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BRITISH BUDGETS

1887-88 то 1912-13

BERNARD MALLET, C.B.

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PREFACE

In the preface to his Twenty Years of Financial Policy (1862), the late Lord Iddesleigh, then Sir Stafford Northcote, explained that his intention in writing that admirable book, a model of its kind, was to provide a "convenient summary of the financial measures of recent years"; and Mr. Sydney Buxton's more comprehensive volumes, Finance and Politics, which dealt with the national finance (and much besides) in a most interesting fashion, from the days of Pitt and Huskisson, carried on the story of the budgets to the year 1885-6. Since that date, in spite of the much greater attention which has been paid by economic writers to questions of taxation and finance, nothing has been published on similar lines: and those who have been in the habit of consulting Mr. Buxton's valuable work must often have wished that he could have found time to bring it up to date. Parliamentary experience is not the only qualification for a survey of this kind which I can make no claim to share with these two distinguished public men; and I should certainly have hesitated to attempt a continuation of their work, however limited in scope, if I had not been warmly encouraged to do so by Mr. Buxton himself when I propounded the idea to him a few years ago. His advice, and the ample published materials available, decided me not to shrink from a task which no one else seemed inclined to undertake, and which, if it succeeded in giving another "convenient summary" of the financial policy and budget figures of recent years, might, I thought, be of some use to students of the subject.

As regards the general plan of this book, my object has been, first, to give from the Parliamentary Reports as fair an account as I could in a very condensed form of the budget statements and discussions, bringing out by quotations from (or summaries of) the speeches the opposing arguments on any important question raised in them, especially on any question of principle (Part I.); and secondly, to put together the figures for the whole period, the budget tables with full details of alterations in taxation in Part II., and in Part III. notes and tables analyzing and illustrating, as far as space would allow, the various items of revenue and expenditure and the probable incidence (in a very general way) of the burden of taxation. For obvious reasons I have, unlike Mr. Buxton, confined myself strictly to the fiscal aspect of the subject, and I have, further, not attempted to link this volume to his by carrying the comparisons back but have treated my period as separate and self-contained.

The last quarter of a century has been signalized by events and changes which have profoundly influenced public finance. The expansion of the great industries, the wonderful growth of foreign trade and of shipping, and the development of cosmopolitan finance of which London is still the most important centre, have raised the standard of living in all classes; and by creating new wants and weakening the sense of any need for economy, they have given a great impulse to expenditure both in private life and in public administration, and encouraged the national propensity to look upon lavish outlay as synonymous with efficiency. The conscience of the community has become increasingly alive to all that is unfavourable in the material condition of the poorer classes: an unlimited confidence in the efficacy of public action and public money in dealing with social problems has taken the place of a somewhat too dogmatic reliance upon spontaneous development and individual effort and foresight; the principles of state socialism have largely superseded those of free exchange in every direction except that of foreign trade: and the conception of the objects for which taxation may legitimately be imposed has therefore been immensely widened. In the political sphere this period has witnessed the final though long delayed triumph of the democratic elements in

the constitution; and it has also witnessed, whether as a consequence or not, a continuous decline in the power to control expenditure which statesmen of the era of Mr. Gladstone were accustomed to exercise. Quite as significant in its financial effects has been the growth of foreign rivals, both in industrial efficiency and in naval strength, which has seriously altered the relative position of this country. England is no longer, as she still was at the beginning of the period, the workshop of the world and the unchallenged mistress of the sea; and leaders of public opinion are constantly urging upon her fresh efforts to hold her own in both capacities, efforts which, however necessary they may be, are making ever fresh demands upon the public purse.

It is therefore not surprising that the outstanding feature of these years from a budget point of view should be the growth, accepted as inevitable if not welcomed as beneficial, of the national expenditure; and the main interest of the present review lies in the process of expansion and adjustment by which the revenue system has so far been enabled to cope with the increasing cost of administration. Throughout these discussions there is traceable a constant preoccupation with the question of the "ability" or "capacity" of the tax-payer, and a successful endeavour to apportion the burden of taxation, both as between individuals and as between classes, in accordance with modern theories of equity in such matters.

As regards owners of property and income-tax-payers: generally the idea that a tax should be levied at a constant rate, irrespective of the amount of the income. has by degrees been largely superseded by the adoption of progressive rates; and graduation, which relieves the poorer at the expense of the richer members of this class and thereby increases the productiveness of the imposts to which it is applied, is now a recognized element in direct taxation. As between the incometax-paying class on the one hand and those below the income-tax limit on the other, the proportion of taxation falling upon each, as shown by the proportion of direct to indirect taxation, has been very considerably altered since the beginning of this period to the advantage of the poorer sections of the population. Even the rough and ready rules which prevailed during the earlier years, and indeed until after the South African War, rules which aimed at a general equality between these two branches of taxation, and which provided that each should be affected pari passu by increases or remissions, have now been so much modified in practice that little remains except a bare assertion of the general principle that all classes ought to be required to contribute proportionately (however that term may be understood) to the revenue.

The progress which has been made in this direction during a period of growing liabilities is probably without a parallel in the fiscal history of great civilized states. In none of them except our own have both questions I have addressed to them on points of detail, by supplying me with accurate figures, or by referring me to the publications in which the information I sought was to be found. I should like especially to thank Mr. W. E. Willan of the Estate Duty Office, Inland Revenue, who has rendered me great assistance not only in his own special subject but in the preparation of the accounts of several of the budget discussions, and also Mr. G. H. Tregear B.Sc. Econ., of the General Register Office, whose help in drawing up and arranging the statistical tables, in reading the proofs, and in many other ways, has been invaluable in all the later stages of the work.

B. M.

43 CADOGAN GARDENS, November, 1913.

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