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OCCASIONAL  
**REMARKS**

U P O N

The A C T for laying a Duty upon the  
Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, &c.  
and for Licensing the R E T A L E R S  
thereof.



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*Nam vi quidem regere Patriam, aut Parentes, quamquam & poſſis,  
& delicta corrigas, tamen importunum eſt; cum præſertim omnes  
rerum mutationes, cædem, fugam, aliaque hoſtilia portendant.*  
SALUST.

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L O N D O N:

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OCCASIONAL  
**REMARKS**  
 UPON

The ACT for laying a Duty upon the  
 Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, &c.



All Societies must be supported by a Body of Men able to bear Arms, *expert in Military Discipline*, and ready to appear for the Support of the Government against Invasions from without, or Insurrections from within, there are therefore but two ways of supporting the Government of any Country: The first is by Managing and Conducting the *Spirit of the People*, and thereby Ingrossing their *Esteem and Affections*; for the Generality of the People will be always ready to *appear in Arms* for the Support and Protection of those they *Love and Esteem*; therefore it is the *Interest* as well as the *Duty* of the Government to *cultivate Military Discipline*, and the use of Arms, among the *People*, and consequently such a Government can have no occasion for Numerous *Mercenary Armies*.

The other way of Supporting a Government is by making it the *Interest* of a few to Support the Government even *in Spite* of the Generality of the People; in which Case the Governors of the Society are under a *fatal necessity*

[ 2 ]

cessity of *Discouraging Military Discipline* and the use of Arms among the *People*, and consequently must *always* keep up Numerous *Mercenary Armies*.

A Government supported by the *former* of these Methods is always a *just Government*, under whatever form it may be established; and a Government supported by the *latter* Method, must be *Tyrannical*, let it be Monarchy, Republick, or whatever other form of Government.

In Arbitrary Governments, where the People have no Power to *punish* or *turn out* any of their Governors, it is not absolutely necessary for the Governors to observe the *first* Method of Government, but if they have any Prudence, they will aim at it as much as they can; for a just Government, a Government founded upon the affections of the People, is the only Government which can properly be compared to a Pyramid established upon its Base, the only Establishment which can be solid, secure and lasting.

But in limited and free Governments, where the People have a Power to *Punish* or *Turn out* any of their Governors, the Governors must either observe the *first* Method of Government, or entirely alter the form of Government, by *rendering it Absolute and Arbitrary*; for while the People retain a Power of *Punishing* or *Turning out* any of their Governors, they will certainly make use of that Power *against* those they *neither love nor esteem*, by *punishing* them for their *Maleversations*, or at least by *turning them out* because of their *Incapacity*.

As the Government happily Established in this Kingdom is, with respect to Ministers of State, and other Officers of all degrees and denominations, a limited and free Government; As the People have a Power of *Punishing* any of them for their *Maleversations*, or *Removing* them from the *King's Councils*, because of their *Incapacity*, therefore it is *absolutely* necessary for our Ministers of State, and other Officers of all degrees and denominations, to *Manage* and *Conduct* the *Spirit* of the *People*, so as to *ingross* the *Esteem* and *Affections* of the *Generality*; And as every Man will *avoid Punishment* and *retain Power* as long as he can, therefore, if ever any Minister, or other Officer, should *lose* the *Esteem* and *Affections* of the *People* in General, we may depend on it that such a Minister, or other Officer, will endeavour to alter the form of our Government, by *rendering it Absolute and Arbitrary*.

But as this cannot be done without the Concurrence of the *Prince* upon the *Throne*, if any Minister, or Royal Favou-

[ 3 ]

Favorite, in this Kingdom should find, that he begins to be *hated* and *despised* by the *Generality* of the *People*, we may depend on it that he will endeavour as much as he can to have the *sole* Direction of his Sovereign, in order to prevent his Sovereign's freeing himself from the *Hatred* and *Contempt* of the *People*, by giving up his *Guilty* Favorite to their *Just* Resentment; and he will likewise *endeavour as much as he can* to bring his *Master* into the *same Hatred and Contempt with himself*, in order thereby to lay his *Prince* under a *Necessity* of *Concurring* with him in *altering* the *form* of our *Government*; for tho' no Man ought upon any account to lose the *Respect* and *Reverence* which is due to his *King*, or to *Involve* him in the *Guilt* of any of his *Ministers* or *Favourites*, yet Experience has taught us, that by a *long* Series of *weak* or *oppressive* Measures, and by a *long* continued and *obstinate* Protecting of *guilty* or *weak* Favourites, the *Prince* himself has unhappily at last become the *Object* not only of the *Hatred* and *Contempt*, but even of the *Resentment* of the *People*.

For this Reason it is *the Duty* of every Man who has a *due* regard for his *King*, and for the Constitution of his Country, to *endeavour* to remove from the *King* and *Royal Family* the *Imputation* of any Measure which may raise *Hatred* or *Contempt* among the *People*, and to *fix* that *Imputation* upon those who *really* deserve it, and who, *only*, ought to be *loaded* with it.

With this view chiefly I design to consider the *Act* for *Laying a Duty* upon the *Retailers* of *Spirituous Liquors*, and for *Licensing* the *Retailers* thereof: And as my design proceeds from a *sincere* Affection to his Majesty and his *Illustrious* Family, *without any selfish* Byass to his *Ministers*; from a *real* Desire to see the Constitution, the Peace, and the Quiet of this Kingdom *inviolably* preserved; and from a *Compassionate* Regard for the Sufferings of the *Innocent*, in order to *recommend* their Case to the Consideration of the next Session of Parliament, and in order to *prevail*, in the mean time, upon them, to wait *with Patience* for that Relief which they may *with certainty* expect from the justice and wisdom of Parliament, I hope any Faults I may find with the said *Act* will be forgiven by those who gave their Consent to its being passed; for I shall take all possible Care to make my Observations with that *Decency* and *Respect* which is *due* to the *Legislative Power* of the Kingdom, but at the same time with that *Freedom* which becometh a *Subject* of *Great Britain*.

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It is certain there is nothing more true than what is set forth in the Preamble of this Act; The *Constant and Excessive* use of such Spirituous Liquors, amongst the *People of inferior Rank*, was become a *Nusance* which every Man was sensible of; therefore a Law for the preventing this *constant and excessive* use of such Liquors amongst *such* sort of *People*, was much desired by every honest Man in the Kingdom, and *proper Care* had been taken by several *worthy Magistrates* to *expose* this *Nusance*, and to *incite* a *General desire* to see it *removed*, which is a Method ought *always* to be taken before the proposing of *any new Law in a free Country*. Such a Law therefore would have been very far from being *Unpopular*, or from raising any *disaffection* to his Majesty, or any of his Ministers. But there never had been any *Publick Complaints*, and I believe very few *Private*, against the *Constant and Excessive* Drinking of Brandy and Rum, either in *Punch* or otherwise; and the fact really was, that by the *Duty* of these two Spirits, the Price was raised so high, that none of the *Lower and Inferior Rank* of People could make a *Constant and Excessive* use of them. In like manner it had *never* been complained of, or so much as thought, that the *Drinking a Dram* of Home Brewed Spirits of any kind was a *Nusance*, or tended to the *Destruction* of the *Health*, or *Debauching* the *Morals* of the People, the *Constant and Excessive* use of such Spirits amongst the *People of inferior Rank* was the *only Nusance* complained of; and as this *Nusance* proceeded from the *Low Price* of such Spirits, and from the *Number* of *Retailers* Shops, the Effect of the *High Duty* upon Brandy and Rum, plainly pointed out a *Cure* with respect to the *Price*, and a *small Duty* upon *Licences* would have been a *certain Cure* with respect to the *Number* of *Retailers* Shops, if proper Regulations had been made for preventing any Person's *retailing* Spirits *without* a Licence.

I shall grant that the People of this Kingdom might have lived, perhaps more happily, and more healthfully, if there never had been a Drop of Distill'd Spirituous Liquors made or imported into the Kingdom, and I am perswaded, that the use of them would *never* have been *allowed* to have become so *general*, or so *frequent*, if the Government had *never* got any thing by the *Consumption*; but on the other hand it must be granted, that *Custom is a second Nature*, and may at last become as *Necessary*, both for our *Happiness* and *Health* as the *Common Nourishment* necessarily required for the *Support* of *Nature*.

*ture*. The *Old Britons*, in their Painted Natural Skins were, I believe, *as happy*, and *as healthy*, as our *Modern Britons* in their Silks and Brocades, or in their *Yorkshire Drabs*; yet I cannot think it would contribute either to the *Health* or the *Happiness* of the People, to make a Law for reducing us all at once to our *Primitive Condition*, and stripping us of those *Coverings* which we have been *accustomed* to from our *Infancy*.

Besides the Custom which many, even of our *sober People*, have not only been allowed, but *encouraged* to lead themselves into, of *Drinking a Dram* or two, to cheer up the Spirits, as they call it, there was another Consideration which certainly was of great weight with those who *duly* considered this Affair, and that was the *vast Number* of Families that are now supported by the *Brewing*, *Compounding*, and *Sale* of Distilled Spirituous Liquors; for it is not the *Distillers* and *Brandy Shops* only that are supported by this *Retail Trade*; but the greatest part, I believe, of the *Inn's*, *Coffee-houses*, and *Ale-houses*, owe the *Chief* of their Support to the *Retail* of Distilled Spirituous Liquors in *Punch*, or otherwise: So that I may almost venture to say, there are near 100000 Families now in this Kingdom who owe the *whole* or the *chief Part* of their *Support* to the *Manufacture* and *Sale* of such Liquors. Every Body knows how difficult it is for a Man advanced in Years, and established in any Sort of *Business*, to betake himself *with Success* to a new Sort of *Employment*. It is easy for the *Tool* of a *Minister* to jump from the *Admiralty* to the *Treasury*, from the *Treasury* to the *War-Office*, or from the *Excise-Office* perhaps into the *Pulpit*; but for a Man who has past the flower of his Age in the *Study* of one *Business*, and in procuring *Correspondents* and *Customers* in that *Business*, and has laid out the *Little Stock* of Money he had in *Materials* proper for that *Business*, it is not easy for such a one, I say, to find out and turn himself all at once to a new *Employment*, by which *he may hope* to support his *Family*; from whence we may conclude, that a *vast Number* of Families will, at *Michaelmas* next, be reduced to a *melancholy Situation*; and the *Multitude* that is then to be *turned out* of their *former Business* will *augment* the *Distress* of every *Particular Man*, and will make it the *more Difficult* for him to put himself into a *new Method*, by which he may *Support* his *Family*.

This, I am told, was *fully* considered, and *most pathetically* urged, by an *Honourable Gentleman*, when this *Affair*

Affair was first brought into the House of Commons: He represented to them the *great* Encouragement that had been given for *many* Years to the *Distillers* and the *Retailers* of Distilled Liquors: He represented to them the *vast Numbers* of Families that were Supported by that once *darling Trade*: He represented to them the *Danger* of putting a Stop to it *all at once*; and therefore he proposed the *Reviving* of the last *Gin Act*, extending it to all Sorts of Home Brewed Spirits, and adding some Clauses for preventing the Retailing of any Spirits without a Licence; and if it should be afterwards found that the Duties to be laid on by the *Revival* of that Act should not prove Effectual for Remediating the Evil complained of, he said they might be raised *by Degrees*, so as at last to make them equal to a Prohibition, which was what seemed then to be intended. But *unhappily* for many Families, as well as for the Nation in General, this Gentleman's Health did not allow him to attend *all the Steps* of this famous Bill, otherwise *when People's Eyes were a little opened*, his Reasons might perhaps have prevailed, and the Remedy might have been softened, and better adapted to the Disease; for his Reasons must always have great weight when they are delivered to Understandings clear and unbiassed by any *specious Pretences*, or *deceitful Appearances*. \*

There was likewise a *particular* Consideration with respect to *Rum*, which, without doubt, had great weight with all those who considered the *Declining* State of our *Sugar Colonies*, and the great Consequence those Colonies are of to the *Trade* and *Naval Power* of *Great Britain*; for as *Rum* is not only Manufactured, but *wholly* produced within our *own* Dominions, and by the Labour and Industry of our *own* Subjects, instead of Prohibiting we ought to Encourage the Consumption of it *as much* as that of *any* other Home Produce: Nay, we ought to Encourage the Consumption of *Rum* rather than the Consumption of most Sorts of Home Brewed Spirits, because in the Composition of the Latter, there is a *Mixture* of *French Brandy*, whereas *Rum* is, as I have said, *wholly* our own Produce, as well as Manufacture.

I know it was urged, that all Sorts of Distilled Spirituous Liquors, when drank *unmixed*, and taken to *Excess*, were *Poisonous*, and brought as certain and as immediate

\* W.....m. P.....y, Esq;

Death as any other Poison: That by taking a *small* quantity People were almost *in an Instant* rendered so much Intoxicated as to lose the use of their Reason, and all Command over themselves: That when People met *promiscuously* together in a Brandy or Gin-shop, or in any other Place where such Liquors were publickly retailed, they *encouraged* one another to Drink to *Excess*, by which many had been actually killed upon the Spot, or induced to commit the most wicked or extravagant Enormities; and that it was impossible to prevent the Drinking of such Liquors to *Excess*, as long as any such publick Places for Retail were allowed. For this Reason it was said, that every publick Place for the Retail of Distilled Spirituous Liquors was a *publick Nuisance*, and ought to be *entirely* removed; and that then was the *only* time for doing it, because, by the late great Abuse of such Liquors, the Spirit of Resentment was raised *so high* against that Nuisance, that they believed they would be able to get a Law passed for that Purpose; whereas if they then laid on a small Duty so as to remove the Nuisance *in Part only*, the Nuisance, tho' not so great as formerly, would continue, and the Spirit of Resentment against it would subside *so much*, that they would *never* be able afterwards to get a Law Passed for increasing that Duty, considering the *Multitudes* of People that would find it their Interest to sollicite against and oppose the Passing of such a Law. This was the *only* tolerable Reason I ever heard, and I am persuaded the *Chief* Reason with the *Members of both Houses of Parliament*, for Laying on such a *Heavy Duty* at once upon the Retail of Distilled Spirituous Liquors, and upon Licences for such Retail, as will *certainly* amount, if *duly* executed, to a *Total Prohibition*. The rest was all Declamations against the Fatal Effects attending the Drinking of such Liquors to Excess.

Now I shall readily admit, that all Distilled Spirituous Liquors, when drank *unmixed*, and taken to *Excess*, are *Poisonous*: That People are *speedily*, and with a *small* quantity of such Liquors, rendered *so much* intoxicated as to lose the use of their Reason, and all Command over themselves; and that People meeting *promiscuously* at the Places where such Liquors are publickly retailed, do *encourage* one another to Drink of them to *Excess*; but I cannot admit that it was impossible to prevent this *Excess* as long as any such publick Place of Retail was allowed. Experience has shewn the contrary; there was *never* any great Complaints against Drinking Brandy or Rum to *Excess*:

*cess*: What was the Reason? *Brandy* and *Rum* are certainly *as* intoxicating, and *as* tempting to the *Vulgar* as *Gin*: The Reason then, and the *only* Reason, must certainly have been the *High Price*? Is it not then apparent, that the Laying a Duty of *four* or *five* Shillings *per* Gallon on Home Brewed Spirits, would have prevented that *Constant* and *Excessive* use of them amongst the *Lower* and *Inferior* Rank of People, which was then the *only* Subject of Complaint? But let us suppose that even *Brandy* and *Rum* are too often drank *to Excess*, and that, notwithstanding this *High Duty* upon Home Brewed Spirits, they likewise would have been drank *to Excess*: Might not a *new* Law against Drunkenness, and *greater* Caution in granting Licences, have in a great Measure prevented this Evil, without putting it out of the Power of a *Poor Labouring* Man or Woman to get *one single* Dram in a Case of the *greatest* Necessity, unless he has where-with-all to purchase *Two Gallons*, or a *Recipe* from a *Graduate* Doctor? For I will aver, that if an Apothecary Sells a *Dram* without such a *Recipe*, he runs a *great* Risque of Incurring the Penalties inflicted by this *new* Act.

But supposing it true, that it was impossible to prevent the Drinking of Distilled Spirituous Liquors *to Excess*, as long as any publick Places for Retail were allowed: In the first Place, I must say, that such an Allegation is a great Impeachment of the Prudence and Conduct of our Government for *many* Years past; for it is certain that ever since *Excises* have been brought upon this Nation, the *wise Maxim* of our Ancestors has been *quite* neglected, and an *unbounded* Liberty of setting up Inns, Alehouses, and Brandy-shops, granted to every Man who would pay the *Justices* for a *Licence*. Our wise Ancestors knew *all* such Houses would become *Nuisances*, if there were *more* of them in any Place or Parish than were *absolutely* necessary for the Accommodation of the Neighbourhood and Travellers passing that way; therefore the Law or Custom of Granting Licences was introduced, and these Licences were *never* granted but upon Enquiry into the Character of the Person suing for it, and into the Place where the Alehouse or Brandy-shop was to be set up; and they were generally granted *only* to *Decayed* Farmers or Tradesmen, who might have *otherwise* become a Burthen upon their respective Parishes; which Custom is observed, I am told, to this Day, in the Parish of *Lewisham*, with respect to the Huts set up at *Dulwich-Wells*.

In the next Place, considering the *Numbers* of Families that have set up, not only by the Connivance, but by the *Encouragement* of our late Governors, and are now supported by this Retail Trade, Nuisance as it is, a *very tender* Regard ought to be had for them: They ought not to be *all at once* set a-drift, and *turned out* of the *only* Means they have *at present* for supporting their Families; for which Reason the Trade ought not to be *altogether* and *at once* totally Prohibited; for it is certainly inconsistent with Prudence and good Policy, for a Government to render *at once* a *great* Multitude of their Subjects *Desperate*, if there be any possible way to prevent it.

I shall grant, that if the *General* Resentment which prevailed last Winter, had been allowed to *subside*, or the Evil *palliated* a little by a *Half Cure*, it would have been *difficult* to have obtained a *new* Act for applying any *farther* Cure: But might not a *thorough* Cure have been applied by an Act *then* passed, to have taken Place at *different* Terms? Might it not have been enacted that a Duty of *Two Shillings* a Gallon and *40s.* a Licence should take place at *next Michaelmas*, and these Duties *Doubled* at *every Michaelmas* after, till they had amounted to what they are *now* fixed at? This would *not* have rendered any *great* Number of our Subjects *Desperate*, it would *not* have brought on any *General Calamity*; for People would have *had time* to have looked about them, and to have provided for the Support of their Families *in some other way*; and there would have been no occasion for any *new* Act to have made the Remedy *Total* and *Effectual*.

Lastly, as great Care ought upon such Occasions to be taken to *manage* and *direct* the *Spirit* of the *People*, in order to prevent its being in the Power of Men whose *Private* Interest may suffer by a *Good* Law, to *sow* *Sedition* among the People; great Care ought to have been taken to have *raised* a *Spirit* *against* the *Numbers* of our *Punch* Houses, and the many *fatal* Effects flowing from an *immoderate* use of that Liquor; as also against the *immoderate* Drinking of *Brandy* and *Rum*; for since the Retail of these too was to be Prohibited, the *Spirit* of Resentment ought to have been *raised* *against* the Retail of them, as well as *against* the Retail of Home Brewed Spirits; for in such Cases, when the Remedy is carried *farther* than the Evil *Complained* of, it will always produce *Murmurings* among the People, and will probably, in a *free* Country, disappoint the Effect of the Remedy, *even* with respect to the

Evil Complained of, which I am much afraid will be the Consequence of the *present Case*.

Having now examined this Law with the *Freedom* which a *British Subject* is intitled to, I shall with the *same Freedom* proceed to enquire into the *Secret Views* and *Designs* of those who were the *Original Contrivers*, and the *under-hand Promoters* of this Bill, *neither* of whom can *possibly* have the Honour of having a Seat in *either* House of Parliament, and in a particular Manner I must do Justice to that Honourable, Learned and worthy Gentleman, who *openly* appear'd as its *Chief Patron*, by declaring that I am *fully* convinced he had *no Share* in, *nor* knew any thing of the *Views* or *Designs* I am going to Mention; and therefore those who may suffer by this Law, mistake their aim most egregiously, if they direct any Part of their Resentment against him. A Man of true Honour and Sincerity is never Jealous or Suspicious, and therefore is the *more liable* to be Imposed on; and that worthy Gentleman's *known Regard* for the publick Good, and for the Happiness and Health of the People, as well as his *Great Aversion* to all Sorts of Vice and Immorality, gave some People Grounds to believe, that they might prevail upon him to Patronize a Law against the Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, *in terms as general and extensive as they found were necessary for their Secret Views and Designs*: This, I say, gave them Hopes of prevailing upon him to Patronize such a Law as they intended; and they knew that his *Great Character* for Honour and Integrity would contribute to its Success in both Houses, and would prevent all Suspicion of a *Snake in the Grass*.

In like Manner I must do so much Justice to *all* those Members of *either* House of Parliament, who gave their Consent to the Passing of this Bill, as to declare that I am *fully* convinced that *neither* of them had *any share* in, *nor* knew *any thing* of the *Views* and *Designs* I am going to mention. They were certainly directed *entirely* by that Honest, Just, and Necessary Intention of putting an End to the *Constant* and *Excessive* use of Distilled Spirituous Liquors amongst the *Lower* and *Inferior* Rank of our People, which Nuisance was got to such a height as to threaten this Kingdom with almost an *absolute* Cessation of all Labour and Industry, and a *Total* Deprivation of all Virtue, Religion and Morality. We know that the Bills brought into Parliament are *Generally* contrived and concerted by Persons *without* Doors, and are *often* drawn up, perhaps before any Step is taken *in either* House towards the

the bringing in of any such Bill: This I am perswaded was the Case of this Bill *now* under my Consideration: It was *certainly* contrived and concerted, if not fully drawn up, by some Gentlemen *without* Doors; and after it was brought in, tho' the Members foresaw that the Bill *as it then stood*, would be attended with *great* Hardships upon *many* of his Majesty's faithful and Innocent Subjects, yet *as the Evil stood in need of an immediate Remedy*, most of them thought it was better to pass the Bill, *as it then stood*, than to allow such a *Desperate Disease* to take deeper Root by continuing for a Year longer; and they were the more easily Induced to come into this Measure, because they made no doubt but that some Method would be found out *before next Session of Parliament*, for relieving the *Innocent* Part of Mankind from the Hardships they might suffer by the Bill *as it then stood*: This I am convinced was the *only prevailing* Motive with *all* those who have the Honour of having Seats in *either* House of Parliament; but there were some *without* Doors who had *other Views and Designs*, and they *certainly* were the *Original* Contrivers and the *under-hand* Promoters of this Bill: Who they were I shall not take upon me to Mention; but it is to be hoped the *next* Session of Parliament will discover who they were, and to them *only* we ought to *Impute* all the *Hardships* the *Innocent* may suffer, by the *too great* Extension, or *too sudden* Effect of this *new* Law.

Every Man knows that the *Civil List* settled upon his present Majesty is 800000 *l.* a Year, for the Payment of which *several Excises* and *Duties* are appropriated, with this Extraordinary *Proviso*, that if these Duties produce any *Surplus* it shall belong to his Majesty, but if there be any *Deficiency*, the Nation is obliged to *make it Good*; and tho' there was once 115000 *l.* granted by the Parliament for *making good* a *Deficiency* or *Arrear*, yet it is generally supposed, the *Excises* and *Duties* appropriated to the *Civil List* produce a *great deal* more than 800000 *l.* Yearly. It is likewise generally known, that a part of the Duty upon Home Brewed Spirits is one of those Duties appropriated to the *Civil List*, and consequently, if the *Consumption* of Home Brewed Spirits should be *diminished*, the *Civil-List* Revenue would of Course be *diminished*, if not *made good* in some other way. The *Consumption* of these Spirits, and the *Excessive* use of them had become so *General* before last Session of Parliament, that it was become *necessary* to make some Law for putting a Stop to this *Excess*, especially among our *Inferior* Sort of People; and as any



such Law would of course *diminish* the *Civil-List* Revenue, in case the *Decrease* in that *Branch* should not be *made up* by the *Increase* of another, it gave the *alarm* to those who have a *greater* Veneration for that *Revenue* than they have for his Majesty, for his Ministers, or for the Health and Happiness of his People.

These Gentlemen having *thus* taken the *alarm*, they naturally set themselves about Enquiring what were the *Effects* of the *late Gin-Act*, with respect to the *Civil List* Revenue? And as they have all *publick Accounts* at Command, we must suppose they discovered that the *Civil List* Revenue was a *great Gainer* by the *late Gin-Act*, because the *diminishing* the *Consumption* of Spirits *increased* the *Consumption* of Beer and Ale, so that the *Decrease* that was occasioned by that Law in the *Duties* upon Home Brewed Spirits, was much more than *made good* by the *Increase* of the *Excise* upon Beer and Ale; for from Accounts laid before Parliament upon that occasion, it appeared, that in the Year ending at *Midsummer* 1725, the *Excise* on Beer and Ale amounted to 1,094,953*l.* but as the *Consumption* of Spirits *increased*, this *Excise* *decreased*, so that at *Midsummer* 1729, which was half a Year before the *late Gin-Act* took Place, this *Excise* produced but 963,763*l.* which was 131,190*l.* less than it had produced in 1725; and from the time the *late Gin-Act* took place, the *Excise* on Beer and Ale began to *Increase*, so that at *Midsummer* 1732, it produced 1,071,240*l.* which was 107,477*l.* more than it was in the Year 1729, when the *Gin-Act* was passed. It likewise appeared, that notwithstanding this *great Increase* in the Produce of the *Excise* on Beer and Ale, the *Decrease* in the *Duties* on Home Brewed Spirits occasioned by that Act was but very *inconsiderable*, viz. 4348*l.* \* And as the *Civil List* has a much *greater* Proportion of the *Excise* on Beer and Ale than it has of the *Duties* on Home Brewed Spirits, it was apparent, that the *Civil List* was a *great Gainer* by that Act, that it would be a *great Gainer* by any such Act, and that the more generally, the more effectually, and the more quickly, the *Consumption* of all Sorts of Spirits was prevented, the *greater Gainer* the *Civil List* would be.

\* See a Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country, &c. Page 6.

For

For the *same Reason*, these Gentlemen began to conceive a *mortal aversion* to the Drinking of *Punch*; for every one knows that a Bottle of *real good Brandy* or *Rum* made into *Punch*, will go as far as *four* Bottles of *Wine*; and those who are well acquainted with our Taxes, and the several uses to which they are appropriated know, that the *Civil List* gets *more* by the *Consumption* of *four* Bottles of *Wine*, than it gets by the *Consumption* of a *Bottle* of *Brandy* or *Rum*; and consequently, if *four* Bottles of *Wine* were to be drunk instead of a *Bottle* of *Brandy* or *Rum* made into *Punch*, the *Civil List* would get a *great deal more* by the *Consumption*. To this let us add, that by the *Prohibition* of *Punch* a *vast* Number of *new* Wine Licences will of Course be taken out, *every Farthing* of which goes to the *Civil List*; from all which it is apparent, that the *Civil List* will be *greatly* Increased by the *Prohibition* of *Punch*, and therefore the *Death* of *Punch*, as well as the *Death* of *Gin* was resolved on by these Gentlemen, tho' no *Complaint* was ever made against the *Excessive* use of the former.

Notwithstanding the *Excessive* fondness these Gentlemen have for the *Civil List* Revenue, and the great desire to *Increase* it, one might have expected, that they would have rested satisfied with the *great* Advantage they were to reap by a *general* Prohibition of *all* Sorts of Spirits by *Retale*: But this was not the Case: The Spirit of *Resentment* against the *Excessive* use of some of these Liquors amongst the *Lower* and *Inferior* Rank of People was raised *so High*, that they foresaw any thing they could propose would be agreed to, *rather* than not put an end to that *Terrible* Nuisance; and as at *first View*, especially to those who have not leisure or opportunity to look into and consider our *publick Accounts*, and the Produce of our *several* Taxes, with the *Variations* that happen in them, it might appear, that the *Civil List* would be a *Loser* instead of a *Gainer*, by preventing or lessening the *Consumption* of Spirituous Liquors, they resolved to take advantage of this *deceitful Appearance*, in order from thence to draw a *further* Increase to the *Civil List*: In pursuance of this Resolution they *positively* affirmed, and *endeavoured* to convince every *Member* they could have any Access to, that the *Loss* the *Civil List* was to *sustain*, could not be *made good* by the *Increase* in any of the *other* Branches of that Revenue, and that therefore it ought to be *made good* out of the *sinking Fund*.

This, without doubt, had great weight with those who had not an opportunity to enquire into the Truth of Facts; and as for those who had, the Resentment of many of them against the late *Excessive* use of Spirituous Liquors amongst People of *Inferior Rank*, was justly raised to a very high Pitch; therefore rather than not put an *immediate* Stop to the *Excessive* use of such Liquors among the People of *Inferior Rank*, they agreed to that *Clause* for giving and paying to his Majesty, during his natural Life, the Sum of 70,000 *l. per Annum*, out of the *Sinking Fund*, towards the Service of his Majesty's Household and Family, in order to make up the *supposed Loss*, the *Civil List* was to *sustain* by preventing the *Retale*, or lessening the *Consumption* of Spirituous Liquors.

This new Grant of such a large *Annual Sum* to the *Civil List* was the *chief*, tho' the *secret* and *concealed* Reason, why these Gentlemen *without Doors* were so *Sollicitous* about getting that *Proposition* rejected, which was made for *Reviving* and *Extending* the former *Gin-Act*, because upon a *Revival* of that *Act*, tho' further *Extended*, these *Lovers* of the *Civil List* Revenue could not with any Countenance have desired such an *additional Grant* to that Revenue, since there was *no such Grant* made, nor so much as desired, when that *Law* was first *Passed*; and as *no such Grant* was then desired, it was judged *absolutely* necessary, in order now to give *some Countenance* to such a demand, to get that *Proposition* rejected, and to get the *Prohibition* made *General*; from all which it is evident, that those Gentlemen *without Doors* who have a greater Veneration for the *Civil List* than they have for his Majesty, for his Ministers, or for the Health or Happiness of his People, were the *first* Contrivers, and *under-hand* the Principal Authors and Promoters of this Bill; and that if it had not been for them, and *them only*, the *Immoderate* use of Home Brewed Spirits amongst People of *Inferior Rank*, as it was the *only* thing complained of, would have been the *only* thing prevented, which might have been done without raising any *Disaffection*, or any *general Clamour* either in *this Nation*, or in the *West-Indies*.

I think I have now made it clear to a Demonstration, that the *Increasing* of the *Civil List* was the *Principal* and the *sole* Motive with some Persons *without Doors* for getting this Bill made *so General*, and for proposing a *Duty* which would amount to a *Prohibition*; and that the Gentlemen *without Doors* who were the *first* Contrivers and

*under-*

*under-hand* Promoters of this Bill, had a *greater Regard* for *Increasing* the *Civil List* than they had for his Majesty, is plain; for no Man that had a *Regard* for his Majesty's Person or Government would, *wilfully*, and *with his Eyes open*, have made a Handle of *such* a Bill, for obtaining in *such* a Manner, and out of the *Sinking Fund* too, a *new Grant* of 70,000 *l. additional* Revenue to the *Civil List*; because, as it was evident that *many Thousands* would be turned out of the present way of supporting their Families, as it was to be apprehended that the Bill would breed *great Discontents* in the Nation, the Proposing to obtain a *new Grant* to the *Civil List* by *such* a Bill, was doing *as much as in them lay*, to have all the *Murmurings* and *Discontents* the Bill might occasion, pointed *directly* against his Majesty's Person and Government.

This Reflection gives me a *very great*, and I think a *most Reasonable alarm*: It makes me suspect that there are *some Persons* concerned in the *under-hand* Management of the *Civil List* Revenue (for no suspicion can possibly arise against those who are *visibly* and *openly* concerned in the Management of that Revenue) who finding themselves *subjected* to the *Hatred* and *Contempt* of the *People of Great Britain*, are therefore *contriving* Schemes for *over-turning* our *Constitution*; and for that Purpose are *endeavouring* to *expose* the *sacred Person* of their *Sovereign* to the *same* Misfortune with themselves; but it is to be hoped their *secret* and *treasonable* Views will be discovered and frustrated by a *Parliamentary Enquiry*, before they have proceeded *too far*; and in the mean time, in order to *Disappoint* them in their *wicked Aim*, (which was one of my *chief Reasons* for *Publishing* these *Remarks*) Let us consider that the *Civil List* is intended *only* for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and therefore it is *impossible* the King should ever desire *any more* than what is *absolutely* necessary for *that Purpose*; Nay, if *any more* had been granted by Parliament than what his Majesty should find *necessary* for *that Purpose*, he would *certainly*, if he could discover it, follow the Example of his *most Gracious Predecessor Queen Anne*, he would restore it to Parliament, and desire it might be applied towards *some publick use*, in order to *Ease* his *Subjects* of some of those *heavy Taxes* they *Groan* under: And if what was granted by Parliament at the *Beginning* of his Reign had been found *not* to be *sufficient*,

*ent,*

ent, his Majesty would openly and freely have Communicated the same to his Parliament by a solemn Message; and would certainly have obtained such an addition as they should have found necessary. Now as his Majesty has never desired any Addition, we must suppose that he thinks what was granted by Parliament sufficient for the Purpose intended, from whence we must necessarily conclude, that his Majesty neither desired nor knew that any Addition was to be made to the Civil List by this Law; and that therefore he had no Interest nor Concern in making it so Extensive, or so quick in its Effect. Indeed if it were possible for his Majesty to look into the Disposal of every Shilling of the Civil List Revenue, no new Grant or Addition could give us any Uneasiness, because it would certainly be restored to Parliament, and applied to the use of the Publick; but it is altogether impossible for his Majesty to look so Minutely into the Disposal of that Revenue; and as no Account of it is to be laid before Parliament, the Nation ought always to be jealous lest some Part of it should be applied to the private use of those who have the under-hand Management of it, or perhaps to Uses which may be of dangerous Consequence to the Royal Family, as well as to the Liberties of the People.

I think it is likewise plain, that the Gentlemen without Doors, who were the Original Contrivers of this Bill, had a greater Regard for the Civil List than they had for his Majesty's Ministers; for first to sollicite and get the Bill made so unpopular, and then to sollicite and get introduced, in such a Bill, a new Grant to the Civil List Revenue, which the Ministry have to all outward appearance the Management and Disposal of, was taking the most Effectual Method for making them forfeit the Esteem and Affections of the People, so as to make it absolutely necessary for his Majesty to dismiss them from their Employments; for, as I have said, in a limited and free Government, whenever a Minister or Ministry have forfeited the Esteem and Affections of the People, their Prince must either Dismiss them, in order to Remove from himself the Hatred and Contempt of the People, or he must join with them, in endeavouring to render the Government Absolute and Tyrannical; the last of which we are certain his Majesty will never do for the Preservation of any Man that ever was Born, or for the Support of any Minister that ever was, or ever may be Exalted. Indeed if we had at present a Set of Ministers who had already forfeited and lost all Affections and Esteem among the People, I should then

then think that they themselves had been the Original Contrivers and the under-hand Promoters of this Law, and that they had designedly got this Grant to the Civil List inserted, in order to Involve his Majesty in the same Misfortune with themselves, and thereby to make it absolutely necessary for him to join with them in endeavouring to render our Government Absolute and Tyrannical; but as it is certain (whatever may be the Case of any Underling in Power or Favour) that our Ministry in General are as Popular, and possess the Affections and Esteem of the People of this Nation, and of the Generality of Mankind, as much as any Ministry ever did; therefore it is not to be presumed or believed, that they would contrive or promote any Scheme which they thought would raise the least Disaffection to his Majesty's Person or Government.

That the Gentlemen without Doors, who were the Original Contrivers and the under-hand Promoters of this Bill, had a greater Regard for the Civil List than they had for the Health and Happiness of his Majesty's Subjects, is I think not to be in the least questioned; for there never was any Complaint against the Excessive Drinking of Punch, or of Brandy or Rum, among any Degrees of Men, and much less among the Inferior Rank of People: In these Liquors there were, without doubt, some Debauches committed, and so there were in Wine, Strong Beer, and Ale: So that there was the same Reason to prohibit the Retail of the last, as that of the first Sort of strong or Spirituous Liquors, and I believe the Race of Mankind might be supported, if the use of all strong Liquors were as strictly prohibited among Christians, as it is among Mahometans; but I do not hear that this was ever intended; and why we should be such Friends to Wine, which is a Foreign Produce, and such Enemies to Rum, which is a Native Produce, I can find no true Reason, except that the Civil List gets more by the Consumption of the Former, than it gets by the Consumption of the Latter, which I am sure never could, nor ever will be a Reason of the least weight with any Branch of the Legislative Power of this Kingdom.

The only Evil complained of was the Constant and Excessive use of Distilled Spirituous Liquors among the Lower and Inferior Rank of People; and, I believe, it will now be granted, that this Evil might have been Effectually cured by Reviving the late Act against Geneva, and Extending it to all Sorts of Home Brewed Spirits:

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Nay,

Nay, I believe, a Duty of *four Shillings* per Gallon upon all Home Brewed Spirits, without any Duty upon Licences, would have *effectually* cured the Evil complained of, if proper Clauses had been inserted, to prevent any Person's Retailing Spirits without a Licence, and proper Care taken not to grant Licences, but to Persons of *Character* and *Reputation*. Therefore to solicit and promote a Bill for Prohibiting *in some Manner* the Retail of *Brandy, Rum, Punch,* and all other Sorts of Distilled Spirituous Liquors, was truly the same, as if a Surgeon should say to a Man who has got a Hurt in his Leg, Sir, I could cure your Leg, but I find *I shall get more* by Cutting it off, and therefore it must be done: Or as if a Physician called to a Man in a Fever should say, 'Tis true, I could cure this Man of his Fever by an *Experienced* Remedy; but *I shall get more* by using an *Extraordinary* Remedy, which I know will make him *run Distracted*; and tho' I should never be able to bring him to his Senses again, *since I am to get by it,* I'll do it, let the Consequence be what it will.

Having now shewn that the *Original* Contrivers and *under-hand* Promoters of this Bill were such as have a *greater* Regard for Increasing the *Civil List*, than they have either for the King, the Ministry, or the People, it is from thence evident, that *none* of the Members of *either* House of Parliament could be *Originally* concerned in the Projecting or Contriving of this Bill; for, *whatever may happen in after times,* it is certain that *at present* none of the Members of *either* House have any *private* Concern in the Management, or any *Hidden* share of the *Civil List* Revenue; and their Duty to his Majesty, their Respect for his Ministers, and their Regard for the People, have been *so evidently* manifested upon *so many* Occasions, as leaves no Room to suspect that they would, for any Consideration, or for any private Advantage, have been the *Original* Projectors or Contrivers of it; nor can we suppose that they would have agreed to it, if they had not been induced thereto, and in some manner *surprised* into it, by the *specious* Pretence that there was *no other effectual* Method of putting an End to the *Constant* and *excessive* use of Spirituous Liquors amongst the People of *Inferior* Rank. This pretence was, I believe, the *only* Motive that induced the Majority to agree to those Resolutions which made the Foundation of the Bill; and after the Bill was *once* brought in, they were then under a *Necessity* of agreeing to it, or of leaving the Healths,

the Constitutions, and even the Lives of *many* exposed to that *dangerous* Nuisance which had been *so loudly* and *so justly* complained of.

It was never yet, nor can it be supposed that our Parliaments are *Infallible*; but our Advantage is, that when a Law is passed, which is afterwards by Experience found to be a Grievance upon the People, they have an *easy* Opportunity of laying their Case before their *several* Representatives, and *such a* Law has always been repealed or altered in the next Session: This the People may expect *in the present* Case, if it be possible, and therefore it is hoped they will not fly out into any Violence, but *patiently* wait for that Relief, which the wisdom of Parliament may think proper to give them.

Upon this Occasion I cannot omit mentioning an *Insinuation* that has been made, but I hope without any Foundation. As the keeping up *numerous* standing Armies *in Time of Peace,* is admitted by all to be *Inconsistent* with our *Constitution,* and as it was expected that a most profound Peace and Tranquillity would be established before *this next Winter,* it is *insinuated* that some Gentlemen *without Doors,* (for I never heard of any such *within Doors*) who are for our keeping up *always* the Number of Forces we have *at Present,* were apprehensive they would not be able to find any arguments for prevailing with the Parliament *this next Session* to keep up the *same* Number of Forces we have *now* on Foot, and that therefore they wanted to have *Disturbances* of some kind or other, in Order to furnish them with Arguments for that Purpose against *this next Session*: They saw it was the General Opinion, that *some* Law ought to be passed for preventing the *Constant* and *Excessive* Use of Distilled Spirituous Liquors amongst People of *Inferior* Rank, and this they resolved to take Advantage of, and under that Pretence, to get such a Law passed as might *probably* produce some *Disturbances* at home before *this next Winter.*

They saw, that if the Remedy should be carried no further than the Evil complained of, it would not answer their Intent: Some People might suffer thereby, but their Numbers would be few, and as every One would be convinced that their Suffering was become necessary for the sake of Publick Good, the Complaints they might make would have no Weight with the Generality of the People: But at the same Time *these Gentlemen* were fully sensible what a *vast additional* Number of Persons would suffer by Prohibiting the Retail of *Brandy, Rum, and Punch;*

and that as making them suffer was unnecessary, their Complaints would have an Influence upon the People; and might Raise such a General Madness, as to produce Mobs and Riots before this next Winter, which would furnish them with an Argument for keeping up the same Number of Forces for one Year longer, or at least till the Minds of the People should be a little Pacified.

This, I say, has been Insinuated, but I hope there is not the least Ground for such an Insinuation; at least I am sure, there was not a Man in either House of Parliament who harboured such a Thought; and if there were any without Doors so Wicked, it is to be hoped the People will be so Wise and Prudent, as to Disappoint them; for the People ought never to have Recourse to any such violent Measures, as long as they have a Parliament subsisting which is ready and willing to bear their Complaints, and will never Refuse to Repeal or Alter any Law that shall be found by Experience to be an unnecessary Grievance or Loss to any Part of His Majesty's faithful Subjects.

I shall conclude my Remarks upon this Act of Parliament with this General Observation, that tho' we ought always to prefer the Publick Good to our Private Advantage, yet the Judgment of most Men is so weak, that there is no Convincing them of the Publick Utility of any Measure, if it be inconsistent with their Private Interest; and the Inclinations of many are so perverse, that when they are in their Consciences convinced, they arm their Countenances with Assurance, and obstinately refuse to acknowledge the Conviction. Another Weakness of Human-Nature is, that most Men judge of an Opinion by the Multitudes that Embrace it, so that their Assent is always to be gained, not by the Multitude or Power of Arguments for any Opinion, but by the Multitude and Power of its Advocates. For this Reason the Governors of a People ought to Introduce by Degrees such Regulations as they may think Necessary for the Publick Good, and not to extend any One of Them too far at Once; for as there are always some People that suffer by every new Regulation, by Introducing too many at Once, or making any one Extend too Far, they may unite such Multitudes against their Measures, as may turn the Spirit of the People against the most Useful and most Necessary Regulations. The Truth of this Observation has been fully manifested by the Effect of this New Act of Parliament; for, tho' the Law has not yet taken Place, the Voice of Complaint against the Excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors amongst the Inferior Rank of People,

People, is already quite silenced by the Clamours of those who are like to Suffer by the too Sudden and too Great Extent of this New Regulation.

To this I must add, that considering how fully and clearly it has been made appear by some late Writings, that the Power of the Crown, or rather the Power of Ministers, is already too Extensive, it will certainly be an Argument of great Weight for Repealing or Altering this Law, when we consider, that by the Law, as it stands at Present, the Civil List will be greatly increased, and the Power of the Crown thereby considerably augmented in that Article which is of the most dangerous Consequence to the Virtue and the Independency of Parliament; for as the late Gin Act, ineffectual as it was found to be, produced an Increase of 107,477 l. a Year in the Excise upon Beer and Ale, we may presume that a Total Prohibition of all Spirituous Liquors will produce a Yearly Increase of thrice that Sum, viz. 322,431 l. and as one half of the Excise upon these Liquors belongs to the Civil List, we must Compute that by this Article alone a Revenue of 161,215 l. will be added to the Civil List. Then by the Prohibition of Punch, we must reckon that there will be a vast Increase in the Produce of the Duties upon Wine and Wine Licences; which will be a New Additional Revenue to the Civil List, besides the New Grant of 70000 l. a Year made Payable out of the Sinking Fund, both which we may reckon at least 100,000 l. a Year more, which in the whole is 261,215 l.

Now let us see how much the Civil List will lose by the Disappropriation of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors. It is certain that this Computation ought to be made by the Eight Years Produce of those Duties next Preceding the Commencement of his Majesty's Reign, because when the Parliament in the first Year of his Reign, were considering how much would be Necessary for the Support of his Majesty's Family, Crown and Dignity, and what Duties it would be Necessary to appropriate for that Use, they must have had under their Consideration only the Produce of those Duties for Years past; It was impossible they could have under their Consideration the Produce of those Duties for Years to come, and much less the Produce that might happen by an Abuse which ought to have been Nipt in the very Bud: And if the Computation be made in this Manner, I am convinced the Loss to be sustained by the Civil List will be found not to amount, at a Medium, to 50000 l. a Year.

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But even admitting that the Computation ought to be made by the *Eight Years next after* the Commencement of his Majesty's Reign, surely the *Extraordinary and Occasional* Produce of those Duties for the Year 1733, ought not to be reckoned in this Computation. \* In which Case, I believe, it will appear that the Loss the Crown may sustain by this Bill cannot amount, at a *Medium*, to 60000*l.* a Year; and as we must suppose that the *Excise* upon Beer and Ale was *very near* as low at his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, as it was in the Year 1729, we must from the whole Conclude, that by this Bill a *Revenue* of near 200,000*l.* a Year will be added to his Majesty's Civil List, more than what was thought *Sufficient* for Supporting his Majesty's Family, Crown and Dignity, by that *Loyal* Parliament which established the *present Civil List*, and granted to his Majesty a *much larger Civil List* than ever was Granted to *any* of his Royal Predecessors.

That no bad Use will be made of this *Additional Revenue* during his Majesty's Reign, we have the *strongest* Reason to be convinced of; but as the *same Revenue* may probably be continued to *all* his Majesty's Successors, we do not know what use may be made of it by *some future* Minister, especially as *no Account* of the Disposal of the Revenue belonging to the *Civil List* is, by its *late happy Construction*, to be laid before Parliament; and if ever *any future* Minister should find it *Necessary* for his own Support or Protection, to apply as much of this *Civil List Revenue* as can possibly be spared from the Uses for which it is designed by the Legislature, towards *Influencing the Elections for a new Parliament*, I must beg of Gentlemen to consider, what a *vast Sum* this *new Addition* only will amount to in *seven Years*? And how *effectual* a Sum of 1,400,000*l.* in *Ready Money*, or *Bank Notes*, may be, towards *procuring such a Parliament as he may stand in need of*. This surely may be of the most *dangerous* Consequence to the *Freedom and Independency* of Parliament; but this too will, I hope, be provided against by the next Session, or at least before the *Poison* has taken *such Effect* as *not to Admit* of any *Legal Cure*.

Having now, I hope, convinced *every Man* that he ought to wait with *Patience* and *Submission* for that *Relief* which he may *Expect* from the *Wisdom* of Parliament, I must, in the *most earnest* Manner recommend it to the *People*

\* See a Letter from a Member of Parliament. Page 7, & 8.

of Great-Britain, *not to allow themselves to be directed in their Voting for Members of Parliament by any Selfish and Corrupt Views*; for if they should ever make a *Market* of their *Votes at Elections*, they may depend on it, that their *Purchasers* will make a *Market* of their *Seats in Parliament*: As our *Drovers* go to the Country to buy *Cattle*, only to Sell them again in *Smithfield*, so the *Election Mongers* will go to the Country to Buy a *much more Stupid Sort of Cattle*, only to Sell them at the *new Market* which will then be *Established in Westminster*; and those *Cattle* which are to be Sold in this *new Market*, will have *less Reason* to Complain of *ill Usage* from their *Purchasers*, than the *Cattle* have which are now every Day sold in *Smithfield*: A *poor Horse*, or *Ass* would *deserve Pity*, if a *greater Load* should be laid upon his *Back* than he was able to bear; but a *People* who sell themselves would *deserve no Pity*, if their *Backs* should be broke by the *Loads* their *Purchasers* lay upon them; and if ever the *People of Great-Britain* should allow themselves to be directed in their *Voting for Members of Parliament*, by the *little Posts or Employments* they may be made to *Expect*, or by the *little Bribes in ready Money* they may receive from the *Tools of Power*, they will *deserve*, and they may *expect to be Loaded with Taxes without End*, and to see *severe Laws made*, and *Mercenary Armies kept up*, for *Collecting those Taxes without Mercy*.

F I N I S.



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