

Anno 1. Will. & Mary

Part. 1. Sep. 1.

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We have in the former part of this Work stated the National Debts & Taxes as they existed upon the 5<sup>th</sup> of Nov. 1688. the day J. William landed; let us now take a view of the internal Situation of the Country at this period.

The Tyrannical conduct of J. James, & the strong convulsion that produced the Revolution, raised great variety of opposite & irreconcilable humours in



the Nation; these existed equally in  
the Convention, Parliament.

Whigs & Tories made the great  
Divisions, the last were again distinguished  
into Conformists, & Nonconformists; the  
Violence of party branded the Nonconformists  
indiscriminately with the names of Jacobites  
& Republicans.

The King was no sooner proclaimed, than  
He began to settle His Privy Council &  
appoint His Ministers, & the other  
great Officers; His choice fell upon  
such Whigs & Tories as He had the best  
opinion of, those He had been most



oblig'd to, & whom the People He confided  
in, had recommended; He support'd by  
employing Whigs & Tories, & bestowing  
favours upon the heads of each Party,  
He should attack both to himself, or from  
their mutual fears of each other, keep  
them in a state of dependance upon  
him; nor did this Idea seem without  
foundation, for the Moderate Tories  
wish'd to remain in Court, provided  
they could do it without any open  
disavowal of their principles, & for this  
purpose affect'd to attack themselves  
particularly to the Queen, by her interest



Therefore the King expected to lead the  
Fors, while He depended upon His own weight  
with the other party; but He soon found by  
experience, that the Servants of the Crown  
can never separate their Allegiance from Him  
who wears it, & that in permitting them to  
serve two Masters, there can be no Fide upon  
them but what they own or deny at pleasure,  
& that in such a case they raise their own  
importance by the diminution of their  
Masters; besides by admitting those that were  
Enemies to one another into His Council, He  
not only introduc'd Divisions, but in some  
measure authoriz'd the discord that during



His whole reign gave him so much disturbance. ~~###~~

With regard to the distribution of power, both parties appeared equally favour'd in the Secretaries of State, to which Offices E. Nottingham & Col. Mordaunt were appointed.

~~The first was a high Arbitrary Man who had strenuously oppos'd the Abdicating Vote; in K. James's reign, he had retir'd from Court, & tho' a Privy Counsellor never attend'd; He acknowledg'd wishing well to the Revolution, yet oppos'd the new Settlement with Violence, & said to day that tho' He would not make a King, He could obey him when made better than those that did.~~



The other was one of the Lords the most instrumental in bringing about the Revolution; He was bred a Papist, but had chang'd his Religion upon thorough enquiry & conviction, was a Man of great Honour & Probity, of a remarkable sweet temper, correct Judgement, & a great Share of Learning, apt to be silent & reserv'd, & more in His Prince's favour than any Minister.

While Ld. Halifax was made Privy Seal, & Speaker of the House of Lords; He had been also zealous in promoting the Revolution; but his former conduct upon the Exclusion Bill, the opinion given in



relation to the two Warrants, & his alacrity  
in procuring the surrender of Chartres, were  
things still fresh in every one's Memory,  
besides it was foreseen that from his  
ability, boldness & great ambition it would  
be difficult to serve with him on any  
tolerable degree of equality.

Ld. Darby was made, President of  
the Council; his Character & Experience  
procured him that High Office, when  
many of his old Enemies would have  
wished rather to have revived his Impeachment;  
for tho' he was still thought to lean  
greatly to the Prerogative.



He was the person who had accomplished  
the King's Marriage with the Queen,  
& what with that, & his zeal for  
the Revolution, had atton'd for his  
former conduct; He was not entirely  
pleas'd with the Office of President,  
having set his heart upon the  
Treasurers Staff.

It is remarkable that  
notwithstanding Nottingham,  
Halifax & Dunby were.



feared & hated by the rest of the Ministry,  
they were at equal variance among  
themselves, & stood upon separate bottoms,  
Nottingham had the support of the  
Torys, Halifax the King's confidence  
& opinion, & Donby shar'd in both.

But to restore equality to the  
Whig scale, they had the whole Treasury  
except Lord Godolphin, & all the  
Admiralty were in a manner chosen  
out of that party, & we find in most  
of the other promotions, they enjoy'd an  
Elder & Brother's portions.



The Commissioners of the Treasury  
were Mordaunt Earl of Monmouth, the  
Lords De la Mere & Godolphin, & M<sup>r</sup>.  
Hambden also Chancellor of the Exchequer,  
which last Office Burnet falsely gives  
to Lord De la Mere; Sir Dal adds M<sup>r</sup>. Henry  
Capel.

Earl Monmouth known better by the  
name of Lord Mordaunt was the first of  
the English Nobility that went over to  
the Prince of Orange, He was a very  
warm Man, talk'd much, with singular  
Ideas, not of sound judgement, but brave  
& generous, his thoughts were not digested



& his secrets too easily known; He gave away the inferior places freely, but bestowed them entirely upon Men of Republican principles.

As for Delamere afterwards Lord Harrington He is said to have sold every thing in his power, which soon vate him at variance with Earl Monmouth.

Lord Godolphin had been in the Treasury with Lord Epsom in 1679. made first Commissioner when Lord Sanby was turn'd out in 1684. was again in Commision with the Popish Lords Bellasys & Dover in 1686. He was the



most silent, modest Man ever bred in a  
Court; He was Virtuous & Religious, had  
great method & dispatch in business,  
great temper, & no personal Enemies, tho  
immoderately fond of Gaming; He was  
the Person of the whole Board in  
whom <sup>\*</sup>the King plac'd the greatest  
Confidence. I say in the Board

Herbert afterwards Earl of Torrington  
was put at the head of the Admiralty,  
He had by refusing to Vote for the repeal  
of the Test Act in that Reign, lost  
his places to the amount of <sup>£</sup>4000. a year.



when he went over to Holland; He had a good understanding, was an able Sea Officer, but proud & haughty.

The Department of the Law does not properly come within our plan, it will therefore be sufficient to observe, that the Great Seal was put into Commission with a view in all probability to bestow it upon M<sup>r</sup>. Sommers Solicitor General whenever a proper opportunity offer'd; for he was the Lawyer, whom the King confided in, & who was principally consulted in the promotions made in that profession.



Court Officers are also foreign to our present purpose, the King's personal favour lay betwixt Sidney afterwards Lord Bromney & Bertink whom He created Earl of Portland.

The first was a man of a gentle temper, but too fond of pleasure for application to business; He had however the secret correspondence, & the conduct of the Prince of Orange's affairs with the party in England, that brought on the Revolution, He was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, afterwards Secretary of State &c.

Bertink was the person in whom the King plac'd the most cordial friendship for the first ten Years of His Reign; He serv'd Him with great fidelity, but was never



agreeable to the Nation, which seems in great measure owing to the enormous Crown Grants the King heap'd upon them.

There remains yet one great personage who kept indeed at present behind the Curtain but was however thought to be the principal adviser in most of these arrangements we mean Lord Sunderland, He is represented by Burret as a man of clear & ready apprehension, quick decision, & great Superiority in business, too warm imagination, & violent passions, fond of his own opinions, & very free in his language both of things & persons; He frequently chang'd sides, with little regard either to the Religious Rights, or Liberty of



his Country; He was very expensive, & therefore  
forc'd to hang upon the Court; He had the  
art of insinuating himself strongly into his  
Princes confidence; but when He so often  
chang'd his party, that want of firmness brought  
him into contempt, even with those that  
admir'd his abilities; besides he had many  
Enemies from his contemptuous method of  
treating every one who differ'd from him  
in opinion.

~~With regard to the present System 1789~~  
he <sup>is</sup> suppos'd him to have had <sup>a great</sup> share  
~~in~~ <sup>in</sup>, however wisely form'd, it had not the  
desir'd effect, tho' some great Men among the  
Tory were employ'd, yet they were few



in number compar'd with those left out, whom they had it not in their power to satisfy, & the Whigs (who possess'd of all the Court Employments, & the Ballance greatly in their favour with regard to Offices of business) were by no means satisfy'd, & seem'd resolv'd to brook no partnership whatever.

We have now finish'd part of our intended plan for the Year, explain'd the different Views of party, & the different Channels thro' which the Court favour was directed, the best authorities have been taken for the Characters of the principal Actors, & as a thorough knowledge of the State of party at the Revolution will greatly assist



as in the ~~History~~ of several succeeding Sessions,  
we have treated this subject with more  
prolixity, than will be necessary to do hereafter.

We now come to the essential part of  
our plan, the History of the Supply which  
shall be as amply treated as the scanty materials  
during the first Years of this Reign will permit.

The revenue suitable to the Dignity of  
the Crown, & sufficient for the support of  
the new Government; was now the principal object,  
all thoughts were employ'd in calculating the  
annual Revenue & expence of the Crown  
in the last Reign; <sup>but</sup> nothing appears more  
plain than the Idea that all such Revenue  
granted to the late King ceas'd upon the



Vacancy of the Throne, both the Prince of Orange & the Convention seem to have understood it in this light; for we find this Assembly advis'd His Highness to set forth a Declaration for continuing the Collection of the Old Revenue by their Authority, which He did accordingly, & therefore receiv'd it by courtesy, & not as Matter of right.

£  
Upon R. James's going away 40,134.18.0.  
remain'd in the Exchequer, which with the growing produce of the Taxes made the entire Fund for supporting two Armies, answering the demands of the States, reducing Ireland, & forming preparations for War



already determin'd; it became therefore necessary for the Parliament to provide a proper establishment by procuring an immediate recitment of the Revenue, & other Aids adequate to the Receipts of the State.

But however reasonable this appears, it was attended with great difficulties; the King was desirous of holding the Revenue upon the same terms His Predecessors had done; but the Whig part of His Ministry had too strongly oppos'd this very point in the late Reign to be able to take so opposite a part in their first setting out, the measure was necessary, but the



Supporting some appearance of consistency in their conduct was not less so.

Besides the Nation had not for some time heard of additional Aids, & an unpopular measure could not be safely taken by a Government, <sup>entirely</sup> founded upon Popularity.

The first thirteen days after the Accession, were employ'd in forming the Bill for turning the Convention into a Parliament, which receiv'd the Royal Assent Feb. the 24.<sup>th</sup>

Upon the 26.<sup>th</sup> an awkward attempt was made for vesting the Revenue in their Majestys in the same manner K. James had enjoy'd it; this does not



appears in the printed Journals; but we find by the Manuscript one's a question was debated upon the said 26<sup>th</sup> whether the Revenue was expir'd on the Vacancy of the Throne, or whether it was devolv'd upon their Majestys, & it was carry'd by a Vote to be expir'd.

The Commons came next to the resolution of standing by the King with their lives & fortunes in supporting his Alliances abroad, the reduction of Ireland &c. Part of this Vote appears singular at present, because the Alliances hinted at were as yet unknown to the House.



In the next place Sir Robert Hall Auditor of the Exchequer was directed to bring in States of several Annual Branches of the Revenue, towards enabling the House to form some Judgement of the intended Settlement on His Majesty, & in the mean time they resolv'd for the present on an Aid of 6<sup>£</sup> 400. 19. 1. per Month for six Months, the whole not to exceed 420,000.

March the 1<sup>st</sup> Sir Richard Howard in Compliance with the order of the House lay'd before them a paper call'd a computation &c. This was stated in a very loose manner, no explanation is made of the produce of the Customs & Excise whether Gross or Nett, three



Farms are joined in one Article, another Farm goes with the Seizures; the  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . Barbadoes Duty, also the Hearth Money, Post Office & small Branches are not exactly stated, by which method he brings the whole Revenue to a slender sum.

The Life Revenue is stated at about . . . . . £ 1,500,964.3.4 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

The Taxes granted for a term of Years . . . . . £ 415,473.6.10 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Total . . . . . £ 1,916,437.10.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

In stating this at the end of the last Reign, we have observ'd the Davenant's & H. James's Revenue at 2,001,455.

A Pamphlet of the Year 1712. entitl'd a view of the Taxes, Funds & c. call'd it 2,200,000.

Hutchinson's Treatise upon the Funds in 1717. & 1718. goes upon this last calculation, which is in a manner admitted by his Antagonist Mr. Brookshanks of the Treasury



We cannot finish this Article without observing that the small Branches are stated at about 26,350. 15. 5. whereas by the Abstract lay'd before the House Committee in 1669. they amounted to 57,000.

Upon the whole there is some reason to suspect that Sir Robert & the Treasury were rather backward in giving the information demanded by the House, & yet such concealments are always unworthy of the Dignity of Government, & we may with safety affirm that whenever the Crown permits Ministers to deviate from the real principles of truth & honour, the Prince tho' perhaps a Gainer by it in the present Minute, will



Sooner or later have reason to repent it; for the person who once banishes the nice scruples of honour for his Prince's interest, will most certainly make free with them to serve his own, tho' at the expence of his Master.

To return to the Business of the House; the same day that the Auditor of the Exchequer was directed to bring the Accounts before mention'd, a message came from the King agreeing to the total abolition of the Hearth Money, & while this pleasing conception was still fresh in every man's memory, His Majesty call'd upon both Houses to make good the Treaty with the States, to support them to the utmost against the power that threaten'd them, & to reimburse their Expences.



This was a reasonable request, & accordingly <sup>£</sup>500,000. Voted as a full satisfaction to the States General, which Grants however did not procure any thanks from the Throne; two reasons perhaps occasion'd this silence, 1<sup>st</sup> the sum was <sup>£</sup>6,500. Most of the Dutch demand; 2<sup>d</sup>. there had been some hints thrown out about the return of the Foreign Troops, for by a former Resolution, the King was desir'd to bestow a donative upon those Forces which came over with Him, & were now returning into Foreign service;

Be this as it will the services perform'd by the Dutch were great, & it did not suit the Dignity of the Nation to



caval at £66,000. while upon the other hand  
Grants of any kind from the People certainly  
deserve the thanks of the Sovereign.

The business of the Revenue went on,  
tho' slowly; the House call'd for an account of the  
public Issues during the two preceding Reigns,  
these were accordingly lay'd before them, &  
it appear'd that the expenditure upon a medium  
of three Years amounted in St. Charles's time  
to <sup>£</sup>1,799,365, 2, 9. & in St. James's to 1,699,763, 2, 9.

The difference owing to the expence of the Army  
being 600,000. in the one Reign & only 500,000. in the other.

The House enter'd into a long discussion  
upon the different Articles, & at last Voted <sup>£</sup>1,200,000.  
as the constant necessary charge for the support  
of the Crown in time of Peace which was the



identical sum fix'd upon by the Convention at the Restoration.

They next proceeded to appropriate the said Revenue to the different Services, by which it appear'd that the sum condescended upon would by no means prove sufficient to answer the purposes of Government, the Services were as follow.

For a Summer & Winter Guard in time of Peace consisting of 3. Third Rates, 25. fourths, 6. fifths, 6. Yachts,

12. Gallies with the Complement of 7040. Men	£ 366,040.0.0.
For Ordnance Stores	22,600.0.0.
For the Ordinary of the Navy	130,000.0.0.
For the Ordinary of the Ordnance	146,250.0.0.
For Guards & Garrisons (the word forces us'd by the Committee having been rejected upon the Report, by a Great Majority)	200,000.0.0.
For the Civil list	600,000.0.0.
In all	1,336,940.0.0.



The House had before this come to a  
Unanimous Resolution that the late King's  
Revenue should be continu'd till Mid<sup>s</sup>: 1669.  
which was afterwards further continu'd to the  
Christmas following, & in the Act repealing the  
 Hearth Money, they directed ~~that~~<sup>tax</sup> to be paid with  
the arrears, to the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1669.

In their other proceedings on the Revenue,  
the House Acted with great oeconomy, &  
deliberation, the new Taxes granted were  
immediately saddle'd with the Debt due to  
the Dutch, & K. Charles's servants.

They examin'd in the same cautious  
manner the Estimates lay'd before them  
for the Fleet & Army intended to reduce  
Ireland, the expence of Land forces was  
calculated for 12. Months, which they



reduc'd to 6. certain, & Voted the remainder,  
only in case the War continu'd so long, which  
appears very singular, as they were upon the  
point of addressing the King to declare  
War against France; they also diminish'd  
the sum ask'd for the Navy above 400,000.

The Court impatient of this slow  
proceeding, endeavour'd to quicken them by a  
Message on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, putting them  
in mind at the same time that the current  
charge would much exceed the provisions, that  
by the Year's Accounts lay'd before them  
they might perceive that the service of  
the Fleet & Land Army had absorb'd almost  
the whole Revenue; this produc'd no other  
effect but an ordinary Vote of thanks, so



that upon the 12<sup>th</sup> of July following they receiv'd  
another Message from the King desiring them  
to put an end to their proceedings on the raising  
of Money till the next Meeting, with assurance  
that what had been given, should be apply'd  
to their Satisfaction.

They continu'd after this setting till the 20<sup>th</sup>  
of Aug<sup>t</sup>. employ'd chiefly in party Matters  
relative to the Church &c.

The Act for payment of the States & the  
Debt due to Charles II. servants receiv'd the  
Royal Assent upon that day, & then both  
Houses were in His Majesty's name by the  
Privy Seal desir'd to adjourn themselves  
till Sept<sup>r</sup> the 20<sup>th</sup>.



Thus ended this Session by no means to the liking of the Court, which the King did not conceal by choosing to dismiss them in silence, owing to doubt to the slow proceeding of the Commons upon the Money Bills, which as some Authors observe was rather the effect of discontent in the ~~Things~~, than any opposition in the Lords, who were generally silent; that the former were the active Men is certain, but their cautious measures in a business of such consequence was highly Constitutional, highly meritorious, & suitable to the Duty, as well as Dignity, necessary for the Representatives of a Free People to exert & Maintain; they certainly were desirous to support the new Government they had made, & to provide



Glory & Honour of the Kingdom, yet their actual supplies were Voted with the greatest circumspection, & dealt out with a sparing hand, with a jealousy that far from being culpable assumes the name of Moderation, & true Patriotism in our limited Constitution, & happy had it been for this Nation if succeeding Parliaments had follow'd in this particular the Wise example set them by the first Session in H. Williams's Reign.

We shall now proceed to the supply of this Session, which will come within a small compass from the irregular proceedings of the Committees of Supply & Ways & Means as was before mention'd.



The supply amounted this session to about...

This was proposed to be rais'd by

- C. 3. 1. An Act granting a present aid to their Majestys.
- C. 13. 2. a Poll Tax.
- C. 14. 3. An Act granting their Majestys all the Revenues except Hearth Money subsisting the 5<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1626.
- C. 20. 4. A Land tax
- C. 24. 5. An Act granting an additional Excise.
- C. 26. 6. An Act appropriating certain Dutys for paying the States General.

By the 1<sup>st</sup> a Monthly assessment of <sup>£</sup>60,000, 19. 1. was impos'd for 6. Months with a clause for a Loan for <sup>£</sup>370,000. to be



borrow'd at 6. per Cent increased afterwards  
to 7. by the Poll tax Act.

By the 2<sup>d</sup>. A Poll tax was granted with  
an addition upon People of Quality, Offices,  
& money'd Estates, with a clause of Loan  
for <sup>£</sup>300,000. at 7. per Cent.

By the 3<sup>d</sup>. all the Royal Revenues  
subsisting upon the 5<sup>th</sup> of Nov. 1648. except  
Heath money, were granted to the 25<sup>th</sup>  
of Dec. 1649.

By the 4<sup>th</sup>. A 1<sup>s</sup> in the pound Land tax  
paid with a Clause of Loan not  
exceeding <sup>£</sup>300,000.

By the 5<sup>th</sup>. an Additional Excise was lay'd  
upon Beer, Ale, Cyder, for 3. Years from the 24<sup>th</sup>  
of July 1649. without any specific sum mention'd.



By the 6<sup>th</sup> a part of the Duties upon Tobacco  
& Sugar that formed the 3<sup>th</sup> Branch of the  
Old Revenue, was mortgag'd for 3. Years for  
payment of 60,000. due to Charles St. Laurent;

By the same Act the 6<sup>th</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Branches  
of the Old Revenue containing the Duties  
upon Wine & Vinegar, French Brandy,  
Brandys &c. with the Additional Excise  
of the 5<sup>th</sup> Money Act of this Session, were  
all mortgag'd for the payment of the  
Dutch Bill of 600,000.

Here then begins the first anticipation  
of the Revenue tho' without interest.

Besides these Acts two other Bills  
pass'd the Commons that were lost by  
disputes between the two Houses.



The 1<sup>st</sup> was a Supplement made to the  
Poll tax, which meeting with some  
alterations in the House of Lords, & the  
Commons disagreeing, the Bill was  
dropp'd; by this Tradespeople worth  $\pounds$  500.  
& upwards were to be tax'd like Gentlemen;  
there was also a clause for taxing the  
Fees of Courts & Chancery by Commissions.

The other Bill was for charging  
& collecting the Dutys upon Coffee,  
Tea &c. to this the Lords added a  
clause for a drawback upon Exportation  
that was rejected by the other House.







