# 215-19

THE

## GENUINE THOUGHTS

OF A

## MERCHANT:

SHEWING,

That in all the Libels, Remonstrances, and pretended Letters against A New Method of Levying the Duties on Tobacco and Wine, there is not so much as one Word worth answering.

#### L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick lane, 1732-3. Price 6 d.

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## Genuine Thoughts

OF A

MERCHANT, &c.



RITERS of all Kinds feldom fhew their Modesty in any thing so much as in a Jealousy, that any other Name and Character will succeed in the World

better than their own, and therefore it is we have so many Disguises of both the one and the other in the Title Pages of Books and Pamphlets. But the Thoughts communicated to the Publick in these sew Pages are owing to the genuine Sentiments of a Merchant; one of the most eminent of his Profession both for Capacity and Experience, who upon my desiring him to give me his Opinion of a Scheme for A 2

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a new Method of Levying the Duties on Tobacco, Wine, &c. fent me an Answer in a very few Lines, which made me a Convert from the popular Notion to that of Men of Knowledge and Practice. His Words are:

I cannot relate to You how mad People are about the Phantom Excise. They are a Fire, and if Matters go on for a Month to come, as they have done for a Month past, we shall have it a Party-Word, the Mark of Distinction, as Sacheverel and the Church in Danger were in Queen Anne's Time, and with as little Reason and perhaps, as much Confusion and Detriment to the Publick. There is no more daring to tell one's Mind upon it, than there was then to speak truly of the Then Ministry, or the Peace. But if I, who have lived abroad in Holland, Hamburgh, and other Trading Countries and Towns, might declare my Opinion grounded on what I saw to be the good Effects of their Way of Taxing, I must needs own, if a Way is found out to remedy the Evil, that is feared from Excisemen, and the Method of Surveying Goods and Collecting the Duty made easy, can think no otherwise, but that the Lessening the Customs and Taxing Goods by Excise would be a great Blessing to this Nation, and effectually make us share with our Neighbours in being the common Storehouse of Europe. Indeed excepting that one Objection about Excisemen,

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cisemen, I never heard a single Word against Excise which deserves an Answer. But instead of Argument the very Jacobites and Tories cry out, Liberty, Liberty, No Excise, No Excise, as I heard that Sort of People cry out in Cheapside, when Cass Newland, &c. opposed the Four Merchants, No Merchants, No Trade.

Which just Observations of his pleas'd me so well, that it led me into a new Way of thinking, and adding some of my own to His, I return'd the whole to him in the following Form:

The only Difference between the Clamour now raifed against the Scheme, which by the way none of the Clamourers ever faw, and that about the Church's Danger is, that in the former, none but Jacobites and Tories cried aloud and spraed not, but now fome deluded Whigs and Diffenters join in with the Tories and Jacobites in the Oppositions raised and fomented at first by the latter, only for Opposition Sake, out of Envy to those that form'd it, or caus'd it to be formed. For to imagine, that People were in their right Senses, or had any at all, when they gave Judgment of aThing that never came to their Knowledge, is as preposterous as to hear a Weaver of Norwich, or a Hatter of Southwark, tell us, what is the true Interest of a Virginia or Portugal Merchant.

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We shall not enquire, what Reasons the Portugal or Virginia Merchant has to oppose what they knew nothing more of, than a Name they themselves have given it, but if it is the Intention of the Legislature, when a Duty is laid to have it levied in the best Manner to answer the End for which it was given, then certainly that Method of Levying it which best answers that End, and is no way prejudicial to the Subject, either in his Property or Liberty, according to the Construction of the Law is the best, and he has no Reason to complain, that his Liberty or Property are affected, when it is only in the due and decent Exemption of it.

As to the Inconveniencies of Excisemen, they are not fuch as are irremediable, and there is nothing else, according to the Merchant abovemention'd to be objected against an Excise. But it ought to be remark'd, that People are so little pleas'd with all Sorts of Payments to the Publick, that the Officers employ'd in them are al-ways their Aversion. One would think those that are employ'd in collecting Charities for the Poor, and in surveying the Highways for the Commodity of all, Man, Woman and Child, being Parochial Officers, chosen by the Inhabitants, or their Magistrates, should be very acceptable to all Persons: And yet what Reception they meet with when they collect their MoWe find these figures, Joseph Schaffes than the state of the state of

ney, what four Looks, what foul Language, and sometimes worse, is too well and too generally known to be farther infifted on here: If it was ever fo little confider'd, what Sort of Creatures the Excisemen have chiefly to do with, Alehousemen, Brandymen, and the like, People would think the Officers good enough for the Work they are fet upon; but it is not reasonable to conclude from thence, that it is pretended to quarter such a Fellow on every Trader in Tobacco and Wine, tho' that is invidiously meant to terrify Traders into an Abhorrence of the Scheme. It became reasonable Men to be assur'd, that this was the Case before they sent Word of it to their Representatives, for none but Children and Fools cry out before they are hurt. But impartial Persons cannot help thinking, that the main Exception is to the Office, and not the Officer, and that the Goods being survey'd, gives the real Offence, and not the Behaviour of the Surveyor. Because it is most certain, that no Duty can be regularly levied without doing Justice to the Revenue, as well as to the Trade, and no fuch Justice can be done, without employing somebody to do it; who let him be who and what he will is fure never to be in the good Opinion of those who think they suffer by his Diligence and Fidelity, which I dare venture to affirm give more Offence than Man[8]

ners or ill Words, and they both are Things fo eafily provided against that to name them is trifling and next to Imperti-

All wife Ministers confider chiefly in the Ways and Means for railing Money, that every Tax should be so equally laid that every one should pay in Proportion to his Fortune and Expence, and that the Imposition be plac'd on such Goods as are for Luxury or Pleasure, and not such as are for the Necessities of Life, which cannot be faid of Tobacco and Wine, though Habit has made them almost natural to us. Since then it is allowed, that those Commodities are the best suited of all others to proportion an Equality of Payment by the Confumption. Wife Ministers cannot serve their Country better, than by taking Care that the Payment be really and in Fact equal to the Consumption, which no Body will have just Cause to complain of, because it is in his Power to lessen or encrease it as he pleases, which however is not the Case, even in Holland, where Liberty is surely as well understood and as dear to the People as in England, and yet not only Corn but Flesh is under Excise, which probably would not be so easily born with, if they had Lands enough to levy Money upon. It is true the Hollanders are commended for laying their Duties on Goods, which are not of the Growth of their Country, they having

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having their Flesh from Denmark, and their Corn from Dantzick, and it was a like Consideration that induc'd our Legislature to lay the present Imposts on Tobacco and Wine, which are much more of the Nature of Taxable Goods than Bread and Beef, for which the Dutch pay Excise, and have paid almost ever fince they took Arms in Defence of that Liberty, which their Excise has enabled them to preserve against the Power both of the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, who have both endeavour'd in their Turn to enflave them. And it is very remarkable, that the very first Excise, which was levied on Goods in England, was impos'd by the very Parliament, who were at the same Time at War with the Invaders of their Liberty, and raifed Money by an Excise to maintain that War, which proves to us, that fuch Levying of Money is so far from being of Arbitrary, that it is of Republican Original, and instead of keeping up an Army to collect it, it was collected to keep up an Army to fave Religion, Liberty and Property, which is the present Circumstance, if the Argument is taken in its full Extent, it being for the Support of our present happy Constitution, which is the Support of our All.

When the Chimney-Money Tax was in Being, the Clamour against it was pretended to be more on the Account of the Taxmen than of the Tax; yet in Truth it was the

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the Money the People paid, and not the Men that collated it, that gave so much Disturbance; for afterwards when that Tax was taken off, with a little too much Precipitation, and the Expence of the War encreas'd the Tax upon Land, the Slavery of the Chimney Men was forgotten, and a certain Knight of a Shire said, They have eased us of a Feather, and lay a Milstone upon us. For the Disaffected and the Disgusted have, ever fince the Revolution, had something to say against every Proposal whatsoever which came from the Government and was for its Service. They, the very same Men, have been for and against Taxing Land, for and against an Excise, as it served a Turn and fomented an Opposition to State Measures.

At the latter End of the Sessions of Parliament in 1691, there was a Discounse of changing the Method of raising the Supply, which began to run the Nation into the Debt it contracted by large Discount, and Interest; to prevent which it was thought most adviseable to raise the Year's Expence within the Year by Excising Goods in the Hands of the Retailers, which immediately was exclaim'd against, not only by Jacobites and Tories, but also by some Revolutioners, particularly by a Gentleman, a Member of the House of Commons, who had been very instrumental in the Revolution, whose Father was then in the Treasury and thought

thought, as the other Lords did, that by raising the Money within the Year, they should prevent an immense Debt growing upon the Nation, and enable it to carry on the War with more Ease and Success, all the Supplies answering that Way with great-

er Quickness and Certainty.

Lihall have Occasion to mention some of the beforemention'd Gentleman's Arguments, and shall shew by them, that as plaufible as they feem'd to be, they were equally fraught with Sophistry, Fallacy and Discontent. However, the Opposition prevail'd so far that the old Ways and Means were pursu'd, and a Debt of several Millions left upon the Publick at the Ehd of King William's War, which the very same Men, who made the Cry against the Excise, that would have prevented it, then cried out against as an Effect of the Mismanagement of the Ministry, who ought, said they, to have rais'd the Year's Expence in the Year, and not have made the Nation Bankrupt, by running it so in Arrear. Thus the General Excise was not only trump'd up in their Pamphlets, and Lord Hallifan re-flected upon for not falling in with it, which he would have done with all his Heart, if they would have let him, but Speeches were made within Doors, as well as without, to the same Purpose. The Danger it would have been to Liberty was no more thought of nor the Impertinence nor Infolence des guisses B 2

thought

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of Excisemen, but all the Talk was the great Advantages that would have accru'd by railing the Money at once in a Way so sure and so speedy. And indeed as to the Officers and Hours so much excepted and declaim'd against, they are only false Colours hung out by the Opposess to frighten the Weak and Timorous, as Dutch Seamen have painted Granadiers on their Decks, to make People believe they are living Soldiers, when they are only a Parcel of wooden Figures that will hurt no Body, unless you set them a Fire.

There is no better Way of making a right Judgment in the Consideration of Matters relating to the Commonwealth than to judge by Men as well as Things. It never fail'd once, and is the Experience of all Ages. Having not Books by me, I must make use of Memory, and that brings to my Mind the Story of a Citizen of Rome, who going to the Place of Election for Confuls in a Sort of Doubt how to give his Vote, met with a Friend of his coming from it, and after changing a Word or two about the Candidates, he demanded, Who did fuch a one vote for? His Friend told him. Then I will give my Vote for the other, faid he, for I am sure, that Man never did non ever will give his for the Good of his Country. An infallible Rule, which whoever goes by will never be mistaken; for a Jacobite, a Tory, a Grumbler, as such, and while in

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the Possession of their evil Spirit, can no more be made found in Principle, than a a Negro can be made white in Complexion, and therefore every good Englishman when he fees these Men furiously promoting Letters to Representatives, or Addresses to Parliament, will very well inform himself of the Truth of their Affertions and the Grounds menthey go upon, before he gives into any thing they offer, and will always fulpect there is Mischief at the Bottom, Anguis in Herba, whatever Disguise they put upon their Intentions, and in whatever fair Words they cloath their Hypocrify and Malice. When well meaning Persons are drawn aside by them, it should be enquired, whether Self-Interest, Vanity, Humour, or Ignorance are not in their Composition. Whether some may not do it, because they hope to get by it, others to gain some Distinction in their Profession and Neighbourhood, others out of a Spirit of Opposition only, and others because they know not what it is they oppose, which may in some wise be wo faid of all of them as to a New Method of Levying the Duties on Tobacco and Wine; because, as I have observ'd, not one of them and has received Light enough in the Matter to av qualify him for any Manner of Explanation, otherwise than as it is taking the Duty of the Retailer, instead of the Merchant, is turned by Him from Custom into Excise, and ai calidur biad ki hodi, od kijeskiskog ki gobij sti

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the Custom bouse Officer is christened an Exciseman.

Was it not equally confounding and shocking to hear Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Muserave, &c. in King William's Parliaments tearing their Lungs to express their Zeal for Liberty, when not many Years before Seymour was address'd against as a Betrayer of it, and Muserave's Borough of Carlifle fent an Address of Thanks to King James for his Standing Army of English and Irish Papists; Yet these Gentlemen were loudest in the Cry against the Ministers and their Measures in the Reign of King William, the Defender of our Liberty as well as of our Faith. These Men wanted not Revolters among the Revolutioners to encrease their Party, and the Noise they made, and the Case would be equally lamentable and pitiful, if after so much Experience of the Falshood of their Pretences, and the Wickedness of their Designs, good English Men should be drawn in to give Ear to such Men, and be made their Tools to carry Points, which dirsctly or indirectly tend to the Difturbance, at least, if not to the Destruction of the Government.

There is nothing renders the false Pretences of these pretended Assertors of Liberty more obvious and absurd, than the Practice of the Commonwealth of Holland in

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in laying Excises on the Goods abovementioned, and having Bureaux, or Offices, in their very Markets, which certainly have their Officers to inspect and collect as well as their Customhouses: and yet, though I have been told, that at Amsterdam, a Dish of Fish, with its Sauce, before it be served up to Table, pays Excise Thirty several Times, there was never a Whisper in that Country which shew'd the least Jealousy of thair Liberty's being endanger'd by it. The Vanity of this Conceit will farther appear by the Practice of the Commonwealth of Venice, who boast of being the oldest and freest People in the World; and yet harbour among them almost as many Excisemen, as they are now call'd here, as there are Gondaliers on both Sides of the Rialto. See an Account of this in a Political Tract pubblish'd in the Year 1689.

None will fay the Commonwealth of Venice is a poor State, though all must own, that they lie under heavy Taxes, insomuch that it is believ'd in those Countries, that the Christians under the Turk, are subject to less Impositions than such as are under the Venetians, where besides great Customs upon all Merchandizes, they pay Excise for every Bit of Bread and Meat, nay for the very Salt they eat, and after all this, the poorest Labourer pays his Poll-Money, and yet where

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where is there a Richer People; and,
which can be faid of no Government,
either Christian or Heathen in the known
World of such Antiquity, without
Change, though pester'd with continual
Wars, at one Time, for the Space of Seven Years, they had all the Christian
Princes in Europe in a League and War
against them, except England,

Which is more than sufficient to demonstrate, that the affected Fears of Loss of Liberty by raising Money as the Venetians and Dutch Commonwealths do by Excises, especially on Goods that are consum'd in Luxury and Pleasure, are groundless and chimerical, and the Experience of these Republicks a good Lesson to all Lovers of their Country whether in or out of the Management.

The Truth is, All who fet themselves against this equal, speedy and sure Way of raising Money, as Men always do who are on the wrong Side of an Argument, endeavour to supply with Artifice and Assurance what they want in Reason and Truth. They terrify People with Things which never come to pass, and argue from Premises which were never thought of. Thus the Author of the Treatise against Excise Forty Years ago enumerating the Mischiess that would arise from it among other Particulars names that of Malt, which was excised

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dred Years under the Tyranny of the House of Medicis, yet we may well conclude, that the Dukes of Florence continued the old Method of raising Money practised by the Florentines when they were a Republick, and this Subject being thrown in my way I beg heave to repeat a Passage or two out of the Tract published in the Year 1689.

out of the Tract published in the Year "The Way of Excise is much us'd in the United Provinces, which we should " here think intolerable to be laid on eveery Bit which we eat; but there it is found " useful and Time has made it natural to " the People: So in Venice and other Partsi The great Duke of Florence does the fame, by railing most of his Revenue upon Consumptions in his own Domini-" ons, which indeed feem of all Faxes the " most equal; for that no Man by it can " be said to be oppress'd, he being his " own Assessor and pays but what he pleases; " according to his Expence; but laying in " as they do in the United Provinces upon " the Food of the Poor might be thought " à Grievance, if that and one Defect more " could be remedied, not the Company of " Excisemen, there could be nothing faid " against this Tax', and that is, the rich Miser, who starves his miserable Body, " goes most free, therefore as to him I " have before given my Opinion how he " might

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might be reach'd. Where this Excise is most us'd, (Pray mind this for it confirms the Judgment of my Merchant) Importations and Exportations are most eas'd, by which Means Trade is greatly improved, and at the street the Levies to the State much augmented, for that the Expence of those Merchants and Seamen that repair thither, though they often sell nothing, but come to see a Market, is considerable."

This is a Confirmation of my Merchant's Judgment, and indeed the Thing speaks itself. If Traders were made more easy at the Keys Trade would encrease, Merchandise be sold cheaper in our own Market, and consequently would be more vendible in the Markets abroad, which would be an effectual, as it is the only, Means for us to come in with the Dutch in the Profit they make of being the Carriers and Storekeepers of Europe. If this holds good in a general Argument, it must in a particular one much more, and especially in the Articles now talk'd of, fince probably the Merchandise to be eas'd at the Key is likely to pay above twice as much at the Shop at the same Rate it is now charg'd with by

Law.
It is computed, that there are about 60000 Hogiheads of Tobacco imported yearly from Virginia and Maryland, which at 720 pds Weight each should pay 141.55. a Hogihead,

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Hogshead: In all 855000 l. out of which must be deducted two Thirds for Drawbacks by Exportation 570000 pds; fo there remains 285000 /. for the Home Consumption, to which if we add an Eleventh Part for Bulk Tobacco, brought over thus in order to be fmuggled, and that which is run in the Hogshead or after it is taken out of the Hogshead, and the Staves slung into the Sea or River, the whole Amount of the Customs would be 356000 l. yearly. and it has not come to above 180000 %. yearly, clear in the present Way of Collection, by which it appears, that there is pretty near as much lost to the Publick Revenue, as is received, and as the Loss in the Duties upon Wine is computed to be more even than that in those on Tobacco, put both together and you will find they do not fall far short of 12 d. in the Pound upon Land, which however the Wisdom of the Nation will always find Use for, if People are forfond of paying it that nothing else will content them. All the Frauds by which these Branches of the Revenue suffer fo much will be prevented, if the Retailer pays the Duty, and will be so good as to let somebody else besides himself or his Servants take an Account of the Wares the Law obliges him to pay for. That this Retailer is in a fair Way of making himself more than whole for fuch Payment in the Price of his Commodity is plain, by the Practice of those Tradesmen whose Commodities are already D 2 under

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under Excise. The Tollow-Chandler and Shoemaker having rifen the Price of their Wares above double the Value of the Excife on Leather and Candles, and the Confumption is not a Whit the less, as it is vainly pretended, would be the Case of To-bacco and Wine. Whereas it is most certain, the People are generally so bewitch'd to Smoaking that they would rather abate of their Bread than their Tobacco. And as to Wine one may guess how firong their Lust after it is, by their paying for Stum Cyder, &c. instead of it, as they do daily, which is a much greater Tax upon them than an Excise instead of Custom would be, and by the former they will be delivered from the Danger they are in of being both cheated and poison'd by the Cooper or Vintner, who will not be willing to pay a Groat a Quart Duty for Stuff which perhaps they make for Two pence, so that take this new Method of Levying it in what View you will there appears Advantage to every one that deals fairly in the Commodities we are treating of, and to the Publick Revenue in which all are interested. There remains then none to stand out in Opposition to this Method, but those who have Interest in so doing seperate from that of the Publick; and whether that is worth confidering when the other is in Question is whar, I believe, will never come into Debate.

It will be very natural for all who read these

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diele few Pages to object, Are not many of the Merchants that oppose this new Method Men of Sense and Honour, and would they be to carnest against it without good Rea-Tons for it? I must answer in the Words of my Merchant, a Man of equal Sense and Honour with the best of them. That if they have fuch good Reasons they have kept them to themselves, as close as the Scheme was kept from them, and nothing like it has yet appear'd in any Thing that has come from them concerning it! Men of Sense and Honour are fometimes blinded as well as others by their Paffion, Interest which never lies, as it is faid, is however very often mistaken, and in the Purfuit of it, whether real or imaginary, Men very often forget themselves, and in that Instance their Sense and their Honour are a while suspended. If they oppole an Opinion under the Biais of Interest, whether imaginary or real, it is all one to them, their Thoughts lean all that Way, and they keep themfelves Strangers to every Thing that may be faid against it.

If a fair Trader who has the Frauds of the unfair one in Abhorrence, joins with him however in Opposition to a Scheme he thinks would be prejudicial to his Trade: Such an one doubtless does so, either because the Retailers he deals with represent to him that their very Trade will be at an End, if such a Restraint is put upon it: or, because he is jealous that any Alteration in

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the Management of it will be for the worse, that he knows now what he has to do, but knows not what he shall have to do then, and Interest is so delicate in all its Concerns that it is very often as much frighted with Shadows as Substances, which will not be said to be a good Reason why in Consideration of such groundless Jealousies the Wisdom of the Nation should not use all reasonable Means to secure and improve the Pubblick Revenue on which the Preservation of the whole so much depends.

As for the Rest of the Members of this Opposition, which are more than Ninetynine in an Hundred of the whole, they are either those that have been and intend to be unfair Traders, or those that have some how or other Dependance upon them, and both Deceivers and Deceived are work'd into it by the Ferment which the Craftsmen, and their Emissaries, have industriously raised, being in Truth as much Enemies to the Peace and true Interest of their Country as the Earbery's and Fog's. This is to notorious that it is avow'd and boasted of as an Instance of the Success of their factious and seditious Clamour, to the great Scandal and Grief of all fober and judicious Persons, who have nothing so much at Heart as the Safety, Welfare and Happiness of the Commonwealt.

ness of the Commonwealt.

But some say, We do believe and allow that the New Method for Levying the Dunies

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ties on Tobacco and Wine will encrease the Revenue probably to a Sum equivalent to what is said of it, but then it is giving too much to, and putting us too much in the Power of the Crown. This is incomparable Jargon; the giving Part is over, the Duties are given, and have been long given, but they have not been paid as the Law requires. The Publick have in all Likelihood been defrauded of more than a Third Part of the Amount of the National Debts in the Cuftoms of these Articles since they were impos'd. The Debate is not now whether the Duty shall be given, but whether it shall be paid, and whether the Retailers paying it is not the sure Means to obtain that End. As to putting us in the Power of the Crown, I know not what is meant by the Crown in a Revolution Government, but the Constitution, or the Executive Power of the Laws of our own making, which 'tis alike impossible for a King or a State to execute themselves, and therefore they must necessarily have Officers, who can have no more Power than those Laws have given them, in a Government founded on Revolution Principles, the chief of which is that of Liberty, not in the Sound of the Word only, as the Craftsmen and Murmurers make it, but in a due Observance of the Laws, and a hearty Concern for the Peace and Prosperity of the Nation, which includes a ready Obedience to the King, their Head,

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Head, and Respect for those Ministers who suithfully and ably serve Him. King Will liam told his Parliaments more than once; That His and His People's Interest was one and the fame Thing, and could not be feperated. Queen Anne acted as if the
thought what King William faid, till the
fuffer'd herfelf to be led afide by evil and pernicious Counfels in the four last Years of her Reign: His Late Majesty K. George I. was wont to fay, The Parliament knew best what they stood in need of; and He frould be always glad to join with them in any Thing they thought would be for the Good of the Rublick. His present Majesty has in the whole Course of his Government fliewn himself to be as much the Father of our Country, as if he was fo by Nature, as well as by His Royal Dignity and Character. And as these great and good Revolu-tion Princes have always acted as if they thought they could not do too much for us, methinks it was and is equally ungrateful and unjest to give them the invidious Name of the Crowns and then caution us to have a Care what we docfor it. Thefe Things are easily feen through, and are the thin Disguises of Faction to disturb and perplex the Administration, and conceal Deligns, which as shameless as the Factious are, they are asham'd to own.

FINIS.