Months, at 70,000 <i>l.</i> a Month, from Dec. 5, 1661	1,260,000	0	0
9. Act for Leases in Cornwall	100,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2,772,952	0	0
	<hr/>		

The Charge in the 4th Article as to the Forest of *Dean*, ought to be lessened at least 3000 *l.* a Year, it being then, and having been for above 20 Years before, in Sir *John Winter's* Hands by a Lease in 1639, at less than 1000 *l.* a Year Rent; as appears by the Journals of the House of Commons, *May* 22, and *July* 20, 1663; when Sir *John* agreed to accept a Consideration of 30,000 *l.* and give up his Lease; after which that Forest might be set at 4000 *l.* a Year, but not before.

I must observe likewise that I find the *Wine-Licenses* reckoned among the small Branches of the Revenue, by the Acts of 1 *Ann*; 1 *George* I. and 1 *George* II. for settling the Civil List on those Princes, and as it is not distinctly mentioned in Sir *Robert Howard's* Account of the Revenue, presented to the House on *March* 1, 168^s/₅, it seems there also included in the small Branches, which he computes but at 26,350 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and for this Reason, I think the Charge of 7000 *l.* for those Licenses in the 3d Article ought to be omitted. But as the *By-Stander* does not mention in what Tract of Sir *Will. Petty's*, his Estimate of the *Small Branches* is to be found, and I have not met with it in any that I have had an Opportunity of seeing, I will not at present offer to dispute it further.

If any one considers the Terms of the Act 13 *Car.* II. c. 3. which makes the 5th Article, and the Extensiveness of the Act of Oblivion, one should

should not expect much to arise thence to the King, above the Charges of his Commissions of Enquiry ; but as I find no sure Guide to instruct me in the particular Amount thereof, or of the voluntary Present to his Majesty, I shall not dispute either the 5th or 6th Articles.

But I must except to the 7th Article, about the Arrears of the Excise and new Impost ; because I find on the Journal of the House of Commons, on *May 31, 1660.* That Col. *White* made a Report from the Committee, appointed to examine into the Arrears of the Excise, &c. that there was then an Arrear of good Debts of the Excise, since *Sept. 29, 1657, 150,000*l.** from the Importers of *London, 20,000*l.** from the Brewers of the same City, and *40,000*l.** from the County Excise in all, *210,000*l.** the Reason of which Arrear is assigned to be, the frequent Changes and Revolutions in Government, the want of accompting with Merchants, and the short Continuance of the Excise ; but for 3 Months at a Time, and once for 2 Months. As these Reasons ceased at the Time of that Report, and there was then such a Want of Money, that no Means were left untried for an immediate Payment of these Arrears, it is very likely that the greatest Part thereof were got in before this Act passed, especially since *170,000*l.** of the Money was due from such rich Men, as Brewers and Merchants generally are in *London.* It must also be considered that the *210,000*l.** included all the Arrears since *Sept. 29, 1657:* And the Act of Oblivion (Clause 48.) pardoning all Arrears of the Excise to *June 24, 1659;* a Deduction may very well be made for that Year, and Three Quarters of *20,000*l.** from that gross Sum of these Arrears. I have also before observed that the Convention Parliament, did on *Dec. 29, 1660,* the last Day of their sitting, resolve that a Sum of *35,110*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.** charged
on

on the Excise before *Dec. 7, 1648*, according to a List then delivered to the House, should be paid together with abundance of other old Debts charged likewise thereon, the Particulars whereof it would be too tedious to mention: And it will be sufficient to observe further, that they exceeded even the Amount of all the Arrears of the Excise, tho' computed from *Sept. 29, 1657*; so that, in truth, nothing of those Arrears should be brought to Account; and if the *By-Stander* should still insist, that there must be some Arrears still standing out when this Act passed, I can't, for the Reasons assigned above, allow it to be more than 30,000 *l.* and therefore deduct 270,000 *l.* from this 7th Article.

Out of the 8th Article, *viz.* the Act for 1,260,000 *l.* the Charge of collecting which, from the Aid granted by Act *1 W. and M. c. 3.* seems to be about 1180 *l.* for each monthly Assessment of 70,000 *l.* as may be shewn from other Authorities, but is plain enough from the Journal of *Feb. 28, 1688*, where an Assessment of 70,000 *l.* is valued at about 68,820 *l.* clear Money, as one of 35,000 *l.* a Month, had on *June 4 and 21, 1678*, been at 34,410 *l.*; at this Rate, the charge of collecting the 18 Months Assessment, will amount to 21,240 *l.* which ought therefore to be deducted.

The 9th Article is the usual Act for enabling the King to make Leafes of his own Lands in the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, but his Computation of the Fines for those Leafes is extravagant. Now the annual Profits of that Dutchy *, being at most about 9000 *l.* arising partly by reserved *Rents* (which the *By-Stander* says could be no less than one Quarter of the yearly Value) and partly by Fines for the renewal of Leafes, we cannot well suppose the Fines to produce above half of that Sum, *viz.* 4500 *l.* a Year; and I am apt to think I exceed in this Estimate.

* See the Historical Register, Vol. 22. Page 428.

There

There was not a County in *England*, where the Gentlemen so universally distinguished themselves for the King's Cause, and suffered more for it, than they did in *Cornwall*. They gained for him the Battles of *Foway*, *Stratton*, and *Lansdown*, against much more numerous Forces of the Enemy, carried *Bristol* by Storm, and reduced all the *West* to his Obedience, abundance of them losing their Lives, and almost all of them being plundered and sequestred afterwards for their Loyalty. *K. Char. I.* about *August 1645*, caused a short Account of these Services to be drawn up, and by an Order of Council, directed it to be hung up in every Church of that County, (where it is to be seen at this Day) as a Monument of their unparalleled Loyalty, Bravery, and Zeal in his Service, and a Testimony of his grateful Acknowledgment thereof. When that Prince had such a Sense of their Services, can it possibly be thought that he did not, 'till that Time at least, renew their Leases, fill up the Lives that dropped in his Cause, if not grant reverfionary ones in their Favour? King *Charles II.* had, whilst Prince of *Wales*, resided for some Time in the County, and knew most of the Gentlemen personally; and had too the same Sense of their Services that his Father had expressed. Considering these Things, and what Title the Kings *Cornish* Tenants had to his Favour, and that after long Sequestrations, &c. an Increase of Rent would suit them better than Fines which they were unable to pay, if we suppose the King to take at once 4 Years Value of the 15 or 16, during which there had been no renewal of Leases, (and this is the utmost that can reasonably be supposed,) the Fines would in that Case amount but to 18,000 *l.* and therefore 82,000 *l.* is to be deducted from the *By-Stander's* Calculation. But I am of Opinion, the whole 100,000 *l.* should be deducted, as well because through the Inability of the

Tenants

Tenants to pay Fines, their reserved Rents were raised, and King *William* had the Benefit of the Fines, by being enabled to take Compositions for reducing them to their old Rate in 1660, (by Act 12 and 13 *W. 3. c. 3.*) as because these Fines are computed among the small Branches of the Revenue, and ought not to be computed twice.

If he rates the Grants too high, he sinks the Disbursements as much too low. A Regiment of 490 Horse, and 3600 Foot at *Dunkirk*, could not be maintained at 60,000 *l.* a Year. He computes the Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance at 40,000 *l.* a Year, grounding his Estimate upon King *Charles's* Promise in 1678, to the Parliament, that if they would settle an additional Revenue upon him, he would allot *fifty thousand Pounds per Annum* for the future to this Service; whence he presumes, that before that Time it had not cost so much. Monstrous Mistake! to give it no worse a Name. Let him read with Confusion the Commons Journal of *June*, 1678, where the King's Speech, to which he here refers, is inserted at length; and he may there find his Majesty, after complaining of the Scantiness of his Revenue; exceedingly impaired by Debts *long since* contracted, and by the present Anticipations thereof; expressing himself to his Parliament to this Effect. "That if they would have him able to
 " pursue such a War as *Argiers* with Honour, and
 " at the same Time keep such Fleets about our own
 " Coasts; as may give our Neighbours the Respect
 " always paid to the Crown of *England*; they must
 " find a Way to settle for his Life, not only his
 " Revenue; and the additional Duties as at *Christ-*
 " *mas* last, but of adding to them upon some new
 " Funds 300,000 *l.* a Year, upon which (he said)
 " he would consent to an Act for appropriating *five*
 " *hundred thousand Pounds* a Year to the constant
 " Maintenance of the Navy and Ordnance." Who-
 " ever

ever reads this Passage, will have no advantageous Opinion of the *By-Stander's* Veracity in this particular Case, or of the Fairness and Exactness of his Calculations in any.

His Computation of 156,000 *l.* for the Navy, he pretends to found upon an Estimate of Sir *W. Petty's*; but doth not think fit to quote the Place where it may be found; only taking Care to sink the Charge lower than 'tis made by his Author; who yet is certainly mistaken in his Estimate, if it be his. To fix these Charges with more Certainty, I must have Recourse to the Journals of the Commons, who immediately after the Revolution, enquired into every Part of the Expences of former Reigns with Regard to the Navy, as well as the Household, &c. and I find it there on *March 20, 1688-9*, expressly asserted, that in the last 5 Years of King *Charles II.* the Charge of his Navy was never less than 400,000 *l.* a Year; and more particularly on *April 5* following, that 48 Ships, as well Men of War as Fire-Ships, &c. with 7040 Seamen, were always necessary for a Summer's and Winter's Guard, and cost 28,160 *l.* a Month, or 366,080 *l.* a Year; and that the Ordinary of the Navy was fixed at 130,000 *l.* a Year, which was the constant and necessary Charge, besides 18,250 *l.* ordinary Charge in the Office for Salaries, travelling Charges, and other Contingencies. To confirm this last Account of the Charge of the Navy, and shew the lowest Cost of it in all the Reign of King *Charles*, I find, when the Charge of it in 1676 (a Year in which he was engaged in no War with any *European* Power, not even with the *Turkish* Rovers, and therefore the cheapest that I could possibly pick out) had been under the Examination of a Committee, Mr. *Bowles*, the Chairman, reported to the House on *June 17, 1678*, "that the ordinary Charge of the
" Navy in Times of Peace, for paying off the
" Navy

“ Navy Board, Docks, and for Summer and Winter Guard, (except Ordnance) was (the round Sum of) 360,000 *l.* and that the ordinary Charge of Ordnance in Time of Peace, for both Land and Sea Service, was 72,000 *l.* a Year”: Besides which, there were other Expences for Stores, Repairs, and the Ordinary of the Navy; and there were frequently Extraordinaries to be provided for, which it is not easy at this Distance of Time to specify, such as 44,551 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* laid out in Fortifications in that same peaceful Year of 1676, which yet was allowed by the Parliament of 1678, which prosecuted the Popish Plot with so much Fury, and which examined into all Disbursements with so much Exactness, and likewise with such an Indisposition to grant a Supply, or do any Thing for the Service of the Crown, or to ease it of any Expence to which it was subject, that the like is scarce ever to be observed in all the Journals of the House. It was indeed the same Parliament that met in 1661, but composed of such a Majority of new Members, of different Principles from those who sat in it at the first, that the *By-Stander* (p. 89.) tells us, the *Whigs* now inspired all its Measures, and presided in all its Enquiries into the public Accompts; so that I hope he will make no Objection to any Calculation I use upon their Authority.

The next Article is the Charge of the King's Guards; which he computes at 99,667 *l.* as he does that of Garisons, Fire, and Candle, and Contingencies at 20,000 *l.* What can the *By-Stander* mean by this Calculation? Does he intend to put the People of *England* upon reflecting on the happy Times of their Forefathers? *Felices proavorum atavos*, was the usual Exclamation of every virtuous *Roman*, in a Sense of the Miseries of his Country, in an Age of Corruption, when ever he called to mind the Virtue and public Spirit of his Ancestors, in the early

and incorrupt Days of the Republic. And does the *By-Stander* now encourage the like Reflexion, among a People that do not want good Sense, if they are disposed to use it, and who feel enough to engage them in a serious Enquiry into the true Causes of all their Grievances? The professed Design of his Pamphlet is indeed to make a Comparison between the Times of *K. Charles II.* and those which have passed since the Revolution; But he must be very weak in his Judgment, or very strong in his Prejudices, if he really proposed to leave his Patron, or make his Court to him by a Method so preposterous, that had it been taken and managed by abler Hands than his own, every one that knows any Thing of those former Times, must see at first Sight how unlikely it was to answer that Purpose. I am willing to make all possible Allowances for his Ignorance, let it appear never so gross; it is still less dishonourable than if it were affected; and therefore tho' he well knew, (*p. 77.*) that in the Year of this his Calculation, *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* were still in our Hands; I will however suppose him ignorant of what I have already proved, that there was in those Places a Garison of 3600 Foot, and a Regiment of 490 Horse, a stronger Force, and which ought naturally to be more expensive, than either the Garisons which we now have in *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, or than the one Regiment of Horse and one of Foot, which (he says, *p. 73.*) were in that Year kept up as Guards at the Expence of 99,667 *l.* But he could not sure be so ignorant, as not to know that even after the Garison of *Dunkirk* was removed to a remote Quarter of the World, and fixed at *Tangier* in *Africa*. the old *Whigs* of those Days could scarce sleep in their Beds, out of the terrible Apprehensions they had of the Danger to which the Liberties of a whole Nation were exposed by two Regiments of Guards. The heavy and eternally repeated

peated Clamours of those Patriots on this Occasion, may perhaps be thought groundless by the modern Race of Men, who assure to themselves the Name, whilst they desert the Principles of their Predecessors, and who either more courageous in despising Dangers, or less concerned for their Liberties than they were, can now sleep securely under the Guard of a Standing Army, formidable by its Numbers, and kept so constantly on Foot, that it seems to have become a necessary Part of our new Constitution. Those Clamours however must raise, at least in all thinking Men, a high Opinion of the Goodness of King *Charles's* Government, and of the Happiness the Kingdom enjoyed under him, for this evident and undeniable Reason, *that People never make a Noise about Nothing, when they have any Thing material to object.* What then is the *By-Stander's* View in reviving the Memory of those happy Times? He knows, that the Year 1737 was a Year in which we enjoyed a perfect Peace with our Neighbours Abroad, and had all the Tranquillity and Satisfaction at Home that we can ever promise ourselves, whilst our Debts and Taxes continue; free from all Manner of Alarms, and from all, even affected, Apprehensions of Danger. He knows, that in this Year, it was resolved to keep up in *England* a Standing Army to the Number of 17,704 Men *, and the Necessity of such a Number was so strongly asserted by those who were then concerned in the Administration, and supported, if not by weighty Arguments, at least by Pretences, that served to shew their Resolution in this Respect; so that however all the World may wish it, there are very few that ever expect to see it lessened. He knows, that the Sum of 647,549 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, was granted for the Pay of these Men, and 215,710 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ for the Garrisons of our *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gi-*

* Historical Register, p. 443. and p. 8, &c.

braltar; both Sums making together 863,259 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* He well knows, how ill able a Nation, sunk with a Debt of near 50 Millions, and impoverished by the continual Payment of numberless Taxes that ruin her Trade, is to support so heavy a Burthen; and that the Number, as well as Expence, of these Land Forces, hath been since more than doubled. He knows all this; and yet after considering the Situation of Affairs in 1661; when King *Charles* was scarce seated in the Throne; when an Army of disaffected Sectaries had scarce laid down their Arms, and submitted to be dispersed; when neither the King's Revenue, nor Ecclesiastical Affairs were as yet settled; when such a Change was perhaps premeditated, as must affect every Part of the Nation, by turning 2000 pious Divines out of as many of the best Livings in the Kingdom; when an Insurrection was just quelled, and Plots were daily carrying on to raise others; he does not scruple to publish to the World, that all the Land Forces which King *Charles* kept up for his Security in this Time of Trouble, Disorder and Danger, did not cost the Nation one Hundred and twenty thousand Pounds a Year.

Such are the Calculations by which the *By-Stander*, p. 73. pretends to reduce the Disbursements for public Services in 1661, to the Sum of 375,667 *l.* his View in computing these so low is, to have a Pretence to swell up a saving to the Crown, out of the public Grants, to the Amount of 2,397,285 *l.* and in Consequence thereof, to fall foul on the *loyal* Parliament then sitting, on Account of a Liberality to the Crown, which had no Existence but in his own Imagination.

Parliaments in those Days were every whit as saving of the People's Money, as every private Man could be of his own; they did not make their own Court to the Prince, at the Expence of their Constituents;

stituents; and notwithstanding the *By-Stander* (probably judging of former Ages by what he sees in his own, beyond which his Letter tempts me to think his Knowledge doth not extend,) is pleased in several Places *, to represent this *loyal* Parliament, as *perpetually gorging a King*, who was *perpetually craving*, &c. it will be found upon Examination, that they did not vary in this Point from the Conduct of their Predecessors. The King had left the settling of his Revenue so entirely to that House of Commons, which through General *Monk's* Influence had invited him Home, that he did not send them so much as one Message on the Subject, in a Juncture so favourable for extravagant Compliments in that Way, as Accessions have sometimes proved; such was his *craving*. All King *Charles's* Messages were on a different Account, *viz.* to press the Commons, who, fuller of Resentments and private Passions, than their infinitely more injured Prince, were spending Weeks in considering, who should be excepted out of that Act of Indemnity, which he, by a Clemency not to be paralleled from the Beginning of the World to that Time, designed to be general, to pass it without further Delay; in Order to quiet the Minds of the guilty Part of the Nation, and remove from them all Apprehensions of Vengeance. He indeed teased the House sufficiently by Messages for that Purpose; but there was not least mention of Money in any of them, unless in his Answer to an Address of the Lords on Account of the same Act, (as hath been observed before) by which he gave up to his Subjects *above Twelve Millions Sterling* of his own private undoubted Property; such was (what the *By-Stander* calls, his *insatiable Appetite for Money*. I wish I could say that this Remission, generous to a romantic Degree, had not been abused by those, whom it became to make a proper

* Pag. 73, 86, 87 and 88.

Return for it; King *Charles* had then been as happy himself, as the Nation was under his Reign; and had he not remitted that vast Sum due to him, he might have lived and died as rich as he left his People, who by the Wealth they accumulated in his Time, were enabled to support the almost infinite Expences they have been since put to, in the Wars which followed the Revolution.

I have shewn in what an immense Debt, contracted in the iniquitous Times of the late Usurpers, King *Charles* was left involved by the Convention Parliament; he had by his Credit done all he could to pay off the Seamen, agreeable to the Rules laid down by the House of Commons to be observed in that Point, as well as in disbanding the Forces; but having among their Regulations resolved, that both should be paid their Arrears from the Year 1658; the Seamen were in a very bad Condition; abundance of them being in Arrears for three or four Years Service. The King's Bounty had hitherto supply'd them; but it was fit the new Parliament, which met on *May* 8, 1661, should provide for their Service. The Chancellor in his Speech recommended it to their Care, and most of the Time in their first Session was spent in examining into the Navy Debt, and the Arrears of 65 and 36 Ships that were to be paid off and discharged immediately, to prevent the Debts increasing daily, by continuing the Seamen in Service; and passed the Bills mentioned by the *By-Stander*, pag. 69 and 70. But all that they did with Regard to the Revenue of the Crown was, to appoint a special Committee to inquire into the State and Value of what had been intended by the last Parliament for that Purpose; and finding it on the Report * to be defective about 300,000*l.* a Year, another Committee was appointed to state the Particulars of the Deficiencies, and consider how they

* *June* 18, *July* 12.

might

“ settling his Revenue than they had been at *Christ-*
 “ *mas* ; that he had communicated his Condition
 “ to them *without Reserve*, what he had coming in,
 “ and what his necessary Disbursements were ; and
 “ was exceedingly deceived, if whatever they gave
 “ him were any otherwise given to him, than to
 “ be issued for their own Use and Benefit ; and that
 “ they should consider there was a Republican Par-
 “ ty still in the Kingdom, which promised them-
 “ selves another Revolution, and the only Way to
 “ disappoint their Hopes was, to shew that they
 “ had so provided for the Crown, that it had
 “ wherewith to support itself and secure the Realm.”

What neither the Zeal of this Parliament for
 Monarchy, nor the first Fits of Complaisance on a
 Prince's Accession, which often cost a People dear ;
 nor their Sense of the Deficiency of the Revenue,
 nor the honorary Engagement they were under by
 a former Vote on this Subject, could prevail with
 them to do, the Necessity of the Thing, and the
 Danger of a further Delay, extorted from them at
 last ; and they ordered a Bill to be brought in for
 establishing an *Additional Revenue* upon his Majesty,
 his Heirs and Successors. This is a true and naked
 Relation of the Fact ; and the Reader may hence
 learn what to think of the scandalous Aspersions
 thrown on this House of Commons, for their *for-*
mer Speed and strange Liberality, and on the King
 for his *usual Craving*, pag. 77. by the *By-Stander*,
 who seems throughout his whole Performance to
 know nothing at all of former Times, and to have
 only formed Notions of them in his Imagination,
 from what he has seen practised in the Present ; and
 from thence, by the wrongest Conclusion in Na-
 ture, fancies it to have been so formerly. The
 World, I am persuaded, will find nothing in this
 Relation, so justly meriting their Wonder and A-
 stonishment, as that Parliament's strange Backward-
 ness

ness to settle the Revenue of the Crown, and the King's unexampled Patience in bearing their Delays.

Before I proceed to adjust the Grants and Disbursements of 1661; I must observe that *Ireland* was in a very distracted Condition, till the Year 1666; when the Parliament, after providing for the Settlement of the Kingdom, by the Act of Explanation, laid several Taxes for the support of the Government. Till then it was a constant heavy Burthen on King *Charles*, as it was an occasional one afterwards. He found there at his Restoration an Army of Sectaries and Fanatics, which in the Situation of that Kingdom, it was absolutely necessary to pay off and disband, as soon as possible. That Work and the providing for the Peace and Safety of that Realm during its Confusions, 'till the Settlement was made, cost the King (as I have good Reason to think) above 400,000 *l.* in the two first Years, and 100,000 *l.* a Year for Three Years afterwards, 'till the Supplies were granted in the beginning of 1666. Nor had King *Charles* any Aid from the *English* Parliament towards this extraordinary Expence; all was to be defrayed by a Vote of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year, intended but not provided, and at last found deficient. A Frugality habitual to Parliaments in those Days, or perhaps a Politic Unwillingness to put the Crown at its Ease, (which was once a Maxim of that Body) made them leave upon it a Burthen too heavy for that Revenue to bear, even though it had been settled and not found deficient; it was still to defray every Thing, and supply all Occasions.

The Slowness too, with which the Parliament granted Supplies for the most necessary Services, was another Expence to the King, that ought to be considered. The Act for raising 1,260,000 *l.* by 18 Months Assessment, did not pass 'till the 20th

of *December* 1661; and was immediately assigned away to discharge the Money, which the King had borrowed to pay off the Seamen of the Ships that were discharged in *July* that Year *. Eight Months or more from that Time passed, before a Penny of that Assessment could come in; and two Year's before the whole was due or could be raised; so that if I charge one Years Interest only on this Account, it must be deemed a very moderate Calculation; and yet it amounts to 75,600*l.*

To come to the Account of the Grants and Disbursements for the Year 1661.

	l.	s.	d.
The <i>By-Stander</i> states the former at	2,772,952	0	0
I deduct from thence for the Forest of <i>Dean</i> ,	3000	0	0
More for his Charge of Excise Arrears, for Reasons before alledged,	270,000	0	0
For Charge of collecting 1,260,000 <i>l.</i>	21,240	0	0
For Interest of Money borrowed and assigned thereon,	75,600	0	0
For <i>Cornish</i> Leases computed in the Small Branches of the Revenue,	100,000	0	0
For 490 Horse, and 3600 Foot at <i>Dunkirk</i> and <i>Mardike</i> , &c.	100,000	0	0
For 7040 Seamen necessary for Summer and Winter Guards,	366,080	0	0
For Ordinary of the Navy,	130,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Land and Sea-Service,	72,000	0	0

* See Journals *July* 11, 1661, and *April* 7, 1662.

N. B.

N. B. There was a War at this Time with the Pirates of *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Sallee*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* was sent this Year into the *Mediterranean*, the extraordinary Charge of which I do not know; and therefore do not compute, neither now nor in any of the Three Years that this War continued, though we had the like Squadrons employed all the Time.

Debt of the Navy for Stores and Seamen, on *Decem.* 29, 1660,

More due to Seamen for Six Months, 'till the Ships were paid off in *July* 1661, at 25,000 *l.* a Month,

For disbanding the Army and Charges in *Ireland*,

l. *s.* *d.*

000,000 0 0

673,720 8 9

150,000 0 0

400,000 0 0

2,351,640 8 9

Deducting this Sum of 2,351,640 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* out of the *By-Stander's* of 2,772,952 *l.*; there remains but 421,311 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* a Sum much too little to answer the constant Charge of the Household, and other Expences within the Kingdom: Which I am now to compute.

For the *Household*
Treasurer of the Chamber
Wardrobe

l. *s.* *d.*

107,000 0 0

30,000 0 0

12,125 0 0

Robes

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Robes</i>	5000	0	0
Works	24,669	0	0
Foreign Ministers	32,657	0	0
Stables	11,045	0	0
Fees and Salaries	56,495	0	0
<i>Pensions</i> , not during Pleasure, but by Letters Patent for Lives and Years }	150,000	0	0
Band of Pensioners	6000	0	0
Bounties	2768	0	0
Secret Service by the Secretary } of State about }	7000	0	0
<i>Ditto</i> by Sir <i>Stephen Fox</i> , about	10,000	0	0
<i>Privy-Purse</i>	30,000	0	0
Jewels and Plate	15,740	0	0
Impost Bills	3600	0	0
Contingencies	22,403	0	0
Judges	12,000	0	0
<i>Welch</i> Judges	700	0	0
Masters in <i>Chancery</i>	1100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	540,302	0	0
	<hr/>		

Besides what was settled on the Queen Mother and the Duke of York.

This Calculation is taken from the Accounts, given in to the House of Commons, on *March* 20, and *April* 27, 1689, of the Expences of the the Court and Charges on the Revenue in the Time of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. the Articles distinguished by *Italic* Letters being expressly observed in the Report to be the Expence in the Time of *Charles* II; and somewhat different from what it was in King *James*'s, except that of the *Pensions*, the Reason of which I have mentioned before. To which must be added 60,000*l.* for the Charge

Charge of the Coronation this Year; and 200,000*l.* a Year for Guards and Garrisons, according to the Report made to the Commons, *April 5, 1689.* These three Sums together, amount to 800,302*l.*; and if out of this Sum we deduct the 421,311*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* remaining of the *By-Stander's* Calculation as stated above, there will be a Deficiency of King *Charles's* Civil List for the Year 1661, to the Amount of 378,990*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

This Deficiency will be much increased, by adding what hath not hitherto been computed, but which ought not to be omitted, *viz.* the Charges of the Household, &c. for 8 Months of the Restoration Year; which being two Thirds of the annual Expence, comes to 360,201*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as the like Proportion of that of Guards and Garrisons does to 133,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* besides some other Charges which ought to be allowed in the same Proportion, but which as there is no Occasion, it would be too tedious to enumerate. Only there are two Articles, too considerable to be omitted, *viz.* what was due to the Queen Mother, and to the Duke of *York*; the first of which had a Jointure of 30,000*l.* a Year in Crown Lands, and a Pension of 30,000*l.* a Year out of the Exchequer*; and the latter (as far as I can judge) about 70,000*l.* a Year, tho' it was increased much afterwards by the Improvement of the Revenue of the Post Office. Now a Year and 8 Months due to the Queen Mother for her Pension, amounts to 50,000*l.* and to the Duke of *York* for his Revenue, comes to 116,668*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* both Sums making 166,666*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

There is however another Article, which must not be omitted, because it was a Part of the public Service absolutely necessary, tho' left unprovided for by the last Parliament, after it had been reported to the House by a special Committee on *Nov. 12,*

* Present State of *England, A. D. 1669, pag. 311.*

1660, that the Stores were empty both of Victuals and Necessaries for the Fleet; and the renewing them will cost 200,000 *l.* This was a Point which admitted of no Delay. King *Charles* was forced to borrow Money, and engage his Credit to supply the Stores; and with what Loss to himself he did it, may be easily be imagined; from what Dr. *Dave-*
nant, after observing what great Sums have been paid for Interest Money; says in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, p. 41. “ that it will be found at the long
 “ Run, that were the King to buy Stores or pay
 “ his Fleet, 700,000 *l.* in ready Money, will go
 “ farther than a Million in Tallies.

Computing; however; this Article barely at 200,000 *l.* this; with the other Sums of 133,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 360,201 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 378,990 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* and 166,666 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Deficiency of the King's Civil List; or Crown Revenue, for the Year 1661, amounts to *One Million, two Hundred thirty-nine Thousand, one Hundred ninety-two Pounds, eight Shillings and nine Pence.*

I shall not repeat here what hath been already observed of the vast Debts charged on the Revenue, and ordered to be discharged by the Votes of the precedent Parliament, the last Day of its sitting. But let every one consider the miserable Condition of a private Man involved in Debt: He scarce knows where he is; he sells now one Part of his Estate, and then another; to stop a Gap; yet finds himself still involved; and the Burthen as great as ever, 'till as last he parts with the Whole, and is undone without Resource. This we see by daily Experience in private Cases, and as it is the same in the Case of Princes, we shall not wonder if King *Charles*, so loaded with Debts at his first Entrance on the Government. was forced to part with his Crown Lands and Fee-Farm Rents, to discharge those Parts thereof which were most pressing; and

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an equitable Mind will be more apt to pity the unhappy Circumstances in which that Prince was, without any Fault of his own, engaged by the Iniquities of former Times, (which forced him to those, and other Steps,) for a present Relief to his Necessities, than to be severe in censuring his Conduct in those Respects.

	l.
I proceed now to the <i>By-Stander's</i>	
Calculations (p. 74.) for the Year	
1662; he charges the Customs, Ex-	} 762,952
cise, Wine Licences, and small	
Branches, with Post-Office, at	
The Act for an additional Revenue, or	} 50,000
Hearth-Money, for half a Year, at	
The Act for Prize-Monies not accompt-	} 50,000
ed for	
<i>Ditto</i> , for ordering the Militia, &c.	} 210,000
Sale of <i>Dunkirk</i>	} 250,000
Queen <i>Catherine's</i> Portion	} 300,000
	1,622,952

How groundless soever the *By-Stander's* Complaints of the *Speed* and *Liberality* of this Parliament are, is evident from this very Account of his own drawing. A Vote had passed two Years before for settling 1,200,000 *l.* a Year on the Crown, as a constant standing Revenue; the Funds assigned for that Purpose, had been found deficient by 300,000 *l.* a Year, and a Vote had passed for supplying that Deficiency: But all that was done towards it in this Year 1662, was the granting of an additional Revenue, which had it been collected for the whole Year, might have amounted to a Third, but being so only for half a Year, did not amount to above a sixth Part of that Deficiency; so that the King,

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after

after suffering for the two Years before from a Deficiency at the Rate of 300,000 *l.* a Year, was to be defalked likewise 250,000 *l.* for this Year. Such was the *Speed* of that Parliament, very different from what we may observe of others in our Days, in the Case of more extraordinary Deficiencies.

He computes the Prize Monies at 50,000 *l.* tho' the Protector *Oliver*, and the succeeding Usurpers, were too much pressed for Money, to let any lie dead, that could be possibly got in to supply their Occasions. I am not fond of disputing any of the *By-Stander's* Calculations, how ill soever they seem to be founded, unless I am authorized by some Fact to make another with more Certainty. In this Case I find, that the Convention Parliament had enquired into the Value of these Prize-Monies; and a Report being made on *June 23, 1660*, that 41,495 *l.* 5*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$, was the Amount thereof, they ordered it to be applied to the Payment of the public Debts. Several Persons had Orders for Payment on these particular Monies; so that little Doubt is to be made, but the Receivers, in whose Hands they were lodged, had been called to Account, and the greatest Part thereof paid in the two Years that had passed between the Day abovementioned and the Time of this Act; so that it seems to me a very large Allowance for the Money remaining, to compute it at 20,000 *l.*

As to the 8th Article of 210,000 *l.* which the King, by the 23d Clause of the Act 13 and 14 *Car. 2. c. 3.* had Power for 3 Years from *June 24, 1662*, to *June 24, 1665*, to levy, by the Lords and Deputies Lieutenants, at the Rate of 70,000 *l.* a Year, for paying the Militia, if he found it necessary to raise it in a Time of apparent Danger, it ought not to be charged, unless the Assessment had been actually levied; and even in that Case it should have been charged in different Years. It is of no Con-

sequence what the Apprehensions of any wrong-headed Mortal are on this Subject, but every Man of common Sense will easily see the wide Difference between this Act and a *moderate Vote of Credit*; and the People of *England* have sufficiently felt as great a Difference in their Consequences, having always paid for the latter, whereas the Power entrusted to King *Charles* was put into so good Hands, that it does not appear there ever was a Penny of Money levied, or brought into the *Exchequer*, or the Militia ever raised in those three Years; and therefore I take the Liberty of deducting this whole Article, which none but a Person drove to his last Shifts to swell out a Charge, would ever have offered to insert.

I have already given my Reasons and Authorities for stating the ordinary Disbursements of each Year, at the Rate I am going to fix for this of 1662; only I deferred producing those which engaged me to compute the Charge of Guards and Garrisons at 200,000 *l.* in Hopes of finding a Passage in a Journal, where (if my Memory have not failed me more than usual) I have seen it estimated at that Sum: But not readily finding the Place, it will be proper to justify this Article by the Number of Guards, &c. on Foot, according to the Account given by Dr. *Chamberlain*, in the first Edition of the *Present State of England*. They consisted of 3 Troops, the first of 200, the others of 150 Men each; the *Blue Regiment of Horse*, 500 Men in 8 Troops; the first Regiment of Foot Guards, called the King's Regiment, of 1700 Men in 24 Companies; the *Coldstream*, the Duke of *York's*, and another Regiment; besides the Companies necessary for the Garrisons in Forts and Castles, (which were more numerous then than now) throughout *England*, *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, and the Plantations; and which could not be maintained at a less Expence.

It must be observed also that the Queen, tho' she brought a Portion of 300,000 *l.* besides *Tangier* and *Bombay*, brought also a Charge of 40,000 *l.* a Year for her Court, Houshold, and ordinary Revenue; besides 20,000 *l.* a Year more allowed by the King for her Table and Stables, as appears from Dr. *Chamberlain's Present State* before quoted, and the 10th Edition thereof in 1677, *pag.* 192 and 195.

	<i>l.</i>
The <i>Ex-Stander</i> represents the King's Receipts for 1662, at	} 1,622,952
Deduct thence in the Article of Prize Monies	} 30,000
————— of the Militia Act	210,000
Disbursements for <i>Dunkirk</i>	100,000
<i>Ditto</i> for <i>Tangier</i> this Year only	60,000
———— 7040 Seamen for Summer ar. 1 } Winter Guards	} 356,080
———— Ordinary of the Navy	130,000
———— Ordnance for Land and Sea Service	72,000
———— The King's Houshold, &c.	540,302
———— Duke of <i>York's</i>	70,000
———— The Queen Consort	60,000
———— The Queen Mother, besides her } Jointure in Land	} 30,000
———— Charges in <i>Ireland</i>	100,000
———— Guards and Garrisons	200,000
	<hr/> 1,968,382 <hr/>

The Aids granted by Parliament, with the King's extraordinary Receipts for *Dunkirk*, and the Queen's Portion; amounting only to 1,622,952 *l.* and the Disbursements to 1,968,382 *l.* the King was a Loser this Year 345,430 *l.* besides the extraordinary Expences he was at for the Queen's bringing over and
Recep-

Reception; for the Transport-service in sending a Garrison to *Tangier*, and carrying over that of *Dunkirk* with *M. de Schomberg* to *Lisbon*, to assist the King of *Portugal*, (the Maintenance whereof cost him considerably 'till 1668, when Peace was made with *Spain*,) in the War with the Rovers of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, &c. all which are Articles of great Expence. In short, let a Man consider seriously the King's Situation at this Time, under a Load of Debts, contracted for the public Service, and the strange Backwardness of the Parliament to relieve him, or even to make up the Revenue of 1,200,000 *l.* which they had judged necessary to support the Dignity of the Crown, and defray the Charges of the Government; and that they had still left a Deficiency of 250,000 *l.* upon it, and he will cease to wonder at the King's being forced to part with *Dunkirk*, to lessen his Expences, and enable him with less Inconvenience to assist his Brother the King of *Portugal*; for these were the Reasons of that Step, as is evident from the Letters of the *Mareschal d' Estrades*, in which his Majesty's Necessities are represented in the liveliest Colours.

These appear likewise sufficiently in the Earl of *Bristol's* Speech, (the finest perhaps that ever was made upon Earth,) to the House of Commons in the next Session, which began *Feb. 18, 1663*, and ended *July 27, 1663*. The first Business which engaged the Attention of the House after their meeting, and which (as appears upon the Journals) took up the greatest part of their Time, was that of the Crown Revenue. They appointed a special Committee of the ablest Members of the House, to examine into the Customs, the Crown Lands, the Fee-Farm Rents, and every particular Branch of the Revenue; into all Grants and Alienations thereof since the Death of King *Charles I.* (for his Son the present King had not been ungrateful to his old
Friends)

Friends) and into the Charges of collecting, and to Officers in Receipts and Payments thereof: And perhaps there was scarce ever made so strict an Enquiry. The King took Notice of it in his Speech, which is entered on their Journal of *April 1, 1663*, in these Words. “ Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen
 “ of the House of Commons, I am willing to take
 “ this Occasion to give you my particular Thanks
 “ for your great Kindness in taking hold upon an
 “ easy Intimation, rather than Invitation from
 “ me, to enter on *the Consideration of my Revenue*.
 “ It was *kindly done*, and I shall never forget it. I
 “ have given *Order*, that you be fully informed of
 “ the true State of it; and then I know you will
 “ do that which is good for me and you.”

King *Charles*, with the Sentiments of a King truly *English*, had given these Orders without waiting an Address from the Commons on the Subject; far from being jealous of such an Enquiry, or from apprehending the least Inconvenience from any Discoveries it might produce, he invites, he encourages, he assists them in an Examination, which ought in reason to turn in the End as much to his Benefit, as it would be to their Satisfaction. After they had been upon it for some Time, the King in his Speech on *June 12*, after telling the Commons,
 “ that they would never find either his Receipts so
 “ great, or his Expences so exorbitant, as was ima-
 “ gined; and that it would appear by the Ac-
 “ compts, that not one Penny of the Crown Reve-
 “ nue had been disposed of, but on full Delibera-
 “ tion with himself, and by his own Order, and
 “ (they would all say) for the *Public Service*: For
 “ the most disaffected could not be more unwilling
 “ to pay, than he was to *receive*”; and then acquaints them with the Discovery of the Design for seizing *Dublin* Castle, and raising an Insurrection in *Ireland*, and the Necessity he lay under of sending
 imme-

diately a large Sum of Money to that Country, for paying the Army, and putting the Garrisons in good Order.

The Commons on this Occasion, came the same Day to a Resolution, after a Division (in which there were 111 dissenting Voices against 159,) to give his Majesty a present Supply : And on *June* 19, resolved to raise it by a Subsidy of 4 s. in the Pound upon Lands, and 2 s. 8 d. on Goods, (the old Rates of such Subsidies,) and to name the Commissioners for levying it). A Bill was afterwards brought in for granting the King four of these Subsidies, and confirming 4 of the like Subsidies granted by the Clergy : And it had the Royal Assent on *July* 27. The *By-Stander* has been pleased to pronounce this (p. 82.) to be a very strict Land Tax of 4 s. in the Pound ; and to compute all the Subsidies of both Clergy and Laity at 1,200,000 l. 'Tis irksome to be put continually upon observing the Mistakes he falls into, by forming Notions of former Times upon what he sees in the present. Had he known the least of Antiquity, he could never have fallen into so gross a Mistake, unless he did it designedly ; since the very Title of the Act (for the Act itself is not printed in any Collection that I have seen of our Statutes, not even in the last, though it well deserved a Place there, as being the last in its kind of this Way of Taxation by Subsidies, at least as to the Clergy,) might have prevented his Mistake, and shewn him it was a Tax in the old Way of Subsidies. Parliaments in that Age were very saving of their own, and their Constituents Money, and made more Difficulty in granting 100,000 l. than they do now in giving a Million. We were not then used to a Load of Taxes, the Sense of which is always lessened by their Continuance, even though their Weight and ill Consequence be greater. This Parliament took into their Consideration the Way
of

of raising the Supply, with the greatest Ease to themselves; they found that in the old Way of Subsidies, *a real Estate of a Thousand Pounds a Year, was not valued at more than Twenty Pounds* in the Roll; they were desirous to restore this old easy Method of Taxation, "and resolved for the present Supply, to grant the King four Subsidies of 4 s. a Pound upon Land, and 2 s. 8 d. upon Goods according to the ancient Form." Whoever pleases to consult the House of Commons Journal of June 22, and 23, 1663, will find this expressly asserted. Thus warranted by no less an Authority than the Commons of *England*, and after having proved before, that an ancient Subsidy produced but 70,000*l.* and one of the Clergy never yielded at the highest above 20,000*l.* so that four of both, amount but to 360,000*l.* I make bold to demand of the *By-Stander* a small Abatement of 840,000*l.* in this Article.

'Twas in this Session, that (as appears from the Journals of *May 22*, and *July 20*,) Sir *John Winter* agreed to accept of 30,000*l.* for his Lease of the Forest of *Dean*. 'Twas in this likewise that the 60,000*l.* was granted for Relief of the Indigent Cavalier Officers; which I omitted to take Notice of sooner, though the *By-Stander* hath put it among the Disbursements of 1662; with a Remark *that the Opposition of the Lords and Commons in 1642, is in this Act called a barbarous Rebellion, though the Convention justified that first Opposition.* 'Tis incumbent on him to point out the Place, where such a Justification may be found, or else it will be deemed, like his other Remarks and Calculations, to be without Foundation. For my Part I have read over the Journal of that Convention, and can find no such Thing in it; for though they seem on all Occasions to wave using the shocking Word *Rebellion*; though they censured *Lentball* for saying *that*
those

those who first took up Arms against the late King, were as guilty as those who cut off his Head; and therefore thought (as most People naturally do) that the Guilt of the one was not so enormous as that of the other: Yet this is far from justifying, or saying there was no Guilt at all in the first Opposition. On the contrary, I find them on June 7, 1660, having their own Conduct in View, resolving by a solemn Act, "That this House in the Name of themselves, and of all Commons of England, do lay hold of his Majesty's free and general Pardon, tendered in his Declaration given under his Sign Manual, and Privy-Signet at his Court of Breda, April 14, with Reservation to except such, as shall be excepted by this present Parliament in the Act of Oblivion. I forgot likewise the last Year to mention 2800*l.* granted by a Vote of the Commons, on May 19, 1662, to Sarah Gardiners; which I must therefore bring to the Account for the Year 1663, in which probably it was paid.

The *By-Stander* (pag. 81.) states the Revenue and Grants of 1663 thus, viz.

	l.
Customs and Excise	625,952
Small Branches, Post-Office and Wine- Licences	} 137,000
Hearth-Tax	100,000
Subsidy Act (<i>alias</i> the <i>By-Stander's</i>) Land-Tax	} 1,200,000
	<hr/> 2,062,952 <hr/>
Deduct thence for the last Article	840,000
Add thereto for <i>Tangier Garrison</i>	100,000
Charges there this Year toward the Mole and Forts	} 60,000
R	For

For 7040 Seamen for Summer and Winter's Guards	}	366,080
Ordinary of the Navy		130,000
Ordnance for Land and Sea-Service		72,000
The King's Household, &c. Charges on Revenue	}	540,302
The Duke of <i>York's</i>		70,000
The Queen Consort's		60,000
The Queen Mother's, besides her Jointure		30,000
To indigent Cavalier Officers		60,000
To <i>Sarah Gardiners</i>		2800
To Sir <i>John Winter</i> for Lease of <i>Dean</i> Forest	}	30,000
Charges in <i>Ireland</i>		100,000
Guards and Garrisons in <i>England</i> and the Plantations	}	200,000
		<hr/>
		2,661,182
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It must be observed that the War was not only carrying on in *Portugal*, but we had likewise a Fleet this Year and the following, in the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *John Lawson*, to cruize and attack the *Algerines*; that 200 Horse and 200 Foot, all old Soldiers, were sent over to reinforce the Garrison of *Tangier*, which was able before to carry on the War with *Gayland*, and oblige him to raise the Siege of that Place; that several Redoubts were made, a Fort finished before *Peterborough Town*, (which had been built by the Earl of that Name, who first took Possession of the Place on *Jan. 30, 1661-2.*) and several others carrying on for the greater Security of the Place; that the Key was also finished, and the Mole begun after vast Difficulties, Expence and Trouble in hewing Passages, and blowing up Rocks in the Sands, in order to lay the Foundation; and that Work, though carried on with continual Appli-

Application, could not in less than three Years more be brought to Perfection; and that as the Garrison was almost all the Time it continued in our Hands very strong, and perpetually at War with *Gayland* till his Death, and with the *Moors* afterwards, it could not cost in Pay, Stores and Munitions, less than 100,000*l.* a Year; at which Rate I have computed it, and put for the Mole and Forts 60,000*l.* which last the *By-Stander* himself allows, and by the Addition of 40,000*l.* Transport Service, makes up the 160,000*l.* which I charge. Upon the whole, if the Mistake of 840,000*l.* be deducted both out of the Charge and Discharge, the first will be reduced to 1,222,952*l.* and the latter to 1,821,182*l.* and let it be computed either in this Way, or as stated above, the Revenue was not able to discharge the Public Services of this Year, by the Sum of 598,230*l.* This with the Deficiency of 1,239,192*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* for 1661, and of 345,430*l.* for 1662; makes the Deficiencies of those Three Years amount to two Millions, one Hundred eighty-two Thousand, eight Hundred, fifty-two Pounds, Eight Shillings and Ninepence: Besides the vast Loads of old Debts in Rump-Times, charged on the Revenue by the Convention Parliament, the last Day of their sitting, as mentioned before; besides likewise several other Articles of Expence, which though I took Notice of, I have not offered to compute; and others which I have not so much as mentioned, particularly the extraordinary Expence of the Queen of *Bohemia's* coming over here in 1660 with her Children, and their Residence here 'till her Death; the constant Charge of the Mint, which lay wholly upon the Crown all the Reign of King *Charles*; but is since the Revolution borne by the Nation at the Expence of 15,000*l.* a Year, and others that might be reckoned, were there any Occasion,

I cannot conceive why this Parliament should be called a *Tory Parliament*, unless on Account of its Affection to the Church of *England*, the Constitution whereof it restored; nor why it should be accused of a Forwardness to *gorge* the King, when after looking over all the Journals of their Proceedings, I can't find the least Colour or Pretence for such a Charge; which could be suggested at first by nothing but a Spirit of Calumny, though it hath passed uncontroled by the Confidence with which the Falshood was propagated; and through the Laziness of the World, in not examining into the Truth of the Matter. The *By-Stander* hath thought fit to adopt it for his own; let him produce then, if he can, his Grounds for what I can't help calling an *impudent Calumny*. The Parliament in question, seem p'ainly to me, to have all the Jealousies which those of former Ages, and even of that Age used to entertain of the Power of the Crown, and to dread nothing so much as to render it Independent, and to put it in a Condition of subsisting, without a continual Application for their Help to support its Dignity: And it is impossible to account for their Conduct towards it on any other Principle, The Convention Parliament, which being mostly *Presbyterian*, the *By-Stander* will not care to accuse in any Respect, and which certainly was no *gorging* one, had judged 1,200,000 *l.* a Year necessary to support the Charges of the Government and the Public Services of the Nation. They had by a Vote engaged themselves to make up that Revenue to the King, who had purchased it dearly, by giving up so many Millions of his Dues, that the bare Interest thereof would have yielded a better Income than they proposed to settle. They did not however, besides the hereditary Excise in lieu of his Wards and Tenures, and the usual Custom of Tonage and Poundage, settle any thing upon him but the Wine Licences

Licences and Post-Office; which, with the Excise, the *By-Stander* values at the most at 302,952 *l.* a Year; and all these with the Customs at 652,952 *l.* a Year; and with the *small* Branches of his Majesty's own Revenue, they would amount in all to 782,952 *l.* a Year. This was all that they gave or computed for that constant Revenue; so that there was a Deficiency of 417,048 *l.* which ought to have been made good by the succeeding Parliament. This last, tho' a Church of *England* one, proceeded upon the Plan of the former, as to the *Quantum* of the Revenue, and to guard effectually against the Crown's making any Advantage by such a Settlement when it came to be made, they examined by special Committees into every, even the smallest, Articles of the Revenue; and took particular Care in every Article thereof (one only excepted) to make their Estimates too high, much above what the King was able to make or farm them at afterwards, tho' they were set (according to the Resolution of the Commons *May* 12, 1663.) to the highest Bidder. This was done in order to lessen the Deficiency; which by this Artifice was reduced from the abovementioned Sum to 300,000 *l.* that is 117,648 *l.* lower than it was in reality.

It was necessary to supply this Deficiency; they set about it with the worst Grace in Nature; with a Slowness that is really amazing, and that hath in it such an Air of Unwillingness, as might naturally enough tempt the King to be jealous of their Designs. The Year 1661 passed without any Thing done towards it on their Part; and they had sate two Months of the next, without being a Jot more advanced; at last they gave the Hearth Tax, which brought in 50,000 *l.* that Year, and 100,000 *l.* the Year following. The *By-Stander* says, *p.* 85. that upon a new Regulation in 1664, it brought in from that Time 160,000 *l.* a Year; But even sup-
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posing that it did so, there was still a Deficiency of 257,048 *l.* which remained for many Years afterwards, even till 1670, before any additional Aid was granted to supply this Defect of the Revenue. Had the Funds been granted at first to answer the Revenue as proposed and voted, it would not have been sufficient to defray the public Charges: But deficient to so prodigious a Degree, as I have shewn it was for the first 3 or 4 Years after the Restoration, and so considerably as it was even after the Year 1664; it was no Wonder if King *Charles* was forced to sell the Crown-Lands and the Fee-Farm Rents, to enable him to subsist and carry on the Government; which possibly was what the Parliament aimed at, in letting him labour under such a Deficiency, in order to reduce the Crown to a State of continual Dependance on their good Will. Thus they drew him into Necessities which, on their Neglect or Refusal of relieving them, forced him to hearken to the Overtures mentioned in Mr. *Montague's* Letters to the Duke of *Leeds*, (which yet I do not find to be performed,) and to some other Steps which I shall have Occasion to mention hereafter. The terrible Inconveniences which King *Charles* suffered, by having the Expences of the Civil Government, blended with those for the public Services of the Nation, were so evident to King *William*, a wise Prince, who knew the Affairs of his Uncle's Reign perfectly well, that he desired to have his Civil List settled a-part, and the public Services provided for by the Nation. The Convention Parliament, which raised him to the Throne, was entirely devoted to his Interest, and thought they could not do enough for one whom they considered as their Deliverer. It behoved them to make the Present worth the having, and that the Crown might sit easy on his Head, they easily came into the Resolution of settling a Civil List, free from Annuities

ties of above 230,000 *l.* to the Goldsmiths and others, that incumbered it in *K. Charles's* Time, and distinct likewise from all the public Services which concerned the Nation. The *By-Stander* may dream as usual, and for his own Views vaunt, if he pleases, of the fine Things, which he fancies to flow from this Separation of the Charges of the Civil List and those of the Public; but whoever considers the Complexion and Proceedings of that Convention, will be apt to think, that the Service of the Prince had at least as great an Hand in it, as any View for the Benefit of the Nation.

The *By-Stander* has not thought fit either to carry on his Enquiries into the Crown Revenue, or to publish the Result of them, further than the End of 1663: He had doubtless his Reasons for stopping Short in an Enquiry, which he could not easily wrest to his Purpose. It is however proper to consider what Sum^e of Money were given in the rest of King *Charles's* Reign. Now the Parliament met in the next Year on *March* 21, and sat 'till *May* 17, 1664; but passed no Money-Bill, except that above-mentioned for the Regulation of *Hearth-Money* may be so stiled. As soon as they met, they had appointed a special Committee to consider how the Trade of the Nation might be improved, and upon a Report from it on *April* 21, they came to a Resolution, that the Indignities done his Majesty by the *Dutch*, who had invaded his Rights in *India, Africa*, and elsewhere, and the Injuries they had done our Merchants, were the greatest Obstruction to our foreign Trade. They engaged the Lords likewise on *April* 26, to join with them in an Address to the King, that he would take some speedy and effectual Course for Redress thereof, declaring that they would, in the Prosecution thereof, assist him with their Lives and Fortunes against all Opposition whatever. Sir *G. Downing* was hereupon dispatched to
Holland,

Holland, to demand Satisfaction for Depredations on our Merchants, to the Value of 800,000 *l*; which was not only refused, but *de Ruyster* was sent to attack *Barbadoes*, and destroy our Factories on the Coast of *Africa*. Thus began a War, for which the King having no Supply granted as yet, was forced in the Beginning of *June* to borrow 100,000 *l*. of the City of *London*, to carry on the necessary Preparations. He had at this Time a Fleet under Sir *J. Lawson* in the *Mediterranean*, and was now forced to fit out two others under Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Sandwich*; which being joined, set sail from *Portsmouth* in *November*, under the Command of the Duke of *York*, and returned in the Beginning of the following Month with 130 *Dutch* Prizes.

The Parliament met again on *November 4*, thanked the City for their Loan to the King, and on *Feb. 3*, 1664, passed a Land-Tax Bill for 2,477,500 *l*. to be levied in 3 Years, by 12 quarterly Payments, to defray the Charges of the War; but on a Petition of some Merchants and others for the Payment of old Debts contracted before 1660, to the Amount of 143,422 *l*. 8 *s*. 3 *d*. they passed also on *Jan. 28*, a Vote for the Payment thereof. The Session ended in the Beginning of *March*, and on the 23d of that Month, the Duke of *York* left *London*, in order to take upon him the Command of the Fleet, which was the finest that ever *England* fitted out since it was a Nation. It consisted of an hundred Men of War; and coming, on *June 3*, to an Engagement with the *Dutch* Fleet, which was still more numerous, gained a glorious Victory; 30 of the Enemy's Ships being taken, sunk, or destroyed with the Loss of 8000 of their Seamen; and had the Duke of *York*'s Orders been followed, very few of their Number would have escaped. Our Fleet afterwards insulted the Coast of *Holland*, waiting for the Return of their *East-India* and other Fleets, of

which they took 8 Men of War, and about 30 Merchant-men; 'till a Storm dispersing them in *September*, our Ships returned into Harbour.

Besides this naval Armament, the King was at a very great Expence in Subsidies to the Bishop of *Munster*; who invading the *Dutch* by Land, put them to great Distress, 'till *France* and *Denmark* declaring in favour of *Holland*, he was forced to submit to a Peace. The Parliament meeting in *October* 1665, at *Oxford*, granted 1,250,000 *l.* more for the Charge of the War, which enabled the King to fit out a new Fleet early in the Spring. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* took upon them the Command of it in *April*; but the former upon false Intelligence, parting with a Squadron to meet and intercept the *French* Fleet, which was expected to join the *Hollanders*, the latter was in the Beginning of *June* attacked by the *Dutch* Fleet, above double his Number: Yet, notwithstanding this Disadvantage, he fought them bravely for 3 Days together, and Prince *Rupert* coming up the fourth, the *Dutch* were forced to fly to their own Coasts. As the Duke of *Albemarle's* Squadron had suffered much in this Engagement, the King, as soon as the Ships came into Port, went himself to view their Condition, and take care for their speedy Reparation. Such Diligence was used in this Respect, that the two Admirals put to Sea again on *July* 19, and in a few Days gained another Victory over the *Dutch*, destroying 20 of their Men of War, with 4 of their Admirals and 4000 Officers and Soldiers, and driving the rest into their Harbours. This was followed with the Attempt upon *Ulye*, in which two Men of War, and 150 of their Merchant-men, were destroyed. The *Dutch* put to Sea again in *September*, but being prevented by Prince *Rupert* from executing their Design of joining the *French* Squadron, were glad to retreat into their Ports.

The Parliament meeting this Year (1666) in *September*, both Houses joined in an Address of Thanks to his Majesty, for his great Care in the Management of the War, with Assurances that they would give him Supplies proportionable to his present Occasions. The Commons examined nicely into all Accompts, and appointed a special Committee to inspect the Books of the Ordnance, the Stores, and the Navy; and at last resolved to give the King 500,000 *l.* by a Poll, and 1,256,347 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* by monthly Assessments. Poll-Bills (as *Dr. Davenant* observes) seldom come up to their Estimates; but how this answered in particular, I have not been able to find: Both these Sums however, making together 1,756,347 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* are what the *By-Stander* (p. 85.) calls 1,800,000 *l.* which he charges the King with pocketing; and then ascribes to it the Disaster of *Chatbam*.

As to the Money-Bills they are not printed; but by what I can from the Journals of the Commons on *Sept. 26, Oct. 1, 11, 12.* observe of the Design of them, they seem rather intended to defray past Charges, than provide for future ones; because the *Quantum* of the Supply was resolved on the last of those Days, after a strict Examination into those past Charges; and the first Money-Bill for the War of 2,477,500 *l.* being not to be raised under 3 Years, there was still a Million of it that was not as yet either due or collected; and whoever considers that the War had been carrying on against the *Dutch* alone in 1664 and 1665, and against the united Powers of *France, Holland, and Denmark* in 1666, and what extraordinary naval Armaments the King was forced to make in those Years, what bloody Engagements there had been at Sea, what an infinite Quantity of Stores, &c. must be spent in those Engagements, and in repairing of the Damages sustained therein, besides the Subsidies which the King had

had furnished to the Bishop of *Munster*, will hardly think that the 3 Supplies of 2,477,500*l.* 1,250,000*l.* and 1,756,347*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* making together 5,483,847*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* were more than sufficient for those Expences, since the bare Pay of 40,000 Seamen, allowed ordinarily for Wars against weaker and less active maritime Powers, does, in 3 Years Time, amount to above 800,000*l.* more than that Sum. Whatever the Expences were, when the Parliament met on *October* 10, 1667, the King ordered “ Accompts of all the Money they had given to be
 “ laid before them, and recommended to them to
 “ examine them as they pleased, and with all the
 “ Strictness imaginable ; assuring them he would be
 “ so far from screening any, that he would leave e-
 “ very one to stand or fall according to his own In-
 “ nocency or Guilt ; and he should be as ready to
 “ redress, as they to represent, any Grievance that
 “ they discovered”.

The Commons, upon this Invitation from the King, not only passed an Act, appointing Commissioners to examine into the Accompts of all Monies that had been given for 4 or 5 Years past, but examined themselves with all possible Strictness into every Years Conduct of the War, and into every Step that had proved unlucky in the Course thereof, particularly the not observing the Duke of *York's* Orders in his Pursuit of the *Dutch* Fleet in 1664 ; the Separation of the Duke of *Albemarle's* and Prince *Ruperti's* Squadrons in 1666 ; and the Affair of *Chatham* in 1667. With regard to this last, it appears upon the Journal of *Oct.* 31, 1667, that the King was so far from pocketing any Money,
 “ that he had actually at the Time of that Affair
 “ 18,000 Seamen aboard his Fleet, which would
 “ have been able to have fought the *Dutch*, if it had
 “ been united ; but for want of good Intelligence
 “ of the Motions and Designs of the Enemy, and

“ in Confidence of the Peace which the *English*
 “ Plenipotentiaries were treating at *Breda*, with a
 “ full Assurance of its being soon concluded, since
 “ the States were alarmed at the *French King's* claim-
 “ ing *Brabant* and invading the Low Countries,
 “ the Ships had been allowed to convoy Merchant-
 “ men for the Security of Trade ; and by this
 “ Means being dispersed, there was not a sufficient
 “ Fleet at the Mouth of the *Thames* to fight the
 “ *Dutch* Fleet, when it first entered the River’ But
 “ when about three Weeks after they had quitted
 it, they entered it a second Time, there was a
 Squadron under the Command of *Sir Edw. Spragge*
 ready to oppose them, which destroyed 2 or 3 of
 their Men of War, and engaged them for 3 Days,
 ’till *Sir Joseph Jordan* coming up on the fourth with
 20 fresh Ships, the *Dutch* made all the Sail they
 could out of the River, being pursued by our Fleet
 in their Retreat ; (as is related in the *Gazettes*, N^o.
 176 and 177.) We had likewise, at the very Time
 the *Dutch* made their Attempt on *Chatham*, another
 Squadron of Men of War in the *West-Indies*, under
 the Command of *Sir John Harman*, who destroyed
 a *French* Fleet of 12 Men of War, and as many
 other Vessels of less Force, in the Road of *Martinico*.
 All the *Gazettes* too of that Time, are full
 of Advertisements for the regular Payments of the
 Loans and Assignments on the two Acts, which
 were given to raise the very 1,800,000 *l.* which the
By-Stander, with an unparalleled Assurance, pre-
 tends to have been pocketed.

The House of Commons well knew the falshood
 of this Charge ; they had by special Committees,
 and afterwards in the House itself, examined into
 all the Conduct of the War, and all the Receipts
 and Issues, as well of the Treasury of the Navy,
 as of the *Exchequer* ; they had expelled *Mr. Brun-*
ker for his causing the Fleet to slacken Sail contrary
 to the Duke of *York's* Orders in 1664 ; they had

impeached Commissioner *Pett*, for the Neglect of making the Fortifications, which the King himself had marked out at *Sheerness*, the *February* before the Affair of *Chatham*, and ordered to be made forthwith; (which had it been done would have prevented that Disaster,) for his suffering the 1000 Men employed in the Dock, to run away at the Approach of the *Dutch*, who could have done nothing, if those Men had been on the Spot, when the Duke of *Albemarle* came down; and for other Parts of his Conduct. They had inquired into all the Mismanagements of the Navy and Exchequer, and Officers thereof; but seem to have found none, except in the Commissioners of the Navy, discharging Seamen when Ships come in by Tickets without Pay, and giving undue Preference in the Payment of those Tickets to Favourites, whereby the Seamen were forced to sell them at Discount to their Officers and Agents; a Grievance, which the King himself had eight Months before (see *Gazette* N^o. 168), taken particular Care to remedy. They had by a special Committee taken an Account of the Produce of the Poll-Bill, and of the Assignments made and Money registred on the Monthly Assessments for raising the very 1,800,000 *l.* and of the particular Application thereof towards the War, according to the Intent of Parliament, between *Michaemas* 1666, and *Michaemas* 1667: And yet after all these Inquiries, and almost the very Moment after they had finished the last, being thereby convinced of the right Application of their Money, and the Defectiveness thereof to answer the Expences of the War, they voted 300,000 *l.* for a further Supply. This appears from the whole Tenor of the Journals of this Session, particularly of *Oct.* 21, 26, 31; *Dec.* 16, *Feb.* 14, 21, and *March* 6, 1667; on which last Day they resolved on the Supply, which was to be raised by an Impost on Wines, Brandies,

Brandies and Spirits sold by Retail for two Years, from *June 24, 1668*, to *June 24, 1670*; the Accompts of all Money levied or secured thereon, to be laid before the Commissioners, then first appointed by Act of Parliament, to examine Accompts. (See Acts 20 *Car. II. c. 1* and 3.)

These Commissioners found upon Examination the Truth of what the King assured his Parliament, at the opening of the next Session, on *Oct. 19. 1669*; "That all the Money they had ever given for the Navy or the War, had been employed accordingly, and no Part thereof diverted to any other Use whatever." They delivered their Report to the House, on *Oct. 26*, and three Days after they were ordered to draw up a State of the Accompt, of what Money had been received for the Maintenance of the War, and what had been disbursed for the same, with the Ballance thereon, This Ballance was reported by the Commissioners, on *Nov. 4*, and read in the House, which after a mature Consideration thereof, thought fit to make good the Ballance; and on *Nov. 26*, resolved to grant the King an Aid of 400,000*l.* to be raised, (as they determined on *Dec. 2.*) by an Additional Impost on Wines and *French Linen*; though it seems afterwards they left out Linen, and only charged Wines and Vinegar, by the Act of 22 *Car. II. c. 3.* This whole Proceeding is so clear a Vindication of the King from the *By-Stander's* infamous Charge of pocketing the Public Money, that the Reader will thence learn, what little Strefs is to be laid on any of his Accounts, and what little Credit he deserves in any Thing he advanceth.

Of a Piece with other of this Writer's Relations, is, what he says, *pag. 87.* of almost *Three Millions* being granted the King for the Support of the *Triple Alliance*; drawing in a Speech which he fathers upon Lord *Lucas*, to ceuntenance the Falshood. I remember to have read

read of a Printer's being some three or four Years after this Time, convicted of publishing a Libel, entitled, *The Speech of a noble Peer, &c.* which I then took to be the Speech in question, and which (if my Memory do not fail me) is also printed in the Appendix to *Villers Duke of Buckingham's Works*; but I had not Time to examine particularly the Fact, nor do I recollect at present in what New's-Papers of the Time I read the Passage. I mean this for his Lordship's Vindication; for I think it impossible for him to make such a Speech, and his Honour must suffer, were there any Truth in the *By-Stander's* Representation of the Matter. The Triple Alliance was concluded and signed, on *Jan. 23, 1667-8*; it saved *Flanders* and produced a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, at the latter End of *April* following. The Parliament was sitting all that Time: The King asked them no Aid on that Account, nor did they grant him any. The only Money-Bill that passed, was what I have mentioned above, as designed to supply the Deficiency of former Supplies for the War, *viz. The Act for raising 310,000*l.* by an Imposition on Wine and Spirits sold by Retail* for two Years, which had the Royal Assent the last Day of the Session, *May 9, 1668*, (see *Gazette, N^o. 259*. If the *By-Stander* has mistaken 300,000*l.* for Three Millions, 'tis an Oversight a little too gross to be easily excused; especially since such Mistakes seems to grow familiar to him. I have already taken Notice of one like this, *viz. in the Article of the Expence of the Navy*, where instead of 500,000*l.* he only put down 50,000*l.*

A Year and above four Months passed before there was another Session of Parliament; but it meeting on *Oct. 19, 1669*, and the Commissioners of Accompts having made their Report of the Money given, received and disbursed for the War, and the
Ballance

Ballance remaining thereon, the Commons to make it up, voted (as has been observed before) a Supply of 400,000*l.* to be raised by a further Impost on Wines for a Term of Years, one Year of which was to reimburse the Duke of York the Loss, he would sustain by this and the late Act in his Revenue of Wine-Licences. The Session ended on *April 11*, and this was the only Money-Bill passed in it; for it seems the Act of 22 *Car. II. c. 6. for advancing the Sale of Fee-Farm Rents* was not considered as such, since it took its Rise in the House of Lords, and was sent by them on *April 4*, to the Commons, who agreeing thereto, it had the Royal Assent, with the other on *April 11*, 1670.

The *By-Stander*, pag. 88. pretends to take from Mr. *Coke* his Account of the Value arising from the Sale of these *Fee-Farm Rents*, which he stiles *the Sale of Crown-Lands*, though there is not in the Act a Syllable about *Lands*, unless in an Exception in the 2d Clause, whereby the King is restrained from selling any *Quit-Rents and Copyhold-Rents standing in Charge, as Parcel of or belonging to any Manor*. The same Clause excepts all Tenths, First-Fruits and Rents reserved *Nomine Decimæ*, as the next does all Rents reserved upon Leases, the Reversion whereof was in the King, and incident to such Reversion. It provides likewise that such of these Rents as used to be paid to Grammar-Schools, Hospitals, or the like Uses, should still continue to be paid as usual. The Preamble shews it was designed chiefly, if not solely, for the Sale of the *Fee-Farm Rents* in the Duchies of *Lancaster* and *Cornwall*; and to give the Purchasers some special Privileges, which they could not have without Act of Parliament, that his Majesty might be the better enabled to pay some Debts which he owed at Interest, and had pressing Reasons to discharge. But supposing it extended to all *Fee-Farm Rents*; if we consider

consider how many of those Rents had been alienated by Grants to the Earl of *Sandwich* and others; what Pensions had been granted on them; and what were left unfold, (as others, besides all those of Queen *Catherine's* Jointure were) the King can't well be thought to raise a fourth Part of what the *By-Stander* computes, or at most above 400,000 *l.* by this Sale, or that even this Sum was got in otherwise than in the Course of several Years; for the Commission issued on this Occasion lasted all his Reign, and the Commissioners were after the Revolution, called upon by the House of Commons, to give an Account of what Rents they had sold, and what still remained in the Hands of the Crown; which they did, though their Report is not entered upon the Journal.

The Sale of the Crown Lands was not (as the *By-Stander* says, pag. 88, 89.) *the Act and Deed of a Tory Parliament*; the Act in question gave no Authority for the Sale of any Lands, and even excepted all Quit and Copyhold Rents belonging to Manors, and all Rents reserved upon Estates in Reversion to the Crown. This shews the Falshood of that Writer's Account of this Matter: And if the Blame of the Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents is to be laid upon any Body, it ought to be charged to the Account of these great Patriots and pretended Assertors of Liberty, who after plundering the Nation for 20 Years together, between 1640 and 1660, and draining it in that Time of above 95 Millions; left the State at the Restoration involved in Debts; which being confirmed by the Convention Parliament, and left (without any Provision to pay them) as a Burthen upon the Crown, put King *Charles* under those unhappy Necessities, which forced him to part with his own private Patrimony, and what was left of the ancient Inheritance of the Crown in it's landed Property. Would to God this were

the only ill Consequence that we still suffer from the Measures of the pretended Patriots of those Days! The Nation would then be in a much richer and happier Condition than it feels itself at present.

As for his Charges, pag. 87, 88. of a constant ordinary Pension, and of Bribes from *France*; " particularly 700,000*l.* for the 2d *Dutch* War, and " about as much more for refusing to pass the Bill " of Exclusion;" he seems to have borrowed them from the scandalous and seditious Libels, which were published at the latter End of King *Charles's* Reign, for the better carrying on the Designs then formed for subverting our Constitution, and throwing the Nation into the same State of Anarchy and Confusion, it had been so lately delivered from by the King's happy Restoration. He will be at a Loss to produce any better Authority for his Representation thereof. The Letters of *Mareschal D'Esstrades* from 1662 to 1668, shew plainly enough, that the *Dutch* were all that Time Pensioners of *France*; but where are the Letters and Memoirs, that say any Thing like it of King *Charles*, till the Time of the second *Dutch* War; when in Consequence of an Alliance with *France*, he was to assist that Crown with Sea and Land-Forces, and to receive from it such Subsidies towards those Charges, as are usually stipulated between one Prince and other. The Duke of *Leeds's* Letters inform us of this Fact, and that *Lewis XIV.* paid the first Year, not 700,000*l.* (as the *By-Stander* says) but Three Millions of Livres, or 240,000*l.* towards the Expence of the Fleet, which the King was to put to Sea, and a Third Part of that Sum for some Years afterwards. This was indeed a very different kind of Bargain, from what we have been used to make of late Years; having always in the Wars since the Revolution, (even in such where we were not Principals) been forced to pay Subsidies, instead of receiving them from

from our Allies. It was for a valuable Consideration, and in Virtue of a Treaty, such as the same *French* Monarch had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Hanover*, and other Princes; and such as we have since made with the Kings of *Denmark*, *Sardinia*, &c. without any Reproach to those Princes. Nor was it indeed any to the King in the Opinion of all reasonable Persons; but there were Men in those Days who had the *By-Stander's* Talents for misrepresenting Matters, and, like him, were not ashamed of exercising them upon this Subject. King *Charles* who had no Reason to conceal his own Conduct, or obstruct a Parliament's Enquiry into that of his Ministers; and who was ever ready to give his People all the Satisfaction on those Heads that they could desire in Reason, did not stay to be address'd for laying his Treaties with *France*, before the two Houses; but taking Notice of the Misrepresentations made thereof, told them in his Speech at their Meeting, on *Jan. 7, 1673.* " That he had ordered those Treaties, and all the Articles thereof *without the least Reserve*, to be shewn to a small Committee of both Houses; who might report the true Scope of them to each House, assuring them further, that there was no other Treaty with *France*, either before or since, not already printed, which should not be made known."

These Treaties gave no Offence, and whatever Subsidies were paid in Consequence thereof during the War, the King did not think that such a Performance of Stipulations put him under any new Obligation; nor did it hinder him from exerting himself with the Vigour already mentioned for the saving of *Flanders*, and procuring the *Dutch* a better Peace than they insisted on themselves at *Nimeghen*. And that there was not a Farthing ever paid afterwards, we have the express Testimony of the

Duke of *Leeds*, in his *Letters*, p. 103; so that what the *By-Stander* suggests of the *French Court's* giving 700,000 *l.* to the King, for refusing to pass the Bill of Exclusion, is an utter Falshood. That Bill was so evidently for the Interest of *France*, that the *French Court* would never be at any Expence to oppose it; they were more inclined to dispose of their Money among the great Sticklers for the Bill, who took their Measures in concert with M. *Bacillon* the *French* Embassador, as we learn from the said *Letters*. There is in the Memoirs of the Duke of *York*, (who used every Night to put down in writing the most considerable Passages of the Day passed,) a particular History of that Bill, in which all the Intrigues of the Court, and Turns of Affairs in those Times, are explained in the clearest and most convincing Manner; and in which the King's Distresses at that Time are fully represented. These Distresses filled his Royal Highness with terrible Apprehensions about the King's Constancy in that Affair: And it behoved him to get them removed at any Rate if possible; but it is plain from his Memoirs, that no Help came from *France* on that Account, and that the Duchefs of *Portsmouth*, and the *French* Agents and Pensioners here, did all that they could to promote that Bill. The King best explains his own Motives for rejecting it, in the Declaration which on *April* 8, 1681, he published upon the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, that would have forced it upon him, without hearkening to the Measures he proposed for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, by providing for the Presentation to Church Promotions in the Gift of the Crown, and the making of Justices of Peace in such a manner, that none but pious and learned, or sincere Protestants should be admitted to either of those Trusts; and by enacting that no *Privy Counsellor* or *Judge*, no *Lord* or *Deputy Lieutenant*, or *Officer*

ficer of the Navy, should be put in or displaced, but by Authority of Parliament. Had this Offer of putting the principal Branches, both of the civil and military Authority into the Hands of the Representatives of the Nation, been accepted, there would have been no room left for the People to dread the Power of the Crown, or have any Apprehensions of their Liberties; and yet the King was ready to come into any other reasonable Expedient that they would propose. But nothing would satisfy the Party which prevailed in those two Parliaments, besides the Bill of Exclusion; which his Majesty declared "he could not pass, as not being
 " consistent either with Justice or the Good of the
 " Kingdom; as what might occasion another civil
 " War, and make a Standing Army necessary for
 " the Preservation of the Government." It was with regard to another Instance of King *Charles's* Sagacity, that the Duke of *Leeds* says, in the Introduction to his Letters before quoted, *that he had lived to find Kings to be true Prophets as well as Kings.*

To return from this Digression, which the *By-stander's* Misrepresentations made necessary. The Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents was but a small and slow Relief to his Majesty; whose Difficulties are very clearly represented by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, in his Speech of *Feb. 14, 1679*, to the Parliament. It appears hence, "that the House of Commons
 " had made no Provision for the Preparations to-
 " wards the War, which yet were to be deemed
 " a necessary Part thereof, and a great Part of the
 " King's own Revenue, to many hundred thousands
 " of Pounds, had been employed and swallowed
 " up in those Charges; that his Majesty had, in
 " the Consequences of the War, been likewise put
 " to great Expences in repairing the Hulls of Ships,
 " and putting his Navy into such Condition as it
 " was

“ was in before the War begun ; that the War it-
 “ self had much outgone the Supplies that had
 “ been given towards it, tho’ no Part of the Mo-
 “ ney designed for it had been diverted to any o-
 “ ther Use, as had been found upon Examination ;
 “ and as his Majesty had entered into it, not out
 “ of any Inclination or Appetite of his own, but
 “ purely upon their Advice and the Promise of their
 “ Assistance, he hoped that they would not leave
 “ him under the Burthen of this Debt, but relieve
 “ him from it, and the ill Consequences which
 “ the Continuance thereof might draw upon all his
 “ Affairs”.

The Difficulties the King was in, and the ill Con-
 sequences thereof, were indeed apparent enough. The
 Crown-Revenue, as first voted, was not equal to the
 constant ordinary Charges of the Government ;
 Funds had not been given to make it up agreeable
 to the Vote, there having been a Deficiency in the
 first 3 Years of at least 400,000 *l.* a Year, and e-
 ven after the Hearth-money was granted and regu-
 lated in 1664, of about 260,000 *l.* a Year. The
 inevitable Effects of the War, and other Calami-
 ties which Providence had brought on the Nation,
 had occasioned so great a Diminution of this Reve-
 nue, that the Loss the King sustained only in 3
 Branches of it, the Customs, Excise, and Hearth-
 money, by reason of the War, the Plague, and
 the Fire of *London*, amounted to about 600,000 *l.*
 besides all other Accidents and Disadvantages.

The Commons, entering upon the Consideration
 of these Things, proceeded with their usual Slow-
 ness, and in the regular Methods, examining by
 their Commissioners of Accompts into the Value of
 Prizes, and by a special Committee into the
 List of his Majesty’s Debts at Interest, the Esti-
 mates of the Charge of the Navy, and the Ac-
 compts delivered in either by the Treasurer thereof,

or

or by the Commissioners of the Treasury. After considering the Reports on these Subjects, they at last resolved on *Nov. 11, 1670*, to lay an additional Excise on Bear for 6 Years, and on *Nov. 26*, to lay a Duty on Tobacco, *Scotch Salt, Glasses, &c.* They resolved likewise on Account of his Majesty's Debts, and for a present Supply to his extraordinary Occasions, on *Dec. 17*, to lay a Tax of one Shilling in the Pound on Land, two Shillings on two Thirds of the Salaries of Offices, and fifteen Shillings for each hundred Pounds of Banker's Money and Stock, allowing the King to borrow upon it at *7 per Cent.* They resolved likewise to lay an Impost on Law-Proceedings for nine Years. The Amount of such a Land-Tax is well enough known at present: And I find that a Committee having been appointed to make an Estimate of the Produce of the additional Excise, the Impost on Tobacco and other Commodities, and that on sealed Paper or Law Proceedings, the House on *Dec. 9.* agreed to their Report, that they would all together amount to *400,000 l.* a Year. This would have effectually supplied the Deficiency of the ordinary Revenue for the future, had they all passed, as the first and last did: But that on Tobacco and foreign Commodities (which by *Col. Birch's* Report on *November 28*, of the Estimate of a Year's Produce thereof, amounted to a greater Value than the other two put together) was unhappily lost by the Lords making Amendments to it, notwithstanding all that was urged in several Conferences in Behalf of the Privileges of the Commons in the Point of Money-Bills, which were admirably defended by *Sir Heneage Finch*, whose Vindication thereof is entered at large in the Journal of *April 22, 1671*, the last Day of the Session.

The *Dutch War*, which had forced the King to make great Anticipations of his Revenue, was scarce ended, when the *Algerines* broke the Peace, and obliged

obliged his Majesty to send in 1668, a strong Squadron under Sir *Thomas Allen* into the *Mediterranean*, to curb their Insolence. He was put every Year to the same Expence, as well as to that of Convoys for Merchant Ships, which he never suffered to wait a Moment on that Account, to the End of 1671, when Sir *Edw. Spragge*, having destroyed 7 or 8 of their best Men of War under the Castle of *Bugia*, taken others at Sea, blocked up *Algiers*, forced them to release the *English* Captives, and submit to a new Peace, by which the Money and Goods of Strangers aboard *English* Ships were to be free. The *Dutch* had since the Peace with their State obstructed the Trade of the *English* in the *East-Indies*, and other Quarters of the World; and in the last mentioned Year had disputed the Flag, and given Orders, in Breach of the Peace of *Breda*, to the Commanders of their Ships, not to strike to ours in the *English* Channel. They had followed these Orders with a very great Augmentation of their Forces both by Sea and Land, which looked like preparing for a War. The King on *Dec. 4.* sent Sir *G. Downing* to *Holland*, to discover their Designs, and demand Satisfaction for the Denial of the Flag, and the Damages they had done to our Trade; none being given, his Majesty prepared for the War; which broke out the next Year, upon the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet's refusing on *March 13.* to strike to a Squadron of our Men of War that were cruising off the Isle of *Wight*, and was proclaimed 4 Days after on *March 17. 1672.*

The King was but in an indifferent Condition to begin or sustain a War. Besides what hath been said already of his Debts, it appears by the Journal of the Commons on *April 27. 1689.* (when they were enquiring into the Revenue in King *Charles's* Time, in order to settle King *William's* Civil List,) that there were Debts upon his ordinary Revenue of

the Customs, Excise, Fee-Farm Rents, and Hearth-money, standing out in the Year 1671, and never paid afterwards, to the Amount of 871,708 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. 'Tis no wonder then that, to make the necessary Preparations for a War, he stopped the Payments of his *Exchequer* for a Year at first, (which Time he was afterwards obliged to prolong,) with regard to the principal Money of the Goldsmiths, Bankers, and others who had Warrants, Orders, or Securities thereon; for the Interest thereof, (see *Gazette*, N^o. 641.) was to be duly paid at the Rate of 6 *per Cent.* and the Lords of the Treasury were ordered to state every particular Person's Debt in order thereto.

The *By-Stander*, p. 88, would fain impute this Step to Lord *Clifford*, tho' all the World knows very well, that *Shaftsbury* was the first Mover of it; and when the King objected the ill Effect it would have, in destroying the Credit of his *Exchequer*, the famous Apologue, which that Lord used to remove the Objection, will never be forgotten. *Clifford* certainly concurred in it, as one of the Ministry then called the *Cabal*; but Nobody doubts of *Shaftsbury's* being the first Author of the Advice, tho' the *By-Stander* might not care to name him, as having very soon after made a mighty Figure at the Head of the *Whig* Party, and been the chief Director of all their Measures. This Writer says, the Money, the Payment whereof was thus postponed, amounted to 1,328,526 *l.* 'tis not worth while to examine whether this were the exact Sum; but it would be unpardonable in me not to observe, that a Man capable of stiling this an *infamous Robbery of his Majesty's Creditors*, and of asserting that Thousands of Families were ruined by it, must be lost to all Sense of Shame as well as Truth, when the Journal before quoted of *April 27*, 1689, assures us, that *K. Charles* had charged upon his *Exchequer* a perpetual

Interest of 79,566 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* for this Money; and it was paid accordingly, 'till about a Year before that Prince's Death.

It is certainly a very unpleasing, however necessary, a Task to be obliged perpetually to take Notice of the Falshoods of any Writer: Nor could I so unluckily have fallen upon any one as the *By-Stander*, who furnishes me Matter enough in every Page for this Complaint: His next Page gives an Account of a Report in the House of Commons in the Session of 1675; by which it appeared, " that
 " the King, besides the Produce of his settled Re-
 " venue, had received a Million for the Uses of the
 " War, more than he had expended in it; that
 " the Court had exacted yearly a Million and
 " half; that since the War, the whole Charge of
 " the Government by Sea and Land amounted not
 " to above 700,000 *l.* a Year, and the clear In-
 " come of the Revenue came at least to 1,600,000 *l.*
 " Sterling, &c." There cannot easily be crowded such a Number of notorious Falsties into so narrow a Compass; but the *By-Stander*, not considering that whoever spreads another's Lies, doth thereby adopt them for his own, fancies that he makes a sufficient Apology for himself, in fathering them upon the *Sieur Rapin*; a Writer as full of Visions as himself, and who hath swelled out a tedious Relation, barren of material Occurrences, which he calls an *History of England*, with an infinite Number of fine-spun Speculations *a la Francoise*, not so much on Matters of Fact, as upon his own Mistakes; one who had neither the Knowledge, Learning, Judgment, nor Temper necessary to qualify himself for an Historian, but depended purely on his Character as a *French Refugee*, to recommend his Performance to the foreign World, for whom only he wrote, and upon whom he thought himself able to impose; little imagining it would ever come to be read
 by

Englishmen; as it hath been, in Virtue of an unaccountable Taste that we have for Foreigners, or because it serves to some scandalous Purposes, like those of the *By-Stander*. Such Writers always chuse their Authorities, not with regard to the Credit they deserve, but as they best fit their Purpose. It is very plain to any Man of Sense, versed in the *English* History, who hath tried his Patience in going through *Rapin's*, that the Compiler of it never read a Record, a Council Book, a Roll of Parliament, a Journal of either House, the Letters of any Negotiation of our Embassadors, or indeed any of the most proper and authentick Materials for our History, except what are found in *Rymer*; which he did but half understand, for want of being acquainted with the Customs and Antiquities of this Nation. In the Point before us, *Rapin* refers us for the above Facts, to a Report made in the House of Commons of 1675, and his accurate Translator has thought fit to add a wise Comment upon his Relation: But I can't help assuring the Reader, that *in all this there is not one Syllable of Truth*. I read over this Journal of 1675, making my Extracts and Observations as I went along, but observed nothing in it of any such Report, or of any of the Facts here said to be in it, nor indeed any Thing that had the least Relation thereto. I consulted afterwards the Passage in *Rapin*, Vol. 2. p. 678. and not being able to conceive how it was possible for a Man so gravely to quote a Report of the House of Commons, to support the most egregious Falshoods in Nature, without some Ground or other, I suspected my own Eyes, and therefore read over all the Journal again, purely to find out something of this Kind, or that might serve to lead him into the Mistake: But it was with the same Success as before; there is not the least Mention or Hint of any such Report of any Committee to enquire into the

Charges of the War, of any Examination thereof, or of any one of the Facts pretended to be in it, in all the Journal: And I may add likewise, after reading them all, not in any other Journal in all King *Charles's* Reign. After this, what can the World think of that *French Historian*, so much distinguished by the fine Taste, and recommended by the celebrated Writers of the present Age? If nothing can please them but Romances, they might find some that are less tedious and more innocently amusing.

The Observations which the *By-Stander* has made upon this Report, and the pretended Matter thereof, need not be taken Notice of, when all the Foundation of them is destroyed, and they are shewn to be utterly false; but as he would fain draw in Sir *William Petty* to countenance one of his Assertions, and quotes him for saying, in a Posthumous Work or Essay, which probably he had not fully digested, "That the ordinary Charge of the Government in "Time of Peace was not 600,000 *l.* a Year," I must observe that Sir *William* doth indeed express himself in those Words; but it is after he has said "that about five Millions would amount to "one Years Pay for 100000 Foot, 40000 Horse, "and 40000 Men at Sea, Winter and Summer;" so that by the Government here he seems to me to mean the *Civil Establishment* exclusive of the Naval and Military; and the rather because in this Sense he would be pretty near the Truth, as I have shewn before from the Journals of the Commons; whereas in any other he would be vastly mistaken.

The Falshood of what the *By-Stander* has quoted from *Rapin* will appear further from what I am now going to say about the *Dutch War*, which began in *March* 1672, a little before Sir *Edward Spragge* returned from *Algiers*. The King used such Diligence in fitting out a Fleet, that in the beginning of *May* the Duke of *York* put to Sea

Sea with near 100 Men of War; with which he engaged the *Dutch* Fleet on the 28th of that Month, forced them to retire with the Loss of five of their Men of War to their own Harbours, into which by help of a thick Fog they made a Shift to escape; and not daring to put to Sea again, our Fleet insulted their Coast a great Part of the Summer. The Parliament met on *Feb. 5, 1672-3*; when the Chancellor *Sbaftsbury* acquainted them, "That the Aids of the last Session did not answer the Debts, and a considerable one that was designed (*viz.* the Act for an Impost on Tobacco and Foreign Commodities) having been unfortunately lost in the Birth, the King had been forced to stop the Payments of his *Exchequer* for carrying on his Affairs." The Commons hereupon resolved on *Feb. 7.* to grant a Supply of 1,238,750*l.* and to raise it by an Eighteen Months Assessment at 70,000*l.* a Month. This Supply was far from being equal to the necessary Service of the War, at a Time when the *Dutch* were preparing a greater Fleet for the next Summer than they ever had at Sea before. The Bill for Supply had the Royal Assent on *March 29, 1673*; and the *Dutch* appeared soon afterwards at Sea with a formidable Fleet, which being recruited made at last above 90 Men of War, besides Fireships and Tenders. Ours being ready at the latter End of *April* put to Sea, and on *May 28,* a bloody Engagement ensued; in which after the Loss of four Men of War, and the disabling of some others, the *Dutch* took Shelter in their own Shallows and Harbours; where being reinforced and knowing that the *English* Fleet which was insulting their Coast, could have received no Supplies by reason of contrary Winds, they ventured a second Battle on *June 4,* but with the like ill Success as before. Our Fleet afterwards blockaded up the *Texel*; and another furious Engagement happened

happened on *Aug. 11*, in which the *Dutch* were treated so roughly, that they appeared no more at Sea this Year. They were likewise so humbled by their ill Success, that they thought fit to submit to all the Articles, which the King had insisted in his Declaration of War, and which they at that Time refused, *viz.* to strike to the *English* in the *British* Seas, and to give Satisfaction in the *East-India* Trade, and the Business of *Surinam*; and the Peace was proclaimed in *February 1673-4*.

The Parliament had met on *Jan. 7*, and the King had desired a Supply for the Expences of the War, and the paying of the Banker's Debt, which had been employed in the Preparations for it. He afterwards on *Feb. 7*, when he acquainted them with the Peace, recommended to the Commons to give another for building a Number of Capital Ships; that we might not be inferior to our Neighbours at Sea. None was granted; the Parliament broke up on *Feb. 24*, 1673-4, and did not meet again 'till *April 13*, 1675, when the *By-Stander* tells us, the House of Commons was grown *Whigish*. 'Tis in the next Session of 1675, that *Rapin* places that pretended Report, the Falsity of which I have already exposed; and how his wife *Annotator*, and the *By-Stander* who copies him, can pretend "that the King had received a Million for the Uses of the War, more than he had expended in it," is not easy for a Man of Common Sense to conceive. The War was furious, and being carried on against the most potent Maritime Power in *Europe*, employed stronger Fleets than we have ever had since at Sea; so that there cannot be allowed for it less than 40000 Seamen, the Maintenance of which for two Years comes to *four Millions, one Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds*, besides other Expences necessarily attending a War. The Parliament had given to-

wards it, no more than 1,238,750 *l.* (as every Body may see by the Collection of the Statutes in King *Charles's* Reign,) so that the King must have been a loser by it of near 3 Millions, and have contracted a Debt of that Value. The World will surely begin to have a better Opinion of King *Charles's* Government, when they see *Rapin*, his *Translator*, and the *By-Stander*, forced to have Recourse to such palpable Falshoods, and even Forgeries of Reports, to blacken it: And every impartial Man, who sees their infamous Misrepresentations in this Instance, will scarce think them deserving of the least Credit in any other.

The King, at the meeting of the Parliament in *April* 1675, recommended to them the Condition of the Navy; the State whereof and of the Stores was laid before the Commons, who gave no Supply for that or any other Purpose: And a Difference arising between the two Houses in Regard to their Privileges, they were on *June* 9, prorogued to *Oct.* 13, 1675. The King at the opening of this last Sessions, desired of the Commons Supplies, as well for the Building of Ships, as to take off the Anticipations of his Revenue, occasioned by the late War with *Holland*. They resolved on *Oct.* 19, to give him no Assistance for taking off those Anticipations; but on the 22d of the same Month, agreed to grant 300,000 *l.* for the building of one First, 5 Second, and 14 Third Rates; and on *Nov.* 8, resolved to raise it by an 18 Month's Assessment, at 17,204 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* a Month; the Money to be paid into the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, and kept apart from all other Monies, appropriated to the Building, Rigging and other Furniture of the said Ships, and to no other Use whatever; with Penalties to be inflicted on any Officer of the *Exchequer*, that should divert and misapply any Part thereof. But the Quarrel between the two Houses being revived, this
Bill

Bill was lost, and the Parliament on *Nov. 29*, was prorogued to *Feb. 15*, 1676-7.

The Houses met on the Day to which they stood prorogued; the King laid before them the Necessity of building more Ships; and desired them to continue the additional Excise, "which had been given in 1670 for six Years, and was now ready to expire. He represented the Difficulties he lay under by an heavy Burden of Debt, which he wanted Means to discharge. He offered to lay before them the yearly Establishment, by which it would appear, that when the constant and unavoidable Charge was paid, there would remain no Overplus, even towards discharging such Contingencies, as happened in all Kingdoms, and had been a considerable Charge to him the last Year; a Year in which he had been at perfect Peace with all the World." The Commons hereupon voted a Supply for building one First, 9 Second, and 20 Third Rates; and fixing it at 584,978*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.* to be raised by an Assessment of 17 Months, ordered a like Appropriation as in the precedent Session, and that the Accompts of all Receipts, and the Disbursements for each particular Ship should be transmitted to their House. They resolved likewise to continue the additional Excise for three Years more; but had no sooner done so, than they addressed his Majesty to make Alliances, and to take Measures to preserve the *Netherlands* from a *French* Invasion, and prevent all Dangers to *England* from the Power of the *French* King, and the Progress of his Arms in *Flanders*. The King told them in Answer, that without 600,000*l.* or Credit for that Sum, he could neither speak nor act what was necessary to answer the Ends of their Addresses, without exposing the Kingdom to much greater Dangers. All that the Commons would do to enable him was to allow him to borrow 200,000*l.* on the additional

tional Excise; a Fund given for other Uses, for supporting the yearly Establishment and constant ordinary Charge of the Government, to which it scarce served to make the ordinary Revenue equal in a Year of the least Expence. Thus was the King to be run more and more in Debt, and to encumber his ordinary Revenue with new Anticipations: The Parliament would grant no more than the Supplies before mentioned, and broke up *May* 28, 1677.

They met again on *Jan.* 28, 1677-8, when the the King acquainted them, “ that he had made
 “ Alliances with *Holland* for the Preservation of
 “ *Flanders*, which could not well fail of being efec-
 “ tual for that End, unless prevented by the Want
 “ of due Assistance to support those Alliances: And
 “ then representing the Necessity of a great Force
 “ by Sea and Land for that Purpose, declared his
 “ Readiness to remove all Fears of misapplying
 “ their Money, and his Wishes that it might be
 “ appropriated as strictly as they could desire. He
 “ next informed them of his Care, and the Pro-
 “ gress he had made in building the new Ships;
 “ which to render them the more useful, he had
 “ caused to be made of such larger Dimensions, as
 “ would cost him above 100,000 *l.* more than the
 “ Act allowed; that he had gone as far as he could
 “ in repairing the old Fleet, and in buying neces-
 “ sary Stores for the Navy and Ordnance: And in
 “ this and other Provisions for better securing his
 “ Foreign Plantations, and the Islands nearer
 “ Home, he had expended a great deal more than
 “ the 200,000 *l.* they had enabled him to borrow
 “ on the Excise; that he had borne the Charge
 “ both of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a new War
 “ with *Algiers*; that he stood engaged with the
 “ Prince of *Orange* for his Neice’s Portion; and
 “ should

“ should not be able to maintain his constant necessary Establishment, unless the new Impost upon Wines, &c. (which had been given for 9 Years) were continued.”

The Commons hereupon, resolved on *Feb. 6*, and 8; that 90 Men of War and 26 Regiments of Foot, of 1000 Men each, 4 of Horse, 490 each, and 2 of Dragoons, of 960 Men each; were necessary to support the Alliance with *Holland*, to preserve the *Low-Countries*, and lessen the Power of *France*: And passed on *March 8*, a Poll-Bill, with a strict Appropriation of the Money to the Service of the *French War*, and a Prohibition of *French Commodities*. The King fitted out this Fleet, and raised the Army in a Months Space; and by *March 10*, had embarked 10000 Men for *Flanders*, which was going to be swallowed up by the *French King*, who had just taken *Ghent* and *Ipres*; but upon the Arrival of these Forces thought fit to send his Army back to their Quarters; and made such Offers for a Cessation till *July 27*, as were likely to end in a general Peace; to which the *Dutch* were so violently inclined, that they resolved to make a separate one, rather than they would continue a War, which they were unable to support any longer. The King on this Occasion laid his Alliances, even the secret Articles thereof, before them. The Commons were for an immediate War with *France*; which till the issue of the Treaty was known, was not either for the Interest of *England*, or the King's Safety to engage in alone. He suffered great Inconveniencies, by not being repaid the 200,000 *l.* he had borrowed on the additional Excise, to provide Stores, and make the necessary Preparations for a War in Consequence of his Alliances; and yet that Sum was not a Third Part of what would be necessary for Stores and Provisions, if a War was actually

ally begun. The Commons had promised to repay that Money; but though they knew his Majesty's Distress, did not take it into their Consideration till *June*, when they appointed a special Committee to examine into the Accompts of the Disbursements thereof, and also to consider of lessening the Charge of the Navy. Mr. *Powle* was Chairman of this Committee, and reported from it on *June 17*, that the 200,000 *l.* had been expended for the extraordinary of the Ordnance, and that 463,641 *l.* 16 *s.* 2 *d.* had been expended on the Navy, besides what was due for Wages, Stores, Repairs, &c. 'Twas from this Committee, that the same Gentleman reported, what I have formerly quoted, in Relation to the ordinary Charge of the Navy in Times of Peace, *viz.* that it amounted to 360,000 *l.* a Year; besides Extraordinaries and Contingencies; such as in 1676, when 44,551 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* was laid out in Fortifications. The King hoping that the Commons were by this Report convinced, how unequal his ordinary Revenue was to the constant ordinary Charges of the Government, represented the next Day to the Houses. "How impossible it was for him, with a Revenue so impaired as his was, by Debts long since contracted, and by the present Anticipations, and so disproportioned to that of all his Neighbours, even to that of *Holland*, to support the Dignity of the Crown; and therefore if they would have him support such a War as *Algiers* with Honour, and at the same Time keep such Fleets about our own Coast, as might give our Neighbour the Respect always paid this Crown, they must not only settle for his Life the Revenue and the *additional Duties*, as at *Christmas* last; but find a Way to add to it 300,000 *l.* a Year upon some new Funds." The Commons absolutely rejected the Motion for the 300,000 *l.* a Year; but could not refuse to continue the *additional*

Duties on Wines, not for Life, but only for Three Years; which might bring in about 60,000*l.* a Year; and having passed likewise an Act for raising 619,380*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* by a Twelve Months Assessment, for paying the Navy, Army, and Princeis of Orange's Portion, were prorogued on *July 15, 1678.*

They met again on the 21st of *October* following; when his Majesty acquainted them "with the great Disappointment he had been under by the Defect of the Poll-Bill; that his Revenue was under great Anticipations, and *at best never had been equal to the constant and necessary Expence of the Government*; that he would order the whole State of it be laid before them, and required them to examine into it, and take it into their Consideration." The Commons knew all this very well; but they did not care to ease the King of any of his Difficulties: They passed a Bill for 206,462*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* for paying the Army; but the Lords making Amendments to it, they rejected them; the Bill was lost and the Parliament prorogued on *Dec. 30, 1678,* and soon after dissolved.

A new Parliament meeting on *March 6,* the King acquainted the House: "That he had disbanded as much of the Army as he could get Money to do, and was willing to disband the rest, as soon as they should reimburse what they had cost him, and would enable him to pay off the Remainder, and desired them likewise to pay off that part of the Fleet, which had been provided for by Parliament, but for no longer Time than to *June*; as also to discharge the Debt for Stores, which had been occasioned by the Poll-Bills falling short of the Sum for which the Act gave Credit". He next recommended to them to discharge the Anticipations on his Revenue, which he had commanded to be laid before them; "and

“ and though he desired such an Increase of the
 “ Revenue *as might make it equal to his necessary Ex-*
 “ *pences,* yet by reason of some other Supplies be-
 “ ing absolutely necessary, he was content to strug-
 “ gle with that Difficulty a little while longer, ex-
 “ pecting only for the present to have the addi-
 “ tional Duties on the Customs and Excise pro-
 “ longed to him, and that they would make up
 “ the Loss he daily sustained by the Prohibition of
 “ *French Wines and Brandy,* which turned only to
 “ his Prejudice and the Advantage of the *French.*
 “ He went on to represent the Necessity of a good
 “ Strength at Sea for the following Summer, on
 “ account of the naval Preparations making by
 “ our Neighbours, and recommended such a con-
 “ stant Establishment for the Navy, as might make
 “ the Kingdom not only safe but formidable;
 “ which could never be done as long as there was
 “ not Revenue enough remaining besides, to pay
 “ the necessary Charges of the Crown”. The
 Chancellor, in his Speech, insisted on the Difficul-
 ties the King was under, by having exhausted his
 Treasury in going as far as he could in disbanding
 the Army, which was very much, though not fully
 done; the Charge of a Fleet that wanted to be paid
 off after long Service; the Necessity of another for
 the Summer; and the Defectiveness of the Revenue
 which had been always short of the necessary
 Charges of the Government, and the Expediency
 of taking off the Debts and Anticipations thereof,
 as well as of supplying the Diminution of the Cu-
 stoms, which made it still narrower than it was ori-
 ginally. The Commons had Views of their own,
 which they hoped to carry by continuing the King
 under his Necessities; so that without attempting or
 shewing a Disposition to do any Thing that might
 help to relieve him, they passed an Act for 206,462 *l.*
 17 *s.* 3 *d.* to disband the Army; a Sum not ade-
quate

quate to the Service, when proposed in the last Parliament; and much too little to pay off the Forces after so much longer a Continuance on Foot. This had the Royal Assent on *May 9, 1679*, and the Parliament was prorogued soon after, and dissolved.

By that Act Sir *Thomas Player*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, and the Colonels *Birch* and *Whitley*, were appointed to disband the Army; but it appears by the Commons Journal of *July 16, 1689*, that the Money given by the Act fell very much short of answering the End for which it was given, and that there was still due *108,588 l. 17 s. 11 d.* and one or other of the said Commissioners had given Certificates for *54,390 l. 4 s.* which they had not Money to discharge. Nor did the next Parliament, which met on *Oct. 21, 1680*, take any Step towards supplying this Deficiency, or clearing any of the Anticipations which his Majesty had made of his Revenue for the public Service, or even for the preserving of *Tangier*, which the King told them over and over, he must be necessitated to quit, unless they would enable him to maintain the Garrison, it being impossible for him, with so scanty and encumbered a Revenue, to support the Charge. They were too much taken up with the Bill of Exclusion to mind any Thing else; and the *Oxford* Parliament following the Measures of this, the King had no other Supply to the End of his Reign:

From this historical Account of the Taxes in *Charles's* Time, it is clear that the constant ordinary Revenue of *1,200,000 l.* a Year, had it been really given, was never equal to the ordinary and necessary Charges of the Government; that it did at first fall short of that Sum above *400,000 l.* a Year; that after the *Hearth-money* was granted, it still fell short above *300,000 l.* for two Years and an half, and *260,000 l.* after that Duty was improved; that no Attempt was made to supply this Deficiency 'till

1670,

1670, when the additional Excise on Beer, and the Duties on Law Proceedings were granted; and an Impost on Tobacco and foreign Commodities, which would have made it up effectually, was also intended, but unfortunately lost by the Lords Amendments to it; that by this last Bill's not passing, there was a considerable Deficiency still left; and the other two being but temporary, granted only for 9 Years, and expiring in *May* and *June* 1680, the Deficiency became afterwards full as great as it had been before 1670; that with this scanty Revenue, he was to provide not only for the Civil List, and the ordinary naval and military Establishments, but also for several extraordinary Services; such as that of *Ireland* for the first 6 Years after his Restoration; that of *Dunkirk* to the End of 1662; that of *Tangier*, and a perpetual War with the *Moors* from the Beginning of 1662 to *April* 1684, when the Governor and Garrison of that Place returned Home; and that of a War with the *Algerines* or other *Turkish* and *Saly Rovers*, which obliged him to maintain a Squadron of Ships in the *Mediterranean* for about 18 of the 25 Years that passed from the Restoration to his Death; that he had no Supplies given him for any of these Services, and even what were granted for the first War against *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*, and for the latter against *Holland* alone, were vastly short of the necessary Expences therein; that during the former of those Wars, he suffered vast Losses in his ordinary Revenue by the casual Calamities of the Plague and Fire of *London*, (having on that Account abated in his Customs alone 351,476 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *d.* to the Farmers of that Revenue,) as well as by the Diminution which such Wars necessarily occasioned in his Customs; and that no Supplies were given him by Parliament, either to repair these Losses, or to reimburse the extraordinary Expences, in which he was necessarily engaged

engaged by those Wars, and which added exceedingly to the immense Debts contracted before his Time, that he was loaded with immediately upon his Restoration; which the Deficiency of his ordinary Revenue could only serve to increase continually. Whoever considers these Things cannot but see, that the blending of the public Charges of the Kingdom with the Civil List, and putting both upon the ordinary Revenue; far from being of Advantage to K. *Charles* (as the *By-Stander* pretends) was the utter Ruin of his Affairs, and unavoidably caused the Dissipation of the patrimonial Estate of the Crown; an Effect which probably it was from the first intended to produce. That Prince would have been much more happy than he was; had he enjoyed (exclusive of the public Charges of the Nation) but half the Revenue of the present Civil List; the Funds of which, since the Addition of 70,000 *l.* a Year upon the Brandy Act, I have heard very knowing Men compute a 1,200,000 *l.* a Year.

It may not be improper here to compute all the Money that was raised upon the People of *England* in King *Charles's* Reign, exclusive of the Restoration Year, when all that was given was not sufficient to pay off the Debts of the late Usurpers; and the King's Revenue was not settled, the Funds given for it not taking Place 'till *Christmas* 1660. Now it appears from former Calculations, (of the *By-Stander's* own making,) that the Customs, Excise, Post-Office, and Wine-Licences produced 652,952 *l.* a Year, and in 24 Years from 1661 to 1684 both inclusive

	15,670,846	0	0
TheHearth-money for 2 Years } and a half, to 1664	250,000	0	0
Ditto from 1665 to 1684, at } 160,000 <i>l.</i> a Year	3,200,000	0	0
Additional Excise for 9 Years	990,000	0	0
			Duty

	l.	s.	d.
Duty on Law-Proceedings for } 9 Years, at 80,000 l. a Year } To these must be added the } extraordinary Grants of Par- } liament, as before mention- } ed, viz. }	720,000	0	0
1661 By Assessment, volun- } tary Present, and Arrears }	1,640,000	0	0
1662 Prize-monies	20,000	0	0
1663 Subsidy Act	360,000	0	0
1664 Land-Tax	2,477,500	0	0
1665 Aid	1,250,000	0	0
1666 Poll-Bill and Assessments	1,756,347	13	10
1668 Duty on Wines and Bran- } dies }	310,000	0	0
1669 Impost on Wine and Vi- } negar }	400,000	0	0
1670 Land-Tax of 1 s. in the } Pound }	600,000	0	0
167 $\frac{2}{3}$ Monthly Assessments	1,238,750	0	0
1677 For building 30 Men } of War }	0584,978	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1678 { By additional Duty on } Wine at 60,000 l. a } Year }	180,000	0	0
{ By Monthly Assessments	619,380	11	6
1680 Ditto	206,462	17	3
	32,474,265	4	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

This Sum of 32,474,265 l. 4 s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$, which was all that was raised upon the People of *England*, by all manner of Taxes whatever, in the 24 Years of King *Charles's* actual Possession of the Government, doth not one Year with another, amount to full *One Million; three Hundred and fifty three Thousand, ninety-five*

Y

by-five Pounds a Year. I differ indeed in this Point very widely from the *By-Stander*, who (p. 86.) states the King's Civil List alone, exclusive of all Disbursements for public Charges at 1,735,900 *l.* a Year; but my State thereof is fully proved by the Premises, in which I have refuted the *By-Stander's* false Calculations, and shewn the Reasons of my own, (wherever I differ from him) by undoubted Authorities, drawn either from Acts of Parliament, or the Journals of the House of Commons, which I have cited faithfully, and defy all Mankind to find me tripping in a single Quotation. The World will be perhaps surprized, after all the Clamours and Calumnies thrown out of late against his Person and Reign, to find how little *K. Charles* cost this Nation, and with how inconsiderable an Expence for so rich a People he maintained all his Wars, and carried on all the Affairs of Government. The Crown-Lands, his own Patrimony, indeed paid for it, being sacrificed to the public Charges of the Nation, and the easing of his Subjects; and if he was by terrible Necessities, of which the Debts of the late Rebellion and Usurpation laid the Foundation, forced to that Sale, and to some other Steps, not more offensive to those that censure them most, than disagreeable to himself; Men of Equity, Candour, and Humanity, will not find therein so much Matter to be severe on his Conduct, as Reason to let their Indignation fall with its full Weight upon those that were the Contrivers or Authors of his Necessities, and upon those too, who (like the *By-Stander*) do now so outrageously insult his Memory.

As that Writer is fond of comparing that Prince's Times with those that have followed the Revolution; let us examine what have been the Expences of the Nation since that Event. To be as short in doing this as possible, and because the Journals and Votes for some Years after the Revolution, do not specify

specify the particular Sums given for particular Services, so distinctly as hath been done since, so that it would take up Time to settle every Article of a new Calculation, I take it for King *William's* Reign, from the Computation made by the Author of the *Historical Account of Taxes since the Conquest* (p. 350.) who founds it upon the Receipts of the several Taxes between *Nov. 5, 1688,* and *Michaelmas 1700,* which came to *65,987,566 l. 17 s. 8 d.* and then adding the Impositions for the Year and half afterwards to the Death of that Prince, he makes the whole that was raised on the Nation in that Reign, amount to *Seventy Millions.* And this Calculation is the rather to be depended on, because it seems agreeable to what is said in the Address of the House of Commons to *Q. Anne* on *Feb. 12, 1702,* after they had at her Desire inspected into the Accompts of all public Receipts and Payments of her Subjects. They represent in it, “ that *45,568,725 l. 19 s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$,* (a Sum never known to be raised in very many Reigns before) had been levied on the Subject, and issued out of the *Exchequer* for the Service of the late War to Pay-masters and Treasurers between *Nov. 5, 1688,* and *March 8, 1701,* besides the several Millions of Money that were raised for other public Uses; yet the far greatest Part thereof had not been accounted for to that Day, to the great Dissatisfaction of the People, and great Dishonour of the *Engl^{sh}* Nation.” These several Millions given for other public Uses besides the War, and thirteen Years and a half's Produce of the Civil List Funds, seem to make up the rest of the *Seventy Millions.*

The same Author (p. 360,) after recounting the several Taxes laid upon the Nation in *Queen Anne's* Time, computes the Money levied upon the Subject in her Reign to amount to eighty Millions; so that in the first 26 Years after the Revolution, there

were *an hundred and fifty Millions* given to the Crown, near five Times more than had been granted in the 24 Years of King *Charles* the Second's Reign. This Calculation, which he founds upon the Taxes and their Produce, is still less than what I find by the Votes of the House of Commons in that Princess's Time, touching the Sums given in each Session for the Service of the ensuing Year: The Totals of which, tho' a dry Work for a Man not used to Accounts, I have endeavoured to cast up; and they appear to me for their respective Years to be as follows.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For the Service of 1702	3,582,788	4	4
_____ 1703	3,517,957	7	2
_____ 1704	4,007,329	8	6
_____ 1705	5,244,941	3	10
_____ 1706	5,151,460	16	2
_____ 1707	5,893,381	15	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
_____ 1708	6,026,845	18	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
_____ 1709	6,332,038	10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
_____ 1710	4,969,432	16	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
_____ 1711	14,573,244	5	4
_____ 1712	5,378,319	19	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
_____ 1713	2,899,233	3	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
_____ 1714	2,689,533	5	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
Total	70,266,506	14	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

It may very well be supposed, that in making out of the *Journals* those Extracts which are to be printed in the *Votes*, the Clerks may sometimes overlook an Article, when several Resolutions of a Committee for Supply, all generally beginning with the like Words, are reported together; so that probably more Sums were voted than are here mentioned. I find particularly that in the Sessions
of

of 1703, the Charge of the Ordinary of the Navy is omitted ; as is also in that of 1709, the Charge of our Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, which in the Year before amounted to near 1,100,000 *l.* and in the Year following to 1,500,000 *l.* yet nothing is put down for those Omissions. Nor have I put down any Thing for the 140,000 *l.* a Year for 32 Years, set a-part by a Vote of *May* 3, 1711, for the raising of 1,500,000 *l.* though it seems to me part of the Debt then provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, and without it the Debts which that Bill was to secure do not amount to the nine Millions therein mentioned. Notwithstanding all this, if we add the Funds appropriated to the Civil List, and other Charges upon them, at a Million for each of the 13 Years of *Queen Anne*, this with the Total abovementioned, will amount to above *eighty-three Millions* ; so that in about 26 Years, which passed from the Revolution to the Death of *Queen Anne*, there was raised upon the Nation near *five times as much as was raised in the 24 Years of King Charles the Second.*

It must be said indeed, that the Revolution was followed with Wars very expensive of themselves, and rendered much more so by the Management thereof. It may be proper therefore to consider, what Sums have been raised in the peaceful Times which we have had, since the Protestant Succession took Place. Now from the Death of *Queen Anne*, I find by the Votes, the following Sums have been raised by the Nation, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For 1715	2,946,916	6	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1716	3,122,959	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1717	3,674,107	13	5
1718	2,514,075	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
			For

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For 1719	3,362,576	17	1
1720	3,623,537	14	9
1721	2,647,127	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1722	2,923,108	18	0
1723	2,043,051	17	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1724	1,861,838	6	3
1725	1,823,229	4	9
1726	2,937,132	18	4
1727	2,998,104	11	0
1728	4,333,666	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1729	3,149,499	0	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1730	2,281,190	17	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1731	3,682,838	10	4
1732	1,782,700	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1733	2,004,806	13	6
1734	3,870,230	17	4
1735	3,150,452	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1736	2,141,552	18	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1737	3,025,172	9	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1738	3,388,596	4	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1739	2,728,363	10	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1740	3,748,713	15	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1741	2,734,429	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1742 granted	6,100,000	0	0
Total		85,600,039	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

In this Account of Grants, I have omitted all Grants of Annuities for Lives, and for an indefinite Number of Years, as well because I could not easily ascertain the just Value thereof, as because I did not care to swell the Amount of these Taxes, to more than it certainly is, or to leave any room for Cavil. 'Tis for this last Reason, that I have put down the gross Sum of the Grants for 1738, only at 3,388,596 *l.* 4 *s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*; because I did not observe

observe in the Votes, that the particular Sums voted, amounted to more: though the *Historical Register* for that Year, pag. 176, in the Speech, which is ascribed to the Speaker at the End of the Session, shews that there were above 3,750,000*l.* granted for the Fleets and Armies, besides a Million to discharge as much of the National Debt; and the Taxes laid that Session agree with the Sum mentioned in that Speech. I am indeed apt to think, that in turning over the Votes, I have overlooked several Articles, which would have considerably augmented the vast Sum which is put above, as the total of the yearly Supplies for 28 Years past; however, as it stands, it does with the Revenue arising from the Funds of the Civil List for the same Number of Years, (which being computed below their real Value, and only at Million a Year, arise to 28 Millions, amount to *one Hundred and thirteen Millions, six Hundred Thousand Thirty-nine Pounds, Three Shillings and Two-pence Half-penny.* A Sum above three Times more than all that King *Charles* received from his Subjects in his whole Reign, or would have received, if he had lived four Years longer to make up 28 Years, at the *Medium* of the Revenue and Taxes in his Time. It hath been already observed, what prodigious Fleets King *Charles* was obliged to fit out, and what bloody Engagements happened in his six Years War with *Holland*: What vast Expences for the repairs of Ships, these must occasion, it is easy for every Body to conceive. In some of those Years, he had *Denmark* and *France* too for his Enemies; and in the other 18 Years of his Government (scarce one excepted) he was continually at War with the *Moors*, the *Algerines* and other *Turkish* Rovers: Yet the *Medium* of the Taxes in his Time, came but to about *Thirteen Hundred Fifty-three Thousand Pounds a Year.* Whereas in the last 28 Years, in which we have enjoyed the

Blessing, and might have thriven by the Arts, of Peace; in which we have had no Foreign War to employ Land-Forces, nor any Sea-Engagement, but what I would; as willingly as the late Earl *Stanhope*, draw a Veil over for the sake of the *English* Name; the Action in 1718, off the Coast of *Sicily* excepted, the *Medium* of our Taxes has been at the Rate of above *Four Millions* a Year; and this, though the Nation hath all the while laboured under an heavy Debt of of about *Fifty Millions*, and paid for a long Time a great deal more; but never less, than *Two Millions* a Year for the Interest thereof.

It must be owned indeed; and I have before proved, that the 1,353,000 *l.* a Year with which King *Charles* maintained all his Wars, and supported all the Charges of the Nation, was too small a Revenue to defray such extraordinary Expences, and provide likewise for the ordinary public Charges of the Government. He did all he could to make it hold out, retrenching about 3 Years after his Restoration the public Tables, which all the Kings of *England* before him had kept for the great Officers of their Court, (who in lieu thereof were allowed the Board-Wages which they enjoy at present,) and looking carefully himself into the Management of his Treasury, wherein by that Means he was very well served all his Reign. His ordinary Revenue was 300,000 *l.* a Year deficient of that Sum: He desired, in 1678, the House of Commons to supply him with that additional Income, which would have enabled him to support the Dignity of the Crown, and secure, as he wished, the Trade, Reputation, and Interests of the Nation; but had the Mortification to be refused. The People of *England* were in those Days much better secured from being oppressed with Taxes, by the usual Frugality of Parliaments, than they are now, by the Appropriations so much cry'd up by the *By-Stander*,
above

above what we see in the Effects of this Method. It was practised, as hath been shewn, even in King *Charles's* Time; but it did not then hinder Parliaments from enquiring by select Committees into every Estimate laid before them, into all the Disbursements of public Money, into every Branch of the Revenue, and into every Article of Expence, even those of secret Service; with all the Strictness imaginable. Nor did the King ever obstruct these Inquiries, so necessary for the Satisfaction of the People; and to make them pay the public Taxes without murmuring. He had no Interest separate from that of his Subjects; no Desire stronger in him than to be well with his People, and to make them rich, flourishing, and happy. Far therefore from observing a Conduct, that would naturally inspire a Jealousy of his Measures and Designs, he thanked his Parliaments on some Occasions for these Inquiries; and on others; recommended it to them to make them with all the Rigour imaginable; assuring them of his Readiness to give up any Minister of his, who should; in the Course of their Inquiries; be found guilty of any Misdemeanor.

The lavish World never look into Accounts; whereas Parsimony in giving necessarily produceth Economy in Management, and is ever attended with a strict Inquisition into the Application of Money. Such was the Spirit, and such the Conduct of Parliaments in King *Charles's* Time: They gave little, and looked narrowly into the Application of that little. They appropriated likewise their Grants on several Occasions, in some of which they appointed Commissioners of their own naming, to dispose of the Money according to such Appropriations, and in others they examined with such Severity into the Violation thereof, that Sir *Edw. Seymour*, Treasurer of the Navy, was impeached * for having

* See Commons Journal, Nov. 20, 1680.

misapplied part of the Money given for building Ships, and diverted it to other Uses.

These Measures proved then an effectual Security for the right Employment of the public Money; I wish the same could be said of the Appropriations since the Revolution; which coming to be considered as *Things of Course*, are exposed to the same Fate, as others of that Kind generally meet with, that of not being minded, and degenerating at last into meer Form. It hath been an old Observation, verified by too constant Experience, with regard to the *English*, that they do not want good Laws, but suffer for want of those Laws being put in Execution. The Methods of Accompting, and all the Rules established in our Treasury by Act of Parliament, are undoubtedly very good; and yet they have been continually violated with Impunity; and (as appears by the Votes of *April 24, 1711*.) have not hindered an Arrear of a great part of 35 Millions in the Accompts. The Votes of *May 15*, in the same Year assure us, that notwithstanding our modern Appropriations, a Sum of above 600,000 *l.* given for one Use, had been diverted to another, without any Deductions made in the Charge of this late Article; and that this Misapplication of the public Money, had been very prejudicial to the Service of the Nation; so that what the *By-Stander* says, p. 35, that no Minister in his Senses will be guilty of a Breach of such Appropriations, is meerly trifling, when Matter of Fact proves the contrary. Supplies have been usually granted for each Service, upon the Estimates delivered in to the House of Commons by the proper Officers concerned in those Services: And yet the same *Votes* assure us, that *the public Expences have been increased beyond the Supplies annually granted by Parliament*, and that *this hath been the chief Occasion of the Debts of the Nation, and an Invasion of the Rights of Parliament.*

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The *By-Stander* lays a great Stress upon every Article of public Service being subject to the Discussion of Parliament; but what signifies this, if Parliament; do not enter into this Discussion? When hath such a Discussion been made? When have Commissioners, in the 28 Years last past, been ever appointed for taking and examining into public Accompts? In King *Charles's* Time Parliaments enquired by *select Committees* into the Truth of Estimates, and into the Disbursements of public Money; but when is it in our Days that Estimates presented to the House have been referred to such Committees? We have known Motions for appointing them to consider some of these Estimates, and to examine into the Disbursements of particular Sums, rejected. The general Method of late hath been to order them to lie on the Table to be perused by the Members, or to refer them to a Committee of the whole House, whose usual Business does not lead them so much to state and examine into Facts, as to take them for granted, and proceed accordingly. And as to the Perusal of the Members, I do not remember above one Instance in which it proved of any Benefit to the Nation, *viz.* when the late Mr. *Hutchinson*, in 1718, took the Pains of examining into the Charge of Half-pay Officers, and published his Remarks thereon; by which he saved the Kingdom 30,000 *l.* in that Article: Yet I never heard that his Success ever encouraged any other Person to follow his Example, or prevailed to have such Estimates put into any other Method. In short, general Estimates and Accompts are very seldom, if ever, instructive; so that it is scarce possible to form a Judgment upon them, 'till the Particulars come to be examined, which is the Business of a special Committee; and when none such are appointed, when Estimates and Accompts have passed as it were of Course, for many Years together, without any Ex-

amination, it is not easy for a Man of common thereby Sense to imagine, what Check or Restraint is laid upon any Minister, who is minded to sink or misapply the public Money; especially when if he should have the ill Luck to be discovered, he may still reasonably enough expect to escape with Impunity; since our late History scarce furnishes us with a single Instance of a particular Offender of this Kind being punished, even when a Censure hath been passed on the Crime and Offenders in general.

These Reasons incline me to think, that we were much better guarded against Embezzlements and Misapplications of public Money, in King *Charles's* Time, than we are at present: And if we appeal to Experience, it will confirm us in this Opinion. Our Taxes were then small; our Commerce continually improving; and the Nation daily increasing in Wealth; we find the Case now to be otherwise. The *By-Stander*, p. 104, quotes Dr. *Davenant*, for saying, "that it was agreed by old and experienced Merchants, that we had near double the Tonnage of trading Ships in 1688, to what we had in 1660; that our Furniture of all Kinds was greatly improved in the Quantity and Richness of it; and to instance only in Plate, there was more wrought for private Families from 1666 to 1688, than had been worked for 200 Years before; and that our Manufactures in general were increasing from 1660 to 1688, and various new ones beginning to be established." The *By-Stander* also, p. 92, quotes the same Author, for saying in his *Discourses of the public Revenues*, Vol. II. p. 33. "that the Coin of *England* at the Restoration was 14 Millions"; he might have quoted him for the Increase of our Coin *four Millions and an half* within the same Period of Time; for the Dr. says, 3 Pages afterwards, viz. p. 36, "that our Coin at the Revolution was augmented to eighteen Millions,"

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“ six hundred thousand Pounds Sterling ”; such a Sum had a flourishing Trade (which King Charles was ever careful to encourage) brought into the Kingdom. If the Case be different now; if our Coin diminishes, our Manufactures fail, and our Trade decays, the same Dr. Davenant assigns a Reason in his *Essay on the Methods to make a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, p. 168. “ This (says he) may be laid down for a certain Truth, that *England* will never flourish in Trade and Manufactures, till the greatest Part of them (*i. e.* our Funds for paying Debts) are cleared, and till our Affairs are brought to such a Posture, that we may not pay to the Government, either for the Support of the Crown, or on Account of Funds, where the Principal is sunk, above 2,300,000 *l. per Annum*; which was our Condition before the War,” (which began at the Revolution.) How remote a Prospect we have of bringing Things to that pass, is evident to every one who considers that, besides the Taxes assigned for discharging the Interest of Debts, and the sinking Fund intended for paying off the Principal, which raise above 3,600,000 *l.* a Year; and those appropriated to an higher Civil List, than was ever known in former Times, we seldom pay less than two Millions every Year to maintain an useless Standing-Army, and to support the Fleet and other Public Charges; and upon an extraordinary Occasion, as particularly this Year, no less than *Ten Millions Sterling* is on all these Accounts raised on the Nation. But how unlikely soever it be, every Lover of his Country ought to employ his Thoughts, and use his Endeavours for bringing it to that happy State.

The *By-Stander*, p. 99, tells us, that the Revenue for the Civil List, and the Public Charges of the Government at the Time of King James's Abdication,

cation, amounted in all to *Two Millions, Sixty-one Thousand, two Hundred Fifty-five Pounds*: Yet even in this he exceeds, in Compliance with an unfortunate Habit which will not allow him to state any Thing truly. The correcting his false Calculations in the former Reign, hath taken up so much Time, that I shall only on this Occasion observe, that he seems to have taken his Account of the 6th, 7th and 8th Articles, relating to the Impost on Wines and Vinegar, Tobacco and Sugar, *French Linen, Brandy and Silk*, from the Journal of the Commons of *March 1, 1688-9*; where (abating the odd Shillings) they are computed respectively as he charges them; only it is not said that they produced those Sums exclusive of the Charge of Collection; that the same Journal affirms the *Medium* of the whole Excise in King *James's* four Years, was 610,486 *l.* a Year, that of the Post-Office 55,000 *l.* and that of Hearth-Money 200,000 *l.* and the small Branches (of which the Wine-Licences are part) 26,350 *l.*; so that deducting 55,897 *l.* overcharged in the 2d Article of the Excise; 45,000 *l.* out of the Hearth-Money; 10,000 *l.* out of the Post-Office, and 43,650 *l.* out of the small Branches and Wine-Licences; King *James's* Revenue will be reduced to 1,907,308 *l.* a Year. It appears likewise from the Journals of *March 20*, and *April 27*, that the constant annual Expence of King *James* in the Government, was about 1,700,000 *l.* a Year; the Particulars whereof are there specified; besides 50,000 *l.* a Year to the Queen Consort; 18,200 *l.* to Queen Dowager, and 40,000 *l.* a Year to the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*; in all 1,808,200 *l.* a Year. To which it must be added, that the Impost on Tobacco and Sugars, was granted chiefly to discharge the Debts due at King *Charles's* Death to his Servants; and it appears from the Journal of *July 19, 1689*, that 300,000 *l.* of these Debts

Debts

Debts had been paid by King *James* out of this Impost. The others upon Wine and *French* Linen, were given either for the King's extraordinary Charges in suppressing *Monmouth's* Rebellion, or for Repairs of the Navy, and supplying the Stores which were exhausted; and how carefully they were employed for this Purpose, appears clearly from a Book called, *The Oeconomy of his Majesty's Navy-Office*, wrote by an Officer of the Navy, and printed in 1717; at a Time when no Officer could make his Court by speaking advantageously of King *James II*: Yet this Author tells us, " that the
 " whole Navy was fully repaired by that King, and
 " a compleat Provision of 8 Months Sea Stores
 " actually provided, and left in distinct and proper
 " Repositories for each Ship so repaired. Besides
 " there was laid up in Magazine such a further
 " Reserve, for answering the general Service of
 " the Navy, as amounted in 8 Species only there-
 " of (being all Foreign Commodities and of the
 " highest Importance, *viz.* Hemp, Pitch, Tar,
 " Rosin, Canvas, Iron, Oil and Wood) to above
 " 100,000 *l*: And more Magazines erected for
 " preserving of the said Stores, than had ever been
 " before by all the Kings of *England* put to-
 " gether."

The House of Commons of that King's Time, was perhaps the best constituted of any that ever met in *England*, not only with Regard to the merit of the Members, but in Respect of their Qualities and Estates, it being composed chiefly of Gentlemen of the most ancient Families in the Kingdom, and who had the natural Interest of the Places for which they served. This Parliament well knowing the Distresses to which King *Charles* had been put through the Deficiency of his Revenue, resolved to make it up to his Brother, so that it might answer the necessary Charges of the Government;

and (besides the Imposts on Wines, Tobacco and *French* Linen, which were only Temporary, and for a few Years to supply his extraordinary Occasions) gave him the additional Excise added to the former ordinary Revenue for his Life. The Excise had been taken out of Farm in the two last Years of King *Charles*, and began to be improved: It was in King *James's* Time still more improved by Management, and yielded 148,789 *l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* more than it did in his Brother's Reign: And yet with this Improvement, and the additional Excise; his whole ordinary Revenue amounted but to a little more than 1,400,000 *l.* a Year; a Burthen which; though Hearth-Money made a Part of it, the Nation would hardly now-a-days think to be insupportable.

I have fully shewn what King *Charles* suffered from the Deficiency of his; and shall be always ready to maintain the Position I have advanced, that there is not a Step in his Reign; by which it can be pretended the Nation suffered either in its Interest or Glory, but was purely the Result of those Necessities, in which I have shewn how he was involved. It was Indignation to see his Memory so unworthily treated, that hath now made me take Pen in Hand to do Justice to the Conduct of the most amiable Prince that ever sat upon the *English* Throne, from whose Presence; whilst living; no Man ever went away disobliged. And if the *By-Scander* in the 2d Part of his Performance; with which he threatens the World, should think fit to exercise his Talent of Misrepresentation upon him again, he must not be surprized, if a Person, who engages in the Vindication of deceased Princes with as much Zeal, as ever prompted the most obsequious Flatterer in any Age to make his Court to the Living, shall call him to the like Accompt, as he has done now; and if that Writer, in his Fondness
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for Comparisons, shall be minded to indulge his *Gout* farther in that Respect, I shall not decline the Task put upon me, however odious it is generally deemed, but shall wait upon him throughout.

I have now done with his Calculations, so far as they are founded upon any Pretence of Facts; and having refuted them, it would be too much to expect I should go through the Drudgery of examining his Visionary Ones, which have no Being or Foundation, but in his own Imagination; such as his Supposition, *pag. 53.* of a Lord of a Manor and his Cottagers. All the Argument that he forms from thence, is grounded upon another Supposition, *viz.* that the People of *England* are grown richer since the Revolution than they were before it; a Supposition, which, to their Sorrow, they cannot take for granted, because they generally feel the contrary. A Man must be an utter Stranger to this City, that does not know the Decay of Trade, and to the Kingdom, if he does not see an universal Face of Poverty upon the common People. The Wealth of a Nation is finite, as well as that of particular Persons: And 'tis really amazing how either could hold out, without being quite exhausted, under such a Burden of Debts and Taxes, as we have been contracting, or have suffered for above half a Century. 'Tis these have almost ruined our Trade and Manufactures; and if no Way be found, or Care taken to reduce them, they must at last make the Nation itself Bankrupt. In the mean Time, Particulars among all Orders of Men, feel the unhappy Effects thereof in their Impoverishment; the Husbandman throws up his Farm, unable to occupy it longer; the Manufacturer wants a Vent for his Goods or Employment to get his Living; the lesser Tradesman fails, and the great Merchant leaves off Business, vainly wishing to resume it in Times more favourable to Commerce. There were

computed last Year in the *West*, above an hundred thousand Workmen in the Woollen Manufacture, that were starving with their Families for want of Work. This has raised the Poor Rates to such a Degree, that in some Places, as at *Stroud* in *Glocestershire*, they pay Twelve Shillings and Sixpence in the Pound to the Poor: And Gentlemen in those Parts would be glad to assign over their Estates to receive but one quarter of their Value, clear of this and all other Taxes. When a Manufacture decays, the Towns where it used to flourish are always sure to suffer in this Respect; but the Calamity is not now confined to them; it is become much more general, and the Poor Rates are vastly increased all over the Kingdom. Gentlemen of great Estates suffer, as well as others, in the general Distress; they suffer in the Loss of their Rents, in their Lands being thrown upon their Hands, in the Price of every Thing that they purchase for the Necessities or Convenience of human Life. Before the Revolution, a Gentleman could keep a more plentiful House, and provide better for his Children, with an Estate of 500 *l.* a Year, than he can do now with 1500 *l.*; and yet the Neighbourhood is apt to expect he should live on the same Estate as hospitably as any of his Ancestors did formerly; not considering what vast Deductions go out of it now, to which they were utter Strangers. Gentlemen likewise are but too apt to fall themselves into the same Mistake; which has often proved fatal to them, and caused, or at least hastened, the Ruin of abundance of ancient Families. Their Lands may be the same, and their Rental equal to that of their Fathers in King *Charles's* Time; but as the Price of all Things, that are not the Product of their Lands, is generally double now to what it was in those Days, their Estates can purchase but half the Quantity thereof, and consequently are diminished one

half

half in their Product, as to all the Conveniencies of Life. They should consider the Land-Tax and the Poor Rates, as so many real Mortgages on their Estates; for such they are in Effect, and (what is worse) not redeemable at Pleasure, but likely to be continued down as a Rent-Charge upon their Posterity. For unless some effectual Method be taken to pay off the Debts, and lessen the constant ordinary Charge of the Government, of which there is but little Prospect; or unless some extraordinary Genius should find out Ways and Means, beyond the Conception of our Modern Projectors; to maintain Fleets and Standing-Armies, and provide for other constant Annual Services, without the Help of Land and Malt-Taxes, these Charges must in all Appearance be transmitted down to succeeding Generations.

This, however it may deserve every Gentleman's serious Reflection, is too melancholly a Subject for a Writer to dwell on; and yet that which the *By-Stander* puts me next upon considering, is not either less deserving of every Man's Attention, or less uncomfortable in the Apprehensions it may naturally create, I mean the excessive Height to which the Power and Influence of the Crown is risen of late Years, especially since the Revolution. This appears in some Measure from what hath been already said of the great Increase of the Civil List, and the immense Sums of Money raised upon the People since that *Æra*; the Management whereof has been put entirely into the Hands of the Crown, without any Restraint from those strict Methods of Enquiry into the Disposal thereof, which were used formerly; and thus its *Power of Money* is vastly increased: Whilst the Nation, loaded with an insupportable of Burden Debts, and exhausted by continual Payments and Contributions, which they have as little Hopes of seeing cease to be raised, as they have Abilities to bear, is falling into a general Dependancy, and a State of

utter Impoverishment. It will appear still more plainly, if we compare our ancient Constitution with the present, and consider the various Alterations, that have happened from time to time in the Affairs, Situation, and Condition of the Kingdom.

In the *Saxon* Times, the King was Sovereign, as well in the Legislature as in the Administration; yet no Laws were made but in a Common Council of the Realm; and the principal Parts of the Administration were in the Hands of the People, tho' the King directed and supervised the whole. For Justice was administered by Lords of Mannors to their Tenants, (which *Tacitus* tells us was the universal Method among the *Germans* in his Time,) and to all Persons whatever in the Hundred and the County-Courts, where the Suitors and Freeholders were Judges. In those Days the Sheriff and the Coroners were the Ordinary, and perhaps the only, Conservators or Justices of the Peace in each County. As for common Nufances and Felonies, they were all cognizable, and determined by the Sheriff in his *Tourn*, except in Case of the Death of a Man; in which the Coroner was Judge *super visum Corporis*; as he was likewise in other Cases, whenever there lay a legal Exception against the Sheriff, whose ordinary Lieutenant he was on such Occasions, as Lord *Coke* tells us, *Inst.* 4. *cb.* 53 and 55. Now these Conservators, the Coroners, and the Sheriffs, were all elected by the Freeholders of the several Counties; so that in a Manner the whole Power of the Magistracy, the Distribution of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws, in civil and criminal Cases, was in the Disposal of the People. Nor was it otherwise in the Case even of the military Power; For though the King was at the Head of it, and could appoint a General in chief to command the Forces of various Counties drawn together to oppose an Enemy; yet in each County the Forces there

there raised were commanded by the *Heteroches*, who were chosen by the Freeholders; as appears from the Laws of King *Edward*, *cap. de Heterochiis*. Accordingly Sir *E. Coke*, in his Comment on the first Statute of *Westminster*, *ch. 10. p. 175.* assures us, “ That the *Heteroches* among the *English Saxons*, “ (which the *Latins* called *Duſtores exercitus*, and “ the *Gauls* ſtilled *Conſtables* or *Mareſchals* of the “ *Army*,) were chosen by Common Council thro’ “ the *Provinces*, and in each *County* in a full *Folke-* “ *mote*; as the *Sheriffs* of *Counties* used also to be “ chosen”. By this means was the greatest Part of the *Military Power*, as well as the *Civil*, vested in the *People*; who were the more ready and capable of exerting both upon any *Occasion*, in virtue of a means of *Union*, which then prevailed and was established by *Law* all over the *Kingdom*, I mean the *Institution* and *Usage* of *Frank-pledges*. This was an excellent *Institution*, and in *Virtue* thereof all the *People* of *England* were in every *County*, *Hundred*, and *Tything*, united together in a *Band* of *Confederacy*; and thereby engaged and resolved to stand by one another in the *Defence* of their *Liberties*; which were by these Means so effectually secured from all *Invasion*, that the *History* of those *Times* scarce affords us a single *Instance* of any *Attempt* of that *Nature*.

Our *Constitution* suffered in this *Respect*, more remarkably than in any other, by the *Alterations* made in it at the *Conquest*; the *Institution* of *Frank-pledges* being then entirely abolished. The *military Power* underwent also some *Alteration*; being put into other *Hands*, though it still remained in those of the *Subject*. The great *Difference* was, that, whereas the *Commanders* of *Forces* were before eligible by the *Counties*, they succeeded afterwards to that *Authority* by *Right* of *Inheritance*; which was after all, some *Security*, and infinitely better than

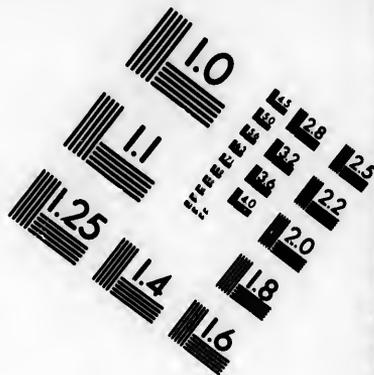
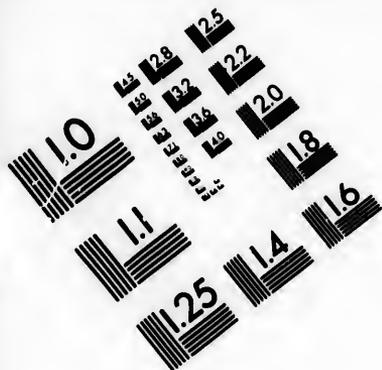
than to have them appointed and removed at Pleasure. *William* the First distributed all the Lands in *England*, (except his own Demefnes,) among his Followers, who held them to themselves and their Heirs, generally by Knights Service; but though their Tenure obliged them to follow the King in his Wars, they did not think it obliged them to submit to be Slaves, after having assisted him with the Hazard of their Lives to reduce the Nation to his Obedience. They formed indeed the military Power of the Kingdom; but this being annexed to their Estates, and both transmitted by hereditary Right to their Descendants, they were as tenacious of their Rights and Liberties, and as zealous in defending them, as the *Saxons* had ever been. The great Offices of the Crown, particularly those of Constable and Marshal, to whom the chief Command of Armies appertained of right in Virtue of those Offices, were also hereditary. There were also various Counties Palatine erected; such as *Chester*, *Cornwall*, *Lancaster*, and afterwards *Ely*, *Durham*, *Pembroke*, &c. the Earls or Chiefs whereof enjoyed as ample an Authority within their respective Districts, as the King himself did in the rest of the Kingdom. Several likewise of the Lords of the *Marches*, as well towards *Wales* as *Scotland*, enjoyed the like Royalties, and were able singly at any Time to draw an Army of seasoned and experienced Warriors into the Field. The other Barons too had great Numbers of Vassals, who were by their Tenures obliged to follow them in War, and were so far justified or excused therein, that when their Lords have been put to Death for Rebellion, they have still been dismissed with Impunity. These great Men were naturally engaged by their Interest to protect their Vassals and Dependants, as well as defend their own Rights, against any Oppression or Invasion attempted by the Crown; and such was
their

their military Power, that whenever they had any Occasion to contend with it, they generally got the better; as may be seen in the History of the Baron's Wars.

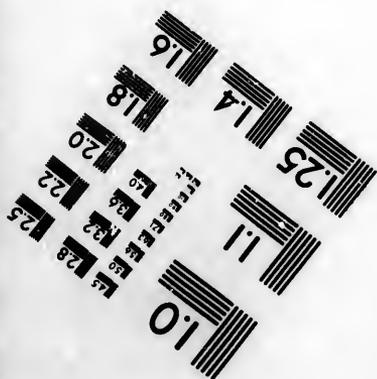
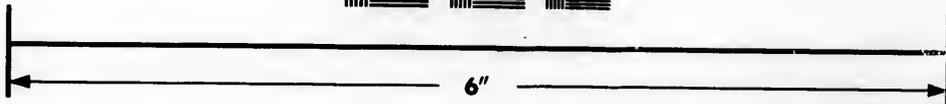
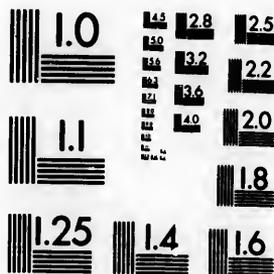
The Crown seems to have had scarce any military Power in those Days, but what depended on the Attachment of some of these Barons to their Prince; unless it be what our Kings derived from the Commissions, which they issued from time to time during our Wars with *France*, (whereof we have frequent Instances in our Records from the Time of *Edward I.* to the latter End of *Henry VI.*) to the Sheriffs, Knights, and most considerable Commoners and experienced Officers, to chuse, array, and lead to a Rendezvous, a certain Number of Archers, Hoblers, and Men at Arms, in the several Counties of the Realm. But still these Commissaries would scarce have been able to have executed their Commission without the Consent of the Barons in those Parts, who, (notwithstanding that most of the Palatinates had fallen into the Crown, and were no longer granted out, but kept united therewith,) did yet continue to retain so much of the military Power, that three or four of them joining together, were able to decide the Fate of the Crown; as appeared in the Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

The lessening of one Power is the aggrandizing of another: And *Henry VII.* having seen by late Experience, how formidable that of the Lords was, resolved to reduce it, in order to increase his own. He durst not attempt it openly, and therefore brought it about in a covert Way, by allowing them a Privilege, (for which they used formerly to pay dear enough,) to alienate their Estates, which were in no long Space of Time generally dissipated: And to lessen their Influence for the present, (by a Policy not unlike what hath been practised in our Time
with





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with regard to the Highlands of *Scotland*,) he endeavoured to lessen the Attachment of the Vassals to their Lords; and by the famous Act of the eleventh of his Reign, provided for their Indemnification, in case they adhered to him or *the King for the Time being*; whereby they were secured from all Forfeiture of their Lands, even though their Lord was of the contrary Party, and they were obliged by their Tenures to follow him in his Hosting, on Pain of Forfeiture, if they neglected. *Hen. VIII.* finished the Work, which his Father had begun, of demolishing the Power of the Barons. The Bishops and Abbots held by *Barony*, and had an infinite Number of Vassals; who, like those of owners, were obliged to follow them or their Lieutenants into the Field: And they had in all Times been strenuous Assertors of the Cause of Liberty, and had, on Occasions of defending it by Arms, generally joined with the Barons. The King got a Parliament to suppress all the Abbeyes and Monasteries, and he found himself Pretences and Means to get almost all the Bishops Manors into his Hands. Thus ended in a manner all the real military Power of the Barons, except what remained in the Hands of 2 or 3 Lords of the *Scotch Marches*, who forfeiting in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it hath been since totally extinguished.

Henry VIII. indeed gave away, or sold for a Trifle, all the Church and Abbey Lands, which coming to be the Property of Commoners, rendered them much more considerable than they were before, and extended their Power, particularly as to the giving of Money in Parliament. But as the Division of Power always makes it less, or less capable of being exerted; as that which in 40 or 50 Hands would have a mighty Influence, comes to have very little when split into as many Thousands, for want of Union among the Parties, through the

Diversity of Opinions, and the Difficulties of forming a Concert between such Numbers, and from the Want of that Reputation, which the declaring of one of those great Lords antiently gave to a Cause, and which encouraged others to join in it, the military Power vested in the Barons did not descend with their Lands to the Commoners, but became a great Accession to the royal Authority. The Lords indeed, who still retained their Estates, and did not leave off at once all their ancient Customs, but kept up the ancient Hospitality, and made their Houses the *Academies*, where all the young Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood received their Education, were taught to ride the great Horse, and bred up in all warlike Exercises, (which formed in the Gentry an early Attachment to a great Family, and was one Reason of the great Interest which the M. of *Newcastle* appeared in 1641, to have in the Northern Counties, as it likewise gave the Gentlemen such a *Gout* for Martial Affairs, that it became a Fashion to go Volunteers into a foreign Service to perfect themselves in the Art of War,) did, for a Time, keep up a considerable Interest in their Neighbourhoods. But the Troubles of 1641 putting an End to every Thing of this Nature; the Rump Parliament first suppressing the Court of Wards, and all Tenures by Chivalry; and the Convention at the Restoration abolishing them for ever, and thereby taking off all the Obligation which arose from their Tenures to instruct themselves in military Exercises, a very different Spirit has since possessed the Minds of the Gentry of *England*; the Nobility contented to hold their Lands by a base Tenure, and forgetting, as it were, that they once held by Barony, have altered the Condition of their Estates, setting them now at a Rack-Rent, as if nothing was valuable but ready Money; and Tenants paying the full Value of their Farms, scarce think themselves ob-

liged to their Landlord. By these Means chiefly are Things come to such a Pass, that scarce a Peer, or a Gentleman, hath any Influence in the Kingdom, but what he derives purely from his Reputation, and the good Will which the Opinion of his Integrity and Virtue may procure him among the People: And thus is it, that all the military Power in the Nation is come at last to center in the Crown.

As to the civil Power, it did not at first receive much Alteration by the Conquest. Lords of Manors continued to exercise their Jurisdiction over their Vassals in all civil and criminal Matters as usual, capital Cases not excepted: The Hundred and County-Courts, and the Sheriffs *Tourn* still subsisted, with their former Jurisdictions. The Lords of Counties Palatine had as much Authority, independant of the Crown in civil Matters, as they had in Military; and Mr. *Madox* tells us in his *Baronia Anglica*, pag. 154, "That several of the Lords of the *Marches* enjoyed great Franchises in their Seignuries, and even a Regality which made their Seignuries look like Palatinates, *e. g.* They had the first Cognizance of all Causes and Complaints within their Lordships; they had their *Chancery*, Justiciars and other great Officers, with an extensive Jurisdiction belonging to the chief Court of their Honour." There lay an Appeal indeed from these to the King's Court; but it could not be admitted there without being paid for, and the Fines were sometimes heavy enough. There were for this Reason the fewer Appeals; and they were generally Gentlemen of Quality and Estates that brought their Disputes thither to be determined: The common People had Justice done them nearer Home. The Conqueror's Grants had been very extensive, Hundreds of Manors being in many Cases granted to one Person; but these vast Estates coming to be shared among several Co-heirs, or Parcels thereof conveyed

to

to others, Causes came in Time to be multiplied, and the King's Court had so much Business, that at the general Desire of the Kingdom, as appears by *Magna Carta*, a particular Court was assigned for *Common Pleas* to sit at *Westminster*; and soon after the *King's Bench* was made sedentary too, and all our Courts of Law established by *Edward I.* in the like Form as they are at present. These, out of a Desire to enlarge their Jurisdiction, and by some Pre-
tence and Means or other, have now engrossed in a manner all Law Business to themselves, the Courts of the Constable and Marshal being almost antiquated; that of the Admiralty impaired in its Jurisdiction, and those of the Hundred and County being grown in a manner useless, through the great Plenty of Money brought in the last 200 Years into *Europe*, which has made 40 s. (to Suits of which Value their Jurisdiction is generally confined,) a meer Trifle, though it was worth more formerly than 20 l. is now; so that at present all the Justice distributed in the Kingdom is vested in the King's Courts.

The High Sheriff, the Coroners, and the Conservators of the Peace continued for some Time after the Conquest to be elected by the Freeholders of each County; and because these were eligible, Sir *Edw. Coke* says, *Inst. 2. p. 176*, the first Statute of *Westminster* provided, *that Elections should be freely made.* “ The Coroner (says the same Author, *Inst. 4. cap. 59. p. 271.*) is eligible by the Freeholders
“ of the County, and so continues to this Day; as
“ of ancient Time the Sheriff and the Conservators
“ of the Peace were, because the People had a
“ great Interest and Safety in the due Execution of
“ their Offices; and so long as they were eligible,
“ they continued notwithstanding the Demerit of
“ the King, as the Coroner doth to this Day”. Sir *Henry Spelman*, in his Glossary under the Word *Vice-*

comes, asserts with regard to Sheriffs, that they were anciently chosen by the Freeholders in a full County Court. To the same Purpose says *Lambard* in his *Eirenarcha*, p. 16. “ As the Sheriffs were anciently chosen, and the Coroners yet be, so certain Persons were wont to be elected Conservators of the Peace in full County before the Sheriff: And of this I have seen certain Records in the Patent-Roll of 5 *Edw. I.* running in this Course; 1. a Writ to the Sheriff of *Norfolk*, commanding him to chuse in a full County one *de probioribus & potentioribus* of his County, to be Guardian or Conservator of the Peace; 2. a Writ directed to the Bailiffs and Liegemen of the same County, that they should appear at the County Court to make the Election; and 3dly, another to the Conservator elected, *John le Bretun,*” which is recited by the Author at length, and bears Date 2 *Sept. 5 Edw. I.* So also the great Oracle of the Law before quoted, in his *Inst.* 2. and Comment on the Statute of *Westminster*, 1. c. 10. “ The Coroner ever was, and still is, eligible by the Freeholders upon the King’s Writ *de Coronatore eligendo*, because both the King and Country had a great Interest and Benefit in the due Execution of his Office, and therefore the Common Law gave the Freeholders the Election of him; and for the same Reason, of ancient Time the Sheriff, who had *Custodiam Comitatus* was also eligible; and for the same Cause were also the Conservators of the Peace, and the Verderers of the Forest so chosen.” And to the same Purpose in his Comment on the Statute *Articuli super Chartas*, c. 8. “ of ancient Times before the making of this Act, such Officers as were instituted either for the Preservation of the Peace of a County, or for the Execution of Justice, because it concerned the Subjects of that County, and they had a great Interest

“ Interest in the just and due Execution of their
 “ several Places, were by some of the King’s Writ
 “ chose in full County by the Freeholders”. And
 as to the manner of this Election, *Horne*, who was
 perfectly well versed in all the ancient Customs of
 this Realm, and wrote his Book in the Time of
Edw. I. says in his *Mirroure*, c. 1. §. 3. “ That
 “ Sheriffs were chosen by a Writ directed to the Co-
 “ roner, and the Conservators of the Peace by Writ
 “ directed to the Sheriff.”

But these Rights of the Freeholders did not remain long after the Conquest without being encroached upon, tho’ *William I.* had confirmed the greatest part of the *Saxon* Laws, and *Henry I.* had restored them all in general. When Princes have a Mind to assume a Power, they seldom are at a Loss for Pretences. Thus to the Sheriffs ancient Right of guarding the County, preserving its Peace, judging in the Tourn, and presiding in the County Court, they superadded the Charge of collecting the Fee-Farm Rents, and levying the Fines, Amercements, Scutages, and other Dues and Branches of the Revenue; and then began to consider him as much an Officer of the Crown, as he had ever been before of the Country. This was followed by a Nomination of the Sheriff in some Counties, and with the Grant of an hereditary Shrievalry in others, which last being made to some great Man who had large Possessions in a County, engaged him by Interest to support this Invasion of the Rights of Freeholders, who being few in Number, and seeing the Charge put into so good Hands, submitted the more easily to a Change, till they found it attended with some Inconvenience. This I suppose to be the Case when the Commons of *England*, in the Parliament of 28 *Edw. I.* (*A. D.* 1300.) petitioned the King for restoring to his People the Election of Sheriffs. That great Prince, who of all our Kings, best understood

derstood the Arts of Government, and ever consulted the good of his People, provided accordingly by the Statute of *Articuli super Cartas*, that *the Commons should have the Election of Sheriffs in every Shire*, where the Shrievalty was not of Fee: And so it remained till the turbulent Reign of his Successor; in whose 9th Year, by a Parliament held at *Lincoln*, the Nomination of Sheriffs was left to the Chancellor, Treasurer, Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges; with a Restriction that no Bailiff or Steward of a great Lord should be appointed, nor any but who had a sufficient Estate within the Shire. It was afterwards ordained by Statute 12 *Rich. II. c. 2.* that the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Judges should be called to the naming of Sheriffs, and be sworn not to ordain, name or make them by any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection; but they should be of the most lawful and sufficient Men, to their Estimation and Knowledge. What made the Commons the more easily content themselves with such Restrictions, and consent to this Regulation, was probably the Assurance they had of their regular meeting in Parliament, for the Redress of any Grievance, by the late fixing of their Representation by *Edw. I.* in such a wise Proportion of the Numbers of Representatives for the Counties, great Towns, and lesser Boroughs, as continued to the great Happiness of this Nation, till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; between which Time and the Death of King *Charles I.* that Proportion was gradually altered, till at last it was entirely destroyed by the Addition of 250 Representatives of poor inconsiderable Boroughs; the Venality whereof hath exposed us to all the Evils of a general Corruption, the greatest Grievance that any Nation can possibly labour under, and which cannot fail of being the Ruin of this, if not speedily remedied.

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The Coroner having no Addition to the ancient Powers of his Office, it continued Elective, as it was originally: And so did that of the ordinary Conservators or Justices of the Peace, for 260 Years after the Conquest. Our Kings indeed, annexed a like Power over the Kingdom in general to the great Offices of the Crown, and sometimes, in a particular County, to the Tenure of some great Man's Estate therein. They likewise on extraordinary Occasions issued Commissions to extraordinary Conservators, for defending the Coasts from Foreign Enemies, and the Country from Domestic Insurrections, with Power to call the Sheriff and *Posse* to their Assistance. But this was done in very rare Instances, and the Writs (as Mr. *Lambard* in his *Justice of Peace*, pag. 17—20, informs us,) issued out regularly for the Election of the ordinary Conservators by the Freeholders, till the first Year of *Edw. III.*; when Queen *Isabel*, having deposed her Husband, advanced her Son, a Minor, to the Throne, and got a Parliament to support her in all her iniquitous Measures, procured an Act (*1 Edw. III. c. 15.*) for the assigning in every Shire of the Realm good Men and lawful (who were no Maintainers of Evil nor Barretors in the County) to keep the Peace. *This was done* (says *Lambard*) *to prevent the Rescue of Edw. II. who was conveyed secretly by Night from House to House, and from Castle to Castle; and for this Cause the Election of the ordinary Conservators or Wardens of the Peace, was first taken from the People, and translated to the Assignment of the King;* who began in the 34th of his Reign, to appoint them by special Commissions for each County; soon after which they began to be commonly called Justices of the Peace, their ordinary Stile at present. The Commons imagining they could easily get any Grievance redressed by Parliament, did not appear afterwards so solicitous to recover their

own Rights, as to take care that the Power should be lodged in proper Persons duly qualified. For this End it was provided, by 12 *Rich. II. c. 10.* that no *Steward* of any Lord should be in the Commission of the Peace; and by 13 *Rich. II. c. 7.* that Justices of Peace should be made of the most sufficient Knights, Esquires, and Men of Law. The like Provision is made in 2 *Hen. V. Parl. 2. c. 1:* And to secure the Observance thereof, it was upon a Complaint of insufficient Persons being made Commissioners of the Peace, enacted by the same Parliament, *c. 2.* that they should be assigned by the Advice of the Chancellor and the King's Council: And by 18 *Hen. VI. c. 11.* that upon Notice of any Justice of Peace, who had not Lands to the Value of 20 *l.* a Year, the Chancellor should put another in his Place; and for want of sufficient Persons having Lands of that Value, he was directed to appoint discreet Persons learned in the Law, though they had not Lands to that Value. It must be observed that 20 *l.* a Year was then the reputed Value of a Knight's Fee, and worth 500 *l.* or even 1000 *l.* a Year, as Lands are set at present: And it was certainly the Spirit and Intent of that Act, that nobody of a less Estate, than what now, by the accidentally increased Plenty of Money, would set for this last Sum, should be put into the Commission; even though in those Days there were very few Persons that had so large an Estate in any County.

Thus did all the Civil Power center at last in the Crown: And this Power hath been ever since encreasing; particularly as to Justices of the Peace, by a Custom of long standing, though introduced without thinking of the Consequences, of putting the Execution of all Laws and Regulations into the Hands of Persons, who had so much of a Discretionary Power, even in their original Institution, that in some Cases it appeared to be arbitrary. Ever since

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since we have had any Laws for the Maintenance of the Poor, the Justices of Peace have had a Power of amending the Rates, and redressing any Complaints of the Inequality of such Assessments in Parishes; but 'tis of late only that they have assumed a Power of altering the Poor Rates without any Complaint at all, of putting in and striking out whom they pleased in an Election-Year, in order to disqualify some Persons who had a right to vote in Boroughs, and afford a Pretence to qualify others who had none, that so Members might be returned, who otherwise never would have been chosen, a Practice which if it once becomes general, (as no Iniquity does at once, though sure to become so, if it carries its Point, and passes with Impunity,) will put the Elections of all the Boroughs of *England*, where Scot and Lotmen have Votes, in the Power of Justices of the Peace, and be the utter Ruin of our Constitution. Every Body knows the dangerous Powers put into their Hands by the Riot-Act, and that which carries for its plausible Title, *An Act for indemnifying Persons, who have been guilty of Offences against the Laws, made for securing the Revenues of Customs and Excise, &c.* This Answer is already drawn out to a greater Length than I expected, and therefore I shall not offer to represent the Consequences of these, nor enumerate a great many Acts, which otherwise are very fit to be considered. But let any thinking Man reflect seriously on the prodigious Number of Penal Laws made, for the Security of the Government, or on other Accounts and Pretences. since the Revolution; and the multitude of Taxes that have been laid since that Time, upon Windows, upon all exciseable and other Commodities; and an enormous Accession of Power, and Influence over all Ranks and Orders of Men, by putting the Execution of all these into their Hands, hath accrued to the Justices of Peace; let

him do this, and though he be never so brave, he will be apt to tremble with Apprehensions of the Danger to which, without a full Assurance of the Virtue and Integrity of the Gentlemen entrusted with that Office, the Lives and Liberties of all the People of *England* would be exposed.

Justices of Peace have, ever since the People parted with their Rights of electing them, been the Creatures of the Crown : They owe to its Designation all the exorbitant Power, which is placed in their Hands, and which they are ready always to employ as directed by the Administration. Any new Trust or Authority vested in them, as they are put in and removed at Pleasure, is a proportionable Accession to the Power of the Crown : Which hath been aggrandized in various other Manners. The Author of *the short History of Standing-Armies in England*, published in 1698, mentions one, which is the more alarming, because (as he apprehended) it may come in Time to be made a Means of Corruption, even with Regard to Parliaments ; “ the Fountain-
 “ Head from whence the People expect all their
 “ Happiness, and the Redress of their Grievances.
 “ Our Constitution (says he) seems to have provided for keeping them free from Corruption,
 “ by never suffering the King to have a mercenary
 “ Army to frighten them into a Compliance, nor
 “ Places or Revenues great enough to bribe them
 “ into it. The Places in the King’s Gift were but
 “ few, and most of them Patent Places for Life,
 “ and the rest great Offices of State, enjoyed by
 “ single Persons, which seldom fell to the Share of
 “ the Commons ; such as the Lords, Chancellor,
 “ Treasurer, Privy-Seal, High-Admiral, &c. and
 “ when these Offices were possessed by the Lords,
 “ the Commons were severe Inquisitors into their
 “ Actions.—In those early Days, the Art was not
 “ found out of splitting and multiplying Places ;

“ as instead of a Lord-Tr——r, to have 5 Lords
 “ of the Tr——ry; instead of a Lord-Ad——l,
 “ to have 7 Lords of the Ad——ty; to have 7
 “ Commissioners of the C——ms, 9 of the
 “ Ex——se, 14 of the N——vy-Office, 10 of the
 “ St——mp-Office, 8 of the Pr——ze-Office, 16
 “ of the Commissioners of Tr——de, 2 of the
 “ P——st-Office, 4 of the Transports, 4 for
 “ Hackney-Coaches, 4 for Wine-Licences, 4 for
 “ the Victualling-Office, and multitudes of other
 “ Offices which are endless to enumerate.—I see
 “ no Reason why they may not be made twice as
 “ many, and so *ad infinitum*, unless the Number be
 “ ascertained by Parliament; and what Danger this
 “ may be to our Constitution, I think of with
 “ Horror. For if in Ages to come they should be
 “ all given to Parliament-Men, what will become
 “ of our so much boasted Liberty? What shall be
 “ done when the Criminal becomes the Judge, and
 “ the Malefactors are left to try themselves? We
 “ may be sure their common Danger will unite
 “ them, and they will stand by one another. I
 “ do not speak this by Guess; for I have read of
 “ a Country, where there was a constant Series of
 “ Mismanagement for many Years together, and
 “ yet no-Body was punished: and even in our own
 “ Country, I believe some Men now alive can re-
 “ member the Time, when, if the King had but
 “ 20 more Places in his Disposal, or disposed of
 “ those he had to the best Advantage, the Liberty
 “ of *England* had been at an End.”

Thus does that Author, no less a Whig than Mr.
Trenchard, represent the Danger which threatened
 the Constitution from the multitude of gainful Of-
 fices in his Time, and the Disposal thereof, so as
 to influence a Parliament. Whether the Evil he
 complains of is since lessened, or the Dangers he
 apprehended removed, the World can easily judge.

One Thing at least is certain, that there have been a vast Number of new Taxes created since that Time, and consequently the Number of Officers, charged in managing, or employed in collecting them, must be proportionably increased. This must of Course increase the Influence of the Crown; and the Treasury having the Disposal of all Offices belonging to the Revenue, may, if they see fit, employ the greater to gain Partisans within Doors, and the lesser to corrupt People without. In all Countries of the World, the Officers of the Revenue, even the inferior Ones, have great Hanks over the People upon whom it is levied; and by the Laws of the Excise, the Officers employed in those Duties here, have as much Power to plague all that are subject to pay any Part thereof, as in any Quarter of the World whatever. This must naturally give them a great Influence on Elections; and the Officers concerned in the Salt-Duties, and other Branches of the Revenue, do not fail to be serviceable in the same way; at least it was public Talk some Years about *Liverpool*, that some Hundreds of them had been made free to carry an Election-Point, which it was not thought convenient to trust to other Hands, than such as were under the absolute Direction of their Superiors. This Use of such under-Officers for defeating the Freedom of Elections, is peculiar to our Country; for in other Countries, as particularly in *France*, they serve for the same Purpose as a Standing-Army, ever ready at the Beck of the Government, whose Pay they receive, to support any Measures taken for the enslaving of the People.

They are a numerous Force, unknown to our Nation till this last Age, but not the less grievous for its Novelty; they are however less formidable than a Standing-Army, trained up to War, and inured to Blood and Slaughter, which they are taught

taught to consider as their proper Business, and to make an implicate Obedience to the Orders of their superior Officer, the first Principle of their Religion. The Danger of such a Military Force hath been taken Notice of before; I shall only observe now, that there are two Circumstances attending it here, which render it more inconvenient and dangerous in this, than in any other Country whatever. The one regards the common Soldiers, who are listed, not as in *France* and other Places for six Years, after which they may demand their Dismission, and if their Captain refuses it, may yet quit the Service, but for the Term of their Lives; so that seeing themselves subjected for ever to arbitrary Orders, and in that Respect a sort of Slaves, without any Prospect of Redemption, they are naturally tempted to look with Envy on the Freedom of all about them, and inclined to reduce their Countrymen to a like Condition with themselves. As six Years Time is more than sufficient to make any Soldier perfect in Discipline, and as the more there are instructed in the Art of War, the better will the Nation be enabled to make Head against a Foreign Enemy: it is not easy, if that be the only view in keeping a Standing-Army, to conceive why Soldiers, who are weary of an idle Life, should not have, after six Years Service, the same Liberty of quitting it here, as they are indulged in *France*, nor why any Motion for such an Indulgence should be rejected. The other relates to the Officers, who though Members of a *Corps*, maintained by the Money of the Nation, and ever deemed incompatible with its Liberties, are yet allowed to sit in the House of Commons. On this Subject I remember to have heard the late Earl of *Anglesea*, relate an Observation of his Father-in-law, the late Lord *Haversham*, who comparing the Politics of *Oliver's* Days with those of later Times,

used

used to give the Advantage to the latter, in the Point of managing Parliaments; saying, “ that
 “ when *Cromwell* had a Mind to get them into any
 “ Step they did not like, he invested the House of
 “ Commons with a Body of Soldiers, and forced
 “ the Members to vote as he directed; but this
 “ was an open Violence to the Constitution, and
 “ created a deal of ill Blood; whereas later Politi-
 “ cians had fallen into an easier and much surer Me-
 “ thod of carrying their Points; for instead of fill-
 “ ing the Lobby with Officers and Soldiers, they
 “ opened the Doors of the House, and let them
 “ into a Place, where they could do more Mis-
 “ chief by their Votes, that they were capable of
 “ doing by their Arms without”.

Dangerous as Standing Armies are to the Liber-
 ties of a Nation, they are not more so, in the Opi-
 nion of some wise Men, than *Standing Taxes* may
 prove; especially when they produce large Supplies
 of Money; for Armies cannot subsist unless they
 are paid; but with such Supplies, there is nothing
 but they are capable of executing. Now our Stand-
 ing Taxes, appropriated to the Civil List, the
 Sinking Fund, and the Payment of the national
 Debt, produce by common Computation about *five*
Millions a Year; a Sum which *Sir W. Petty* says,
 will pay 100,000 Foot, 40,000 Horse, and 40,000
 Seamen for a Year. There is no Occasion for a
 Parliament to meet for granting this Sum, since the
 Taxes are laid already, and continue for Years to
 come. *Dr. Davenant* long ago foresaw the Danger,
 to which the Constitution was exposed from this
 Quarter; and therefore at a Time, when only Funds
 of three Millions and an half were settled for the
 Security of Lenders, he complained of it “ as a
 “ great Defect in our Constitution, that sufficient
 “ Provision was not made against diverting and
 “ misapplying the public Treasure, and against
 “ break-

“ breaking into appropriated Funds; and in a Word,
 “ that the Laws had not made it criminal enough
 “ to stop Payments in the *Exchequer*.” I do not
 believe the *By-Stander* can point out any new Provi-
 sion made since that Time; and yet with regard to
 the Situation of Things in 1699, when his *Essay on*
the probable Methods to make a People Gainers in the
Ballance of Trade was printed, he expresses himself
 from p. 159, to p. 174 of that Treatise to this Ef-
 fect. “ Whoever considers the vast Number of
 “ Duties now a-foot, will find that 'tis not impossi-
 “ ble to make them the Engines, wherewith bad
 “ Men some Time or other may endeavour to un-
 “ dermine our civil Rights. 'Tis true, in this
 “ Reign we have no Reason to entertain such a
 “ Fear: But a Country that will preserve its Con-
 “ stitution, must provide against remote Dangers.
 “ Suppose then a Government in the Possession of
 “ such a large Revenue, at first legally granted,
 “ put into a Method of Collection, and to the Pay-
 “ ment of which the People shall be accustomed.
 “ And suppose in some future Reign the Ministers
 “ should be either weary or afraid of Parliaments,
 “ and desirous to govern by the Sword and without
 “ Law. That this may happen is not impossible,
 “ because we have heretofore seen Statesmen so
 “ disposed. Suppose then an ambitious and despe-
 “ rate Sett of Men, with all these Thoughts about
 “ them, and resolved to make their Master abso-
 “ lute, may they not with the Help of such an am-
 “ ple Revenue, quite overthrow our Constitution?
 “ Arbitrary Ministers have heretofore *stopped the*
 “ *Exchequer*; and if we should ever see Men of
 “ the same Stamp upon the Stage of Business, 'tis
 “ not impossible but they may run into the same
 “ wicked Measures, especially if they should be backed
 “ with the Support of a Standing Army. *The Liber-*
 “ *ties of a People are but in a very precarious Condi-*
 “ *tion,*

“ *tion, when they can be subverted by one pernicious
“ Counsel.*”

More might be said on the Subject, but this is enough to encourage me to leave it even to the *By-Stander* himself to determine, whether the Power of the Crown is not now raised to a much greater Height than it ever attained before, since *England* was a Nation. And what Power is there in the People to ballance this of the Crown? Whilst military Tenures subsisted, they were bred up in military Exercises, trained to War, and had Arms in their Hands: Now they are naked and defenceless, unarmed, undisciplined, and unexperienced. In former Days they had Leaders that understood the Art of War, and that of their own Vassals had Followers enough to make up a Body of Men sufficient to encourage others to resort to it and form an Army: Now there is no such Thing, no warlike Leader, no great Man with such a following in all the Kingdom. The People, now having no Head, are a loose Multitude, a Rope of Sand, and are to be considered only as so many Individuals or single Persons, without any means of Union among themselves, and without almost any Possibility of acting in Concert; for where there is neither Confidence nor Secrecy; where in Consequence of a general Corruption, Jealousies are universally entertained and have got Possession of the Minds of Men, it is impracticable for any Number of Gentlemen to meet and agree in Measures, or to get together a Body of Men, not bound by Tenures, but perfectly independent, to venture their Lives with them. A Standing Army carries Terror enough along with it to keep any such Design from entering into their Heads; or at least hath Power more than enough to crush them the first Moment they attempt to put it in Execution; and if there were none, an Administration so extremely vigilant, so full of Suspicions

cions at all Times, and so apt to take Alarms on any, even the least Occasion, and that hath Intelligence from all Quarters, could easily prevent any Thing of that Nature, by securing the Persons of the suspected; when a Parliament upon the least Message or Intimation of any such Design, would not fail to suspend the great Barriers of our Liberty, the *Petition of Right* passed by King *Charles I.* and the *Habeas Corpus Act* by King *Charles II.* and give a Power for seizing and detaining in Prison whomsoever the Crown should see Reason to suspect. This we have seen done so often since the Revolution, and so constantly, whenever it hath been demanded, without the least Hesitation, or the taking of any needless Precautions to guard against an Abuse of so extraordinary a Power, that there is little room to doubt but it will be readily granted again, as often as it shall be represented as necessary. The Circumstances attending one of these Suspensions, as I have heard them related by some worthy Members of the Convention-Parliament after the Revolution, seem sufficient to give one this Assurance; I think it was the Act which passed on *April 24, 1689.* The Earl of *Arran*, afterwards Duke *Flemington*, had that Day been brought by an *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench Bar*, and moved to be bailed, but the Attorney General not being in the Way, the Earl was remanded with Assurances from the Court; that he should be bailed on the Morrow, if Mr. Attorney did not attend and shew Cause to the Contrary. But he was disappointed, for that very Afternoon a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, read thrice there, sent to the Commons, read thrice, passed, and had the royal Assent that Night; so expeditiously can the Houses upon Occasion pass Bills of that Nature. In such Circumstances of a Nation, it is not easy to conceive, how the People can be said to have any Power at all; nor

doth the *By-Stander* assign them any, unless it be a Power of Money; to which they have so little Pretension at present, that it looks like scoffing at and insulting their Misery to urge it, at a Time when by a Load of Taxes, the Decay of Trade, and the want of Vent for their Manufactures, they seem hastening a-pace on the high Road to Poverty, and all the unhappy Consequences thereof. And whatever Room there may be to dispute the Connexion between some Things that are often tacked to one another, there can be little Doubt, but that Beggary and Slavery generally go together; the one treads close upon the Heels of the other, and they are such near Allies and such constant Companions, that where the former fixes her Abode, the latter is ever sure to take up her Habitation.

There is no Way to prevent these, but by taking effectual Measures to put a Stop to that general Corruption, which all the World complains of, and which, if continued, will make both inevitable; for stripped as the People are of all their ancient Power, both Civil and Military, they have nothing left to ballance the excessive Power of the Crown, but what they derive from their Representation in Parliament; and this, whenever Corruption prevails there, becomes a mere Shew; instead of a real Security, it only serves to lull the Nation into a false one; Liberty runs the greatest Danger from that very Quarter which ought to support it, and can never be so surely ruined as by its natural Guardians. The Nation in general seem sufficiently sensible of the Danger, and have instructed their Representatives to provide against it by Acts, to limit the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons, to incapacitate Pensioners for sitting there, to prevent false Returns of Members, and Bribery and Corruption in Elections, and to restore Triennial Parliaments. These are all very good Things, but

but are they adequate to the Evil? And will these Remedies be effectual? There was in the Act for settling the Protestant Succession, a very good Provision made against Placemen sitting in the House of Commons: Yet we have seen it either repealed or explained away. Will any other Act be more sacred, than that, which had so much of the Nature of an original Contract? We have known various Acts pass for preventing false Returns of Members, and Bribery and Corruption in Elections: But did they ever effectually put a Stop to either of those Grievances, and have they not been constantly evaded? We have had formerly Acts for Triennial Parliaments: But have they not been repealed? The Breath of a new Parliament may, and that of a corrupt one will, easily blow away all that a good one hath done in these Respects: And what Security can be provided against this Danger? What Remedy can be found for an Inconvenience, that seems rooted in our Constitution?

The *By-Stander*, p. 49, &c. suggests a Method which he seems apprehensive may take place, and which indeed would go to the Root of that Corruption, which threatens the utter Ruin of our Constitution: 'Tis the *taking of the principal Part of the Management of the public Revenues entirely from the Crown, and lodging it for the future in other Hands, uncontroulable by the Crown.* Such a Method is entirely proper, and becomes absolutely necessary, whenever the public Revenues and Charges are abused, to destroy the Freedom of Elections, to bribe the Representatives of the People into a Breach of Trust and betraying of their Rights and Liberties, to corrupt the Virtue of the Nation, and to ruin that Constitution which they were given and intended to support: And I have before shewed Precedents enough for it in the Reigns of K. *Charles II.* and *James I.* and other Princes. The *pecuniary In-*

fluence of the Crown arises from its Officers having the entire Management of the public Revenues : And if the Parliament should think fit to take it into their own Hands, and entrust it to Commissioners of their own Appointment, it would not only prevent any ill Effects of that Influence, but render their own Body infinitely more considerable. It is an old Observation, that Popes had vastly more Writers in favour of their exorbitant Claims, than general Councils had to support their just Rights ; the Reason of which was, that the former had abundance of Prements to bestow, the latter had none at all. The Case is the same between the Crown and the Parliament ; but were the latter to take the Management of the Revenues into their Hands, and commit the Receipts and Issues thereof to their own Commissioners and Officers, they would soon have as great Court made to them, as ever was made to the most despotic Minister at the Head of the Treasury. The Commons would have no Reason to envy the superior Dignity of the Lords, whilst they found themselves more capable of doing Good in the World, of encouraging Merit, and of restoring the Virtue of their Country. Gentlemen, and indeed all Orders of Men through the Kingdom, would then endeavour to deserve well of their Country, as the only Way to recommend them to the Favour of Parliament for Preferment : They would enjoy their Posts with Honour and Dignity in the Eye of the World, and with an inexpressible Satisfaction in their own Breasts, when they owe them purely to their Merit, and not to the dear-bought Favour of a Minister, whose Benefactions are not to be obtained at a less Rate, than the Dishonour of a Man's Character, and the Ruin of his Virtue. This would naturally bring the Nation to that happy Pass, so much recommended by Dr. Davenant, in the 5th Section of his *Essay* before quoted,

quoted, where he proves, *that a Country cannot increase in Wealth and Power, but by private Men doing their Duty to the Public, and by a steady Course of Honesty and Wisdom in such as are trusted with the Administration of Affairs.* We have formerly seen Clubs set up, of Members that declared against accepting Places; and if we should see any Combinations made, or Unions formed, (and what will not Union and Perseverance do?) for carrying a Point, tending to make their Country great, wealthy, and happy; and necessary to put a Stop to a general Corruption, which will be the Ruin of its Virtue, it will be no Deviation from the Instructions of their Constituents, who have so generally and earnestly recommended to them to take effectual Measures for those Ends. Nothing is more reasonable, than that People should have the Management and Disposal of their own Money: And if the House of Commons should think fit to resume it into their own Hands, it would not only put a Stop to Corruption at once, but be likewise a rational Security against it for the future, since they would be *felo's de se*, if they ever parted with a Power that must render them so considerable.

It is fit that every Body should have some determinate Ends in their Actions, and fix on determinate Measures proper to advance those Ends: Otherwise their Conduct must be unsteady, and no Point will ever be carried. It is fit likewise, that every Man should consider of all Means, that may conduce to the rooting out of Corruption, and the restoring of the Ballance of the Constitution. The *By-Stander* has offered to the Consideration of the World, one Method for this Purpose, which by interesting *the Parliament* in it, may in all Likelihood produce the Effect: He hath no Reason to take it ill, if I follow his Example, and offer another, which may as much interest *their Constituents.* *It is*

the restoring to the Freeholders of England their ancient Right of choosing the High Sheriffs and Justices of Peace in the County Courts. They acquiesced in the giving up of those Powers, at a Time when they conceived their civil Rights were fully secured by the settled Constitution and Incorruption of Parliaments, and by the wise Proportion, with Regard to the several Interests in the Kingdom, observed in the Number of their Representatives; and likewise at a Time when the military Power of the Nation lay chiefly in the Hands of the Subject. The Freeholders of those Days never imagined, that their Representatives, who represent likewise all the landed Interest in the Kingdom, should come, 2 or 3 hundred Years afterwards, to be outnumbered, 3 to 1, by a new Sett of Representatives of little beggarly Burroughs; which being poor, are exposed to be venal, and having little or nothing of their own, have yet by the Majority of their Attorneys, the sovereign Disposal of the Property and Liberties of all the Freeholders of *England*, without the Consent of any one of their Representatives. They thought full as little of all the ordinary military Power of the Kingdom's falling into the Hands of the Crown; much less had they any Notion, that this could ever come to be deemed insufficient for the Safety of a Realm, which, in their Days, made all their Neighbours tremble for Dread of its Power; and that it should be pretended a Standing Army was necessary for a further Security. But now that they see the Ballance of the Representation destroyed, and all the Security, which they promised themselves from thence, defeated and taken away; when they see not only the ordinary Militia entirely in the Hands of the Crown, but a mercenary Army kept up at a vast Expence out of their Property, and ready at the Word of Command to seize the rest, and commit any other Violence that the Commander shall think fit to order;

der; when they see this, it is high Time for them to think of getting back some of their ancient civil Power, that they may be the better able to take care of their civil Rights. The Power of chusing Justices of the Peace, would secure them effectually from an infinite Number of Oppressions in various Ways, which it is in the Power of those Magistrates (too often the Tools of a corrupt Minister) to exercise; and the Influence, which Men of Merit, Integrity, and Fortune, invested with that Magistracy, and distributing Justice with an equitable and impartial Hand, must have on the little Burroughs in their Neighbourhood, may contribute something towards correcting the Inconveniences arising from the Want of a proper Ballance in our parliamentary Representation. The Power of electing High Sheriffs would prevent that arbitrary Force used in Elections, and those undue Returns of Members, of which we have heard but too much of late Years; particularly at the late general Election; and would be of infinite Service for preserving the Freedom and right Constitution of Parliaments. Both are necessary for restoring the Ballance of our Constitution, and so far as they go towards that End, will be likely to maintain their Ground. For if the Freeholders of *England* come to be once again possessed of the Right of chusing High Sheriffs and Justices of Peace, and to experience the Benefits they will thence derive, an House of Commons will hardly venture to take away a Right, in which all the landed Men in the Kingdom are so deeply interested; nor can it be done without causing a terrible Convulsion in the Nation.

Machiavel says, "That to render a Commonwealth long lived, it is necessary to correct it often, and reduce it towards its first Principles". When the Ballance of a Constitution is destroyed, there is no Way of restoring it more proper, than
by

by having Recourse to those ancient Usages, of which we have had Experience, and under which the Nation hath long flourished. The old Rights of Freeholders in electing these two Kinds of Magistrates, are Branches of Power merely Civil, and of too harmless and inoffensive a Nature to give any Jealousy to a Prince, wise enough to place his own Greatness in the Happiness of his Subjects. These would naturally allay the Ferment which appears at present in the Nation; these would quiet the Minds of a People, uneasy to the highest Degree, under the terrible Apprehensions they have of the Loss of their Liberties, and the Ruin of the Constitution by a Deluge of Corruption, carried on for a long Series of Years with Impunity, notwithstanding the regular Sitting of Parliaments. And certainly, if they have Reason to think their own Representatives infected with it, never had People a juster Cause of Uneasiness; for if Parliaments (the only Branch of Power as yet left in the Hands of the Subject) should once grow corrupt, and giving up their Country, should devote themselves to the Service of a Minister that bribes them, they will never punish Corruption in others; they will be ready, if not to justify, at least to screen all Iniquities; and far from redressing any, will become themselves the greatest of Grievances. In such a Case, the Condition of a Nation is desperate; there is an End of all Hopes of Relief from Oppression, and of all Expectation of public Good; the People are deprived of the only Guardians of their Liberties, and having no other Means to preserve them, they are lost without Resource: In a Word, *the Constitution itself is subverted*, in the Opinion of the Great Mr. Lock, who thus expresses himself on the Subject of the Corruption of Parliaments, in his *Treatise of Civil Government*, Book 2. c. 19. of the *Dissolution of Government*. “ The supreme Executor (says he) acts
“ con-

“ contrary to this Trust, when he either employs
 “ the Force, Treasure, and Offices of the Society,
 “ to corrupt the Representatives and gain them to
 “ his Purposes, or openly engages the Electors,
 “ and prescribes to their Choice such, whom he has
 “ by Sollicitations, Threats, Promises, or other-
 “ wise won to his Designs, and employs them to
 “ bring in such who have promised before-hand,
 “ what to vote, and what to enact. Thus to regu-
 “ late Candidates and Electors, and new-model the
 “ Ways of Election, what is it but *to cut up the*
 “ *Government by the Roots, and poison the very Foun-*
 “ *tain of public Security ?* To prepare such an As-
 “ sembly as this, and endeavour to set up the de-
 “ clared Abettors of his own Will, for the true
 “ Representatives of the People, and the Law-
 “ makers of the Society, is certainly *as great a*
 “ *Breach of Trust, and as perfect a Declaration of a*
 “ *Design to subvert the Government, as is possible to*
 “ *be met with*”.



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APPEN-

APPENDIX.

N^o. I.

A particular of the Charges of the Dutch in the Expedition, for bringing over the Prince of Orange into England in 1688, as delivered to the House of Commons of England on March 14, 1688-9, and entered on the Journal of that Day, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
C harge of the Fleet, as per Accompt delivered to the States, <i>Feb. 28, 1688-9.</i>	2,288,464	0	0
Most of it in Service till <i>March</i> <i>22, 1688-9, and employed</i> <i>in Transporting the Prince</i> <i>of Orange's Baggage, &c.</i>	189,616	0	0
Loss of two Ships, of 48 Guns, and Cargo,	59,500	0	0
Provisions, Oats, Hay, Saddles, Stables, &c. at <i>Amsterdam,</i> and Coast of Embarkation till their Departure,	186,000	0	0
Freight of Merchant-Ships and Transports, from <i>Oct. 10,</i> <i>1688, to March 15.</i>	1,245,000	0	0
Ships accidentally cast away, or taken by the <i>French,</i> about	60,000	0	0
Provisions bought when the Fleet was drove back by Storm,	157,000	0	0
Pilots, besides those in the <i>Thames,</i>	44,000	0	0
Artillery and Ammunition, ei- ther not brought back or de- teriorated, and Charges to Fisher-boats that landed the Forces from <i>Oct. 10. to Feb.</i> <i>20. with Loss of 6 of them,</i>	47,888	0	0
		Pay	

	l.	s.	d.
Pay of General Officers,	1,615,989	6	8
Charge of Artillery, Hospitals, &c. }	85,612	19	8
Pay to <i>French</i> Protestant Officers, divided among the Regiments, }	77,346	0	0
Freight for Boats bringing Stores to the general Rendezvous, and after aboard the Ships }	66,960	0	0
Quartering the Soldiers,	89,624	2	8
Waggons that followed the Army, }	169,911	0	0
Horses bought instead of those lost in the Storm, }	81,264	0	0
Charges to his Majesty's Followers and Forces that came over, and in raising Lord <i>Mordant's</i> , <i>Sir Robert Peyton's</i> , and <i>Sir John Guises's</i> Regiments, }	250,000	0	0
Pay to Horse and Dragoons,	391,430	12	6
Pay to Foot Soldiers,	531,205	19	8
Paid to several Princes for Charges of raising and sending their Forces, with their ordinary Payments, }	1,100,000	0	0
Total *	7,301,332	1	8

* No Power in *Europe* could make such an Embarkation so cheap as *Holland*, and it is not consistent with common Sense to imagine that any of them, would put themselves to the Expence of *Seven Millions*, to make an Attempt on *England*, with such a certain Loss, and very little Hopes of Success.

N^o. II.

List of Sums of Money with which the Convention-Parliament of 1660 loaded the Excise, Monthly Assessments, and other Branches of the Revenue, taken out of the Journals of the House of Commons, with the Day on which each Sum was respectively granted.

	l.	s.	d.
May 1, 1660, Present to the King, and borrowed of the City of London, at 6 per Cent. } 50,000	0	0	0
May 5, — Sir John Greenville,	500	0	0
May 9, — Admiral Montague,	500	0	0
— Duke of York,	5000	0	0
— Duke of Gloucester,	5000	0	0
May 11, To supply the Duke of York's Occasions, } 10,000	0	0	0
May 16, To General Massey, 944 l. 9 s. 2 d. due to him by Order of both Houses, dated Oct. 2, 1646, with Interest thereon, at 8 per Cent. above } 2000	0	0	0
To Preparations and Fur- niture for the King's Reception, &c. } 30,000	0	0	0
May 26, For Relief of maimed Soldiers, } 2000	0	0	0
June 4, To Gen. Massey 1000 l. due to him by Order of Com- mons and Lords, on July 12, 1647; with Interest from that Day, at 6 per Cent. about } 1780	0	0	0
June 5, To General Monk, to be forthwith paid } 20,000	0	0	0
June 20, To the Queen Mother, to be remitted to her } 20,000	0	0	0
June 30, For present Subsistence to the Garrison of Dunkirk, } 4800	0	0	0

	l.	s.	d.
July 12, To the Earl of Man- chester 5000 l. Debt, with In- terest for 21 Years	11,300	0	0
July 17, To Lord Willoughby of Parbam, a Debt of	2155	15	10
To Rob. Swale, a Debt of	1000	0	0
July 30, To Sir George Booth,	10,000	0	0
Aug. 18, To Samuel Vassal,	2600	0	0
Aug. 27, To the Garrison of Dun- kirk 1000 Chaldron of Coals } (at 30 s. a Chaldron)	1500	0	0
Sept. 1, To the Duke of York,	10,000	0	0
To the Duke of Gloucester,	7000	0	0
Sept. 3, For Repair of the King's Houses,	50,000	0	0
Sept. 5, To Major Jeremy Totburst,	100	0	0
Sept. 11, To Clerks, Serjeants at Arms, and Officers about the House of Commons	2966	11	4
Sept. 13, To the Queen of Bohemia,	10,000	0	0
To the Princess Royal,	10,000	0	0
To the Treasurer of the Savoy and Ely Hospitals,	10,000	0	0
Nov. 6, To the Princess Henrietta,	10,000	0	0
Nov. 12, To Henry Peck, Esq; due by former Order,	3443	12	5
To Sir Thomas Dacres, a Debt of	680	0	0
Nov. 23, To Col. Baller, for Mo- ney disbursed by him for Scilly, Further Demand of Ditto, for Disbursements,	3436	16	10
Dec. 5, Charging on Excise, two Warrants of Council of State, on April 11	1387	8	10
Dec. 12, To pay Bills of Sir Rob. Honeywood, and Embassadors in Sweden,	1550	8	10
	2200	0	0

Dec.

Dec. 12, To Printers after Re-admission of secluded Members,	528	13	7
Dec. 17, To Savoy and Ely-House Hospitals,	5803	16	4
More,	2298	14	8
Ditto,	357	0	0
Dec. 18, To Mrs. Dorothy Seymour, due	3571	0	0
Dec. 19, To General Massey a Present,	3000	0	0
Ditto, to Capt. Silas Titus	3000	0	0
Ditto, to Mrs. Jane Lane for a Jewel,	1000	0	0
Dec. 20, For Redemption of Captives in Turkey, taken since 1642,	10,000	0	0
Dec. 27, To the Duke of York,	10,000	0	0
Queen of Bohemia,	10,000	0	0
To the Children of Henry Elsing, late Clerk of the House of Commons,	5000	0	0
Dec. 29, Debt to Col. Lockhart,	7357	5	0
Ditto, to Sir William Dick and his Heirs,	3000	0	0
To Christ's Hospital,	7427	0	0
Sept. 6, To the Surveyor of the King's Houses, by Act 12 C. II. c. 23.	5000	0	0
Nov. 26, For Provisions sent to Dunkirk.	3450	0	0
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	387,269	10	0

All which Sums were ordered to be paid forthwith, and about 200,000*l.* thereof was taken up of the City of London, Alderman Backwell, &c. at Interest, which ought also to be added to this Charge.

F I N I S

