

0018

215-16



THE
 B U D G E T
 O P E N E D.
 OR, AN
 A N S W E R
 TO A
 P A M P H L E T

INTITLED,

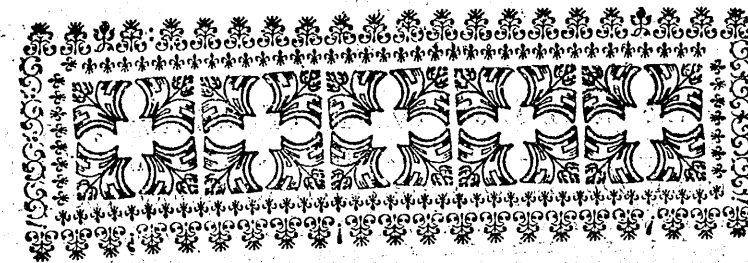
A LETTER from a MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT to his Friends in the Country, concerning the Duties on WINE and TOBACCO.

*— Jam Solis habena
 Bis senas torquent Hyemes, cervicibus ex quo
 Hæret triste Jugum, nostris jam luctibus Ille
 Consenuit, Regnumque sibi tot vindicat annis.*

CLAUDIAN.

L O N D O N :

Printed by *H. Haines*, at Mr. FRANKLIN'S in
Russel-street, Covent-Garden. 1733. (Pr. 6 d.)



T H E
B U D G E T
 O P E N E D, &c.



T length, the Mountain is deliver'd. The *grand Mystery*, which was long deemed too sacred for the unhallow'd Eyes of the People, is reveal'd. What is reveal'd? Nothing, but what has been known, confuted and exploded long before it was publickly acknowledg'd; for it now appears, by the Pamphlet under our Consideration, to be the very same *Project*, destructive of *Commerce* and dangerous to *Liberty*, which it was at first apprehended to be, notwithstanding the shameless Endeavours of *hireling Writers* to persuade the People, that it was only the chimerical Offspring of *disaffected* and *seditious Brains*.

There are so many distinguishing Marks of a *great Hand* in this Letter, that the *Author* had no Occasion to prefix his *Name* to it. The *Projector* Himself appears in every Page; the same *great Genius*, who patroniz'd the Scheme of Excise on *Coffee, Tea* and *Chocolate*; who was so gloriously instrumental in procuring the memorable Addition of 115,000*l.*

(4)

to the CIVIL LIST, by way of *Deficiency*; who brought about the Revival and Continuance of the SALT DUTY, for *three Years*, to supply the current Expences of the Government, for *one Year*; and hath effectually secured our Liberties by a STANDING ARMY, or a *Land Force* of 18000 *Soldiers*, in Times of Peace.

I shall therefore take the Liberty, in the following Pages, to address my self to *Him*, under this Mask of a *Letter-writer* and a *Member of Parliament*.

You are pleas'd, *Sir*, to dignify the Title Page of your Letter with a trite old Latin Maxim, *Magna est Veritas & prevalebit*; but you are so unfortunate in swelling the Bulk of your Performance with *false Facts* and *fallacious Arguments*, that I think your Motto wou'd run much better thus; *Magna est VENALITAS & prevalebit*.

You begin with acquainting your Friends in the Country, that you were *surpriz'd* and *concern'd* at the Receipt of their Letter; and you are pleas'd to be very circumstantial in giving Them your Reasons for *both*.

Your *Surprize*, it seems, arose from the Alteration of their Sentiments, since you convers'd with them last in the Country. You say, that *the converting the Duties on Tobacco and Wine from Customs into an EXCISE was part of the Subject of your Discourse*, at that Time. I am afraid, *Sir*, your Memory fails you a little, and that the Relation of this Conference with your *Electors* is not minutely exact; for, if we may judge by your Conduct since, that odious Word EXCISE could never escape your cautious Lips. It is probable enough that you might inveigh against *Frauds in the Revenue*, and that your *Friends* might agree with you, as every reasonable Man will, that they ought

(5)

ought to be prevented. But give me Leave, *Sir*, to ask you one Question. Did you, upon your Honour, let Them into the Secret, that you intended to saddle them with an *Army of Excise Officers*, on this Account, and try them by a *Jury of Commissioners*?— If you had been so communicative, at that Time, I dare say it would, in some Measure, have prevented your *present Surprize*.

So much for your *Surprize*; but your *Concern* arose from another Point, which touch'd you nearly. You seem to be terribly nettled, that your *Electors* have taken the Liberty of desiring you, as their *Representative*, to consult their Interest; and that you are not permitted to act *unbias'd*, as you call it; That is, in plain *English*, this *instructing Martingal* fits a little uneasy on your Neck. You would willingly have your Head at full Liberty, to run without Controul, as your Passions, or private Interest, might direct you. Nay, you go farther and tell them, that you cannot receive their Letter as a *Command*; nor act according to it, should your *Reason* and *Conscience* be on the other Side of the Question. In order to maintain this Doctrine, you are oblig'd to give yourself a very pretty Character, and applaud your own Conduct, whilst you have had the Honour to serve Them in *Parliament*. At the same Time, you are under an unhappy Necessity of traducing Those, whom you represent, as a Parcel of Fools or Madmen, who are *instructed to instruct*; because They happen to concur in Opinion with the Merchants of *London* and all the great trading Towns in *England*. This is so far from being an Argument to your Purpose, that it is an evident Proof of the Wisdom and Reasonableness of their Conduct. But the Meaning of this notable Expostulation with your *Electors*

(6)

tors is very plain. Can you fancy any Body so weak as to think it intended for *their* Use, or Satisfaction? No, *Sir*, it is evidently design'd as a Cue to the Representatives of the People in general, not to pay any Regard to their Applications, (which they have an undoubted Right to make) and to induce them to act in the same arbitrary and independent Manner, on this Occasion, as you seem resolv'd to do your self.

Having premis'd these Points, you proceed to the Particulars of your Concern; that the Danger of a general Excise has been ecchoed through the Nation; and that your Electors have desired you to oppose any Proposition, that hath the least Tendency to it.

I must own, *Sir*, that your Concern, as to this Article, is founded upon too much Reason. The Danger of a general Excise has justly alarm'd the whole Nation. They have already felt the Rigour of Excise Laws; and as the least Extension of them is one Step towards a general Excise, They have very wisely besought their Representatives to guard against it, under any Shape, or Disguise whatsoever.

You ask very gravely (like one, who has made a Riot) What is the Meaning of all this Disturbance? To whom are these Terrors owing? I answer, They are owing to the Man, who projected this glorious Scheme; to the same indefatigable Genius, ever busy in devising Ways and Means, to grieve and oppress his Fellow Subjects.

But give me Leave to ask you, in my Turn, why you are so angry at the Imputation of designing a general Excise? If the Excises, already established, are so extremely beneficial to the Publick, as you represent them, why should they not be made

(7)

made as extensive as possible? Why should you lay the least Restraint on your Munificence to the Publick? Why do you not make the Blessing of Excises as general and unlimited, as your own Power?—But, perhaps, you may think such a Torrent of Happiness at once would quite overwhelm us; and we must gratefully acknowledge you have been long preparing us for it, by no slow Degrees.

You now seem to grow a little more serious, and, after a formal Argument to prove that Taxes are necessary in all Governments, you conclude, without a risible Muscle on your Face, that the chief Care of the Legislature ought to consist in imposing such Taxes, as may be easiest borne by the whole Body of the People. I believe, say you, that these Maxims will remain uncontroverted; and I am of the same Opinion; for I believe there is not a Lad at Eton School so ignorant, as not to see the Force of them, or to hold an Argument with you on that Subject.—But let us now see your Application of these wise Maxims.

You tell us, with the same Gravity, that the present Revenue, appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, is more than sufficient to answer the annual Interest, and to discharge yearly one Million of the Principal.

I am ready to allow that the Revenue is already more than sufficient for all these Ends; but you know, *Sir*, that a posse ad esse non valet Consequentia. You do not say that one Million per Ann. of the principal of our Debts hath been actually discharged, though it might have been; nor do I think it is absolutely certain that such an annual Sum will be discharged for the future, without incurring any new Debts; and give me Leave to observe that a Million per Ann. in perpetuum, to be col-

(8)

collected by the *Crown*, and without *Appropriation*, may some Time or other be attended with mischievous Consequences to the Publick.

If This, *Sir*, is the Fact, what can you mean by endeavouring to harras the People with *new Burthens*, under any Shape? You reply very magnifierially that You have found out a Method of supplying all the annual Exigencies of the Government, without burthening the Land, without laying any new Duty on any Commodity whatsoever, or any additional Duty on any Commodity already taxed. And how, I pray, is This to be done? Why by an *Alteration only of the present Method of collecting the publick Revenues, as to those two Commodities of WINE and TOBACCO.*

—So then, ——— out it comes at last. The BUDGET is opened; and our *State Emperick* hath dispensed his Packets by his *Zany Couriers* through all Parts of the Kingdom. For my self, I do not pretend to understand this Art of *political Legerdemain*; nor can I find out the Difference between a *new Tax*, and a *new Method* of collecting an *old Tax*, which will bring in a Sum, equivalent to a *new one*. I cannot possibly conceive from whence this additional Money is to come, unless it be out of the Pockets of the *People*; or in what the Difference to *Them* will consist, whether they pay it by *Customs*, or *Excise*; unless it be in the additional Oppression, in the Method of collecting the latter.

You tell us, that you are confident *this Alteration, in the Method of Collection*, will produce the Effects before-mentioned; but you are so good as to acknowledge, *that in order to prove This, it is necessary in the first Place to lay it down as a Truth, that great and monstrous Frauds are committed in*
the

(9)

the Importation and Exportation of those two Commodities.

Now let us suppose, in Answer to This, that I should lay it down as a *Truth*, without any Proof to support my Postulatum, that *no Frauds at all are committed in the Importation, or Exportation of these Commodities*; would you not think it a very extraordinary Method of Reasoning? ——— But we have no Occasion to retort such Arguments upon you, and scorn to press you any farther on this Head. We are ready to admit that *Frauds* are committed by some *unfair Dealers in these Commodities*, as well as in all others; and I believe it will always be found impracticable to prevent *Frauds*, of some Kind, in whatever Manner the Revenues may be collected, or to whatever Sort of *Laws* They may be subject. You know, *Sir*, that *Men in Office* will be corrupt. *Little Fellows*, with low Sallaries, will be apt sometimes to copy their *Superiors*; and as They lye under more Temptation, it cannot be expected They should be always above the Influence of a *Bribe*. The whole Wisdom of the *Legislature* hath been many Years employed in preventing the *Officers of the Revenue*, (both *great* and *small*) as well as the *fraudulent Traders*, from being Copartners in this Sort of Iniquity.—They have long attempted it, I say, but hitherto without Success.

Now you would do well to inform us how *your Scheme* will prevent these collusive Frauds. Will the giving these Fellows *different Names*, while They continue under the same *small Sallaries* and *Temptations*, immediately convert them into *Men of Conscience and Honour*? ——— Is there any inherent Virtue in the Character of an *Exciseman*? ——— Will not a good *Bribe*, well apply'd, operate as effectually upon *Him* as a *Custom-House Officer*?
B And

(10)

And is it not equally the Interest of the *fraudulent Trader* to corrupt *one*, as well as the *other*?

But you are pleas'd to give us a Detail of several *Frauds*, committed by *some unfair Traders* in *Tobacco* and *Wine*. As I am not a Dealer in either of *these Commodities*, any more than your self, it cannot be expected that I should give you a particular Answer; but, upon the best Enquiries I have been able to make, I have Reason to believe that the chief Part of your Charge is false and groundless.

You tell us, with regard to the *Tobacco Trade*, that *the Publick is liable, and hath been doubly defrauded by false Weights, and false Measures, viz. small Weights on Importation, by which the Duty is paid; large Weights on Exportation, by which the Duty is drawn back.*

Now, I am inform'd (and my Information seems to be founded on Reason) that the *same lawful Weights and Measures* are used both on Importation and Exportation by the *Officers of the Customs*; and that, instead of *one Officer* attending at the Scale, as you represent the Case, there are never less than *Three*; *viz. the Weigher, one Land-Waiter, and a Skip's Husband*; but I am told there are generally more; *Surveyors* being often with them, with *other proper Checks*. Besides, the *Place of weighing, in the Customs*, is not, as in Case of *Excise*, by *one Officer in private*; but by *several Officers* on *some open, lawful Key*, where *Coopers* and *Porters* must attend, and *other Persons* may and frequently do attend; so that *Frauds*, in the Weight of *Tobacco*, do not seem to be very practicable, even under the *present Regulations*.

You tell us farther that the Revenue is defrauded of 200 *l.* Weight of *Tobacco* in every Hoghead on *Importation*, and as much on *Exportation*; besides the

(11)

the Advantage, which the Factor makes, if He be a *bold Adventurer* (as you are pleas'd to style Him) by having the *Tobacco stript and cut abroad, and getting it run in again.*

This Way of Reasoning, *Sir*, is asserting a great deal and proving nothing. Can you be so vain as to imagine that your *Ipsé dixit*, without any Vouchers, will pass current for Authority, and blast the Reputation of a numerous and useful Body of Men? You are pleas'd, indeed, to suppose a Case, in which *such Frauds* have been committed, and tell us that you are able to prove it not ill-grounded. This, perhaps, may be true; and what then? Instances, no doubt, may be produced of such Practices; but a *few particular Cases* ought not to be extended to the *whole Trade in general*, and involve the *innocent* with the *guilty*. All your fine Arguments, drawn from this Supposition, are therefore nothing to the Purpose. Besides, you are obliged to acknowledge that the Connivance of a *corrupted Officer* is necessary to these *fraudulent Transactions*; so that the Question still recurs, whether the dubbing these Gentlemen with a new Title at the *Old Jewry* will prevent the *same Practices*, and prove a sovereign Antidote against *Corruption*.

You seem to insinuate that the *Importer* is not accountable to the Publick for his *Bond*, till after the Expiration of *three Years*; whereas it is payable, by Act of Parliament, in *eighteen Months*; so that if the *Tobacco* is not exported within that Time, the *Bond* may be put in suit; or He must pay *Interest* for the Money.

In another Part of your Work you come to Particulars, and give us an Account of a *Fraud*, which seems very curious. You tell us that the Dealers in *Tobacco* are guilty of one *Mystery of Iniquity*, by *pressing it close to make it dry and light*

(12)

on Importation.—— Pray, Sir, where did you make this new Discovery in Philosophy, that *pressing a Commodity close* will make it *light*, or that keeping the *Air* from it, which is likewise the Effect of *pressing it close*, will make it *dry*? I am sure, it is the common Practice of all experienced Smoakers to keep their *Tobacco* press'd close down with a Weight upon it, not to make it *dry*, but to preserve it *moist*; and as to that *ingenious Mystery* of making a Commodity *light*, by *pressing it close together*, you seem to have consulted your *Irish Advocate, Carus*, and to have built your Argument on the wrong Side of that vulgar Problem; *which is heaviest, a Pound of Lead, or a Pound of Feathers?*

But you make still deeper Discoveries in this *Mystery of Iniquity*; for besides *pressing it close, to make it dry and light on Importation*, you tell us that *They likewise water and wet it, even to the Increase of one fourth Part of the Weight on Exportation.*—— As you before gave us a Specimen of your Learning in *Statics*, so you here discover the same Knowledge in the Qualities of *Water*; which may be called your Honour's new Theory of *Hydrostatics*. But as I do not pretend to be so great an Adept as your self, I hope you will be so good as to inform me how *Tobacco* can be increas'd *one fourth Part in the Weight*, without damaging, or intirely spoiling it. I wish likewise you would be pleas'd to explain another Point, that *no Duty is paid for two thirds of the Wine and Tobacco consumed at Home.* This is to me a very extraordinary Assertion, and seems to stand in need of some farther Proof. As you value your self, in this Performance, for speaking *Truths*, and call upon the *angry Man* to answer them, I hope you will descend to Particulars, and then the World will judge

(13)

judge what Regard ought to be paid to your *Veracity*.

It hath been often allowed that *Frauds* have been committed in the *Tobacco Trade*; tho', considering the Bulkyness of that Commodity, it seems impracticable to run it in any such Degree, as you represent. But why don't you tell the World where *these Frauds* are chiefly carryed on, if not countenanced? You cannot be ignorant, *Sir*, of the clandestine Trade, in this Commodity, between *Glasgow* and other Northern Parts of the Kingdom. Yet this *Mystery of Iniquity* is not so much as hinted at, thro' your whole Letter. What can be the Meaning of so much Tenderness, and even Partiality to our Fellow Subjects of *Scotland*, at this Juncture? Why such a total Silence on this Head; as if they had no Concern in the *present Scheme*, either as to the *Disease*, or the *Remedy* propos'd by it? A few Days will shew *their Sense* of this Matter, and whether they are more resigned to the Will of a *Minister*, than is usual in Cases of *National Concern*; for however They may flatter Themselves, the Day must come at last, that will bring Them to an *Equality of Taxes*, and oblige Them to submit to the *same Burthen* with our selves.

As to *Frauds*, on this Side the *Tweed*, whatever they may be, why are they confin'd wholly to the *Customs*?—It is very well known that *Excises* have been attended with as *great Mysteries of Iniquity*, as the *Customs*; particularly in *NORFOLK*; where a fraudulent Traffick hath been carryed on with great Success, for many Years, in the Duties upon *Malt*, by the same Methods, which you are pleas'd to charge on the Dealers in *Tobacco*. If therefore *Excises* have such a secret Virtue in them, as to sanctify their *Officers*, and keep their
Fingers

(14)

Fingers undefiled, how came they to lose their Purity, and fall into the same wicked Arts with the Officers of the Customs? Perhaps, Sir, your own Knowledge of these Frauds in Malt might furnish you with the first Hint of this glorious Scheme; and the Corruptions of Excises in Norfolk give you Reason to suspect the same Abuses in the Customs at London. But supposing all these evil Practices to be true of the Custom-house Officers; why are They not prevented, or punished, by Those at the Head of our FINANCES? — Are the Laws, or the Extent of their Power too short to reach these Offenders? — Is Corruption grown so inveterate, as well as epidemical a Malady, that it is become incurable? — Hath the Countenance it hath received from our Superiors, and even from some of the most holy Order of Men, given it a Sanction, that makes it safe, as well as fashionable? — We know from whence these Officers derive their Authority, and by whom they are appointed. Have their Principals received any such Complaints against them, and have there been no Examples of Punishment? Or will these Abuses admit of no Reformation, without destroying Trade and Liberty; or, to speak in Scripture-Language, laying this Excise-Axe to the Root of the Tree?

Yes, Sir, if your Scheme be really for the Improvement of the Revenue, and not merely a Plan of Power, I believe I could myself propose a Remedy against most of these Evils; for if there is the least Difference between Excisemen and Custom-house Officers, it cannot possibly consist in any Thing but This; that the former are appointed by the Commissioners of Excise, who may have Experience of their Fidelity, as well as Abilities, and therefore are, in some Manner, answerable for their Conduct; whereas the latter are the Creatures of

(15)

of the Treasury, and recommended from such high Hands, as render Them almost independent of their Masters at the Custom-house. Therefore, Sir, before you make any more invidious Comparisons between one Commission and the other, you would do well to put them upon an Equality, in this Respect, and give the Commissioners of the Customs the same Power of nominating and advancing their Officers, as Those of the Excise have already. I am told that This was practised in the Time of One of your Predecessors; and if you please to revive it, I believe you will find no great Difference between Them, in Point of Honesty, or Ability; but, it seems, no Regulations will answer your Purpose, but subjecting the Customs to the Laws of Excise; and in this Point, Sir, we must beg Leave to hope that the same Difference will be continued for ever.

The Frauds in the Wine Trade succeed in their Course; and tho' you have not advanced one Argument, on this Head, but what hath been frequently exposed already, I plainly perceive by the Air of Triumph, with which you deliver yourself on this Part of the Subject, that you will impute it to want of Ability, if I should pass it by, without any Notice.

You tell us that a great deal of Wine is clandestinely run; and that the greatest Part of what is sold in publick Houses is nothing but a poisonous Composition of unknown Materials. In another Place, you say that the knavish Coopers and Vintners sell ten times the Quantities of the Wines they purchase from the honest Merchant, by their unreasonable Mixtures of cheap and, perhaps, poisonous Materials.

Here likewise we are willing to admit, as it hath been often allowed already in the Course of this long Debate, that there are Frauds and Impositions

(16)

positions in this Branch of Trade, by the Mixture and Adulteration of Wines; but we cannot conceive them to be so exorbitant in the *Quantity*, or so noxious in the *Quality*, as you set them forth.

You must excuse me, *Sir*, if I take Notice that the Manner, in which this Part of the Argument has been treated by *You*, and especially your *Advocates*, is not only *indecent*, but *impolitick*. Had this Regulation of the *Wine Trade* been calculated only for the *Good of Mankind*, and to preserve the *Health of his Majesty's Subjects*; it was surely your Interest to conciliate the Minds of all People to it, especially Those most affected, by cool Reasoning, and smooth Words; but supposing your great Regard for our *Constitutions* might transport you a little beyond the Bounds of *Decency* against those *common Poisoners*, the *Vintners*; what Occasion was there to treat their *Wives and Daughters* in so cavalier a Manner, as a Parcel of *Bawds and Whores*, who were at the Service of every *drunken Rake*?—Have you then met with so little Opposition to your *Scheme*, as to encourage your *Advocates* to exasperate People in this Manner, and add the *Insults of brutal Language* to the Terrors of an *Excise*?

But instead of Reasoning with you any farther on this Subject, give me Leave to ask you a few Questions.

With what View can you insist so much on the *poisonous Compositions of the Coopers and Wine Brewers*?—Do you really design that nothing but *Nett Wines* shall be sold for *Wine*?—Have you no Apprehensions that This will destroy the very End of your *Project*?—Come! lay your Hand on your Heart, and declare the Truth freely; that it is not your Design to preserve the

(17)

the People of *England* from being *poisoned*, but to increase the *Revenue*, by laying a Duty of *six Pounds* on every Hoghead of *Poison*, sold to Them by Authority. Be so good as to let us know whether the *Officers* will be ordered to take no Duty upon any Liquors called *Wines*, but what They shall be assured are *pure*? Or, if This should be the Case, don't you think it will be something difficult to pick up *Officers* of such exquisite Palates, as to distinguish *real Wines* from the artful Compositions of these *subtle Wizards*, (as your *Advocates* call them) the *Coopers* and *Wine-brewers*? Or, if you should be so happy as to get a compleat Collection of these *ingenious Artists*, and by their Means intirely destroy our *Home-Manufacture of Wine*; what would be the Consequence? Would not the *Price of Wine* be advanced? Might not that Advance lessen the *Consumption*, and consequently diminish the *Revenue*? Nay, if it should happen to be attended with none of these Consequences, and the *same Quantity of Wine* should continue to be drunk in *England*, must it not vastly enlarge the Importation of *foreign Wines*, according to your own excellent Calculation, and turn the *Ballance of that Trade* intirely against us?

Having descanted, in this learned Manner, on the *mysterious Iniquities* committed by the Dealers in *Wine* and *Tobacco*, you affect a great deal of Concern for the poor People of *England*; whom, with a silly *Pathos*, you style the *unhappy Sufferers*, and are so good as to profess your self their *Advocate*. Your Compassion for their Sufferings, at this Time, is truly heroical, and comes with a peculiar Grace from the Mouth of *One*, who hath wantonly sported, for many Years past, with *Pains, Penalties* and *Taxes*. But there seems to be, at

C

the

(18)

the same Time, a little *Spleen* and *Uneasiness* mixed up with these Professions of *Sorrow* and *Affection for the People*. You tell us, with a very awkward Sincer, that it is almost impossible to believe that, in these Days of REFORMATION, there will not be the same Zeal shewn against Those, who defraud the whole Body of the People in so open, so notorious, so avowed and publick a Manner, as there hath justly been expressed against Those, who have been guilty of the like Crimes against particular Societies, or a few particular Persons.

Here, *Sir*, if I take you rightly, your Joy is not quite sincere. You do not seem to be altogether pleased with these Days of REFORMATION. Methinks I see you in your Closet, while you are writing this elegant Passage, knitting your Brows, and muttering to your self — CHARITABLE CORPORATION! — DERWENTWATER! — YORK BUILDINGS! — *Where the Devil will this REFORMATION end?*

I thought, *Sir*, all was not quite right with you by the last Paragraph; and in the next you discover it very plainly; for you immediately drop the smooth, cajoling Style, and, losing all your Temper at once, call every Body about you, JACOBITES and REPUBLICANS. You seem, indeed, to be a little sensible of your Disorder, by owning them to be Persons of very remote Principles, and calling it an unnatural Union. Why really, *Sir*, the Composition is odd enough; a little more odd, I fancy, than any you will find in the *Vintners Cellars*.

We know that you have long been used to this Gentlemanlike Way of confuting your *Adversaries*; and it must be confess'd that you have formerly executed many hopeful Projects, by Virtue of this Word *Jacobite*; but it is too much worn at present

(19)

sent to do you any Service; and therefore you tack the Word *Republican* to it, notwithstanding the Remoteness and Incongruity of their Principles. You tell us that These are the only two Denominations of Men, who have rais'd the present Clamour and oppos'd your Scheme. What! does the City of London and most of the great trading Towns and Corporations in England consist of nothing but *Jacobites* and *Republicans*? But as you have always branded every Body with the Character of a *Jacobite*, who hath been formerly distinguish'd by the Name of a *Tory*, or an *High-Churchman*, in the Days of our unhappy Divisions; so it is very probable that, under the Denomination of *Republicans*, you include all Those, whether *Low-Churchmen* or *Dissenters*, who have been so unhappy as to dislike your Measures. If This, *Sir*, is your Meaning, I believe you will find Them no considerable Party; for, laying aside the vast Body of *Crown-Officers, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical*, I think They cannot amount, at a moderate Computation, to less than *Ninety-nine in an Hundred* of the whole Kingdom. I hope therefore that you have been a little too free, in stigmatizing all these Persons with the Character of being *Enemies to the ROYAL FAMILY, now establish'd on the Throne, and our PRESENT HAPPY CONSTITUTION*.

Thus far, I am ready to admit your Assertion is just; that you have united these two great Bodies of Men, in the Sense before-mentioned, and brought about that happy Coalition of Parties, which We have long endeavour'd, but in vain, to accomplish. This, *Sir*, is the only good Effect attending your Scheme. But whether it was altogether politick in you to blab out this Secret, I leave to your own Judgment. It is, at least, a publick Confession from your own Mouth, that two Parties,

(20)

ties, *the most remote in their Principles, Views and Interests, are vigorously united in their Opposition to your Measures.*

But you affirm that this Opposition proceeds from the Apprehensions of the *unfair Traders*, that it will effectually prevent *Frauds in the Collection of the Revenue*; upon which you apply another Piece of Schoolboy's Latin; *hinc ille Lacrymæ.* —

No, Sir, you are as sensible as any Man in *England* that this general Opposition arises from the just Apprehensions of the People, founded on Experience, that the Manner of collecting Duties by *Excise* is ruinous to *Trade*, and tends to the Subversion of *Liberty*. They, who have felt the Rigor of *these Laws*, complain of them as grievous. For this Reason, They have declared against any farther Extension of them; and are resolved to oppose it by all *dutiful and lawful Methods*; but you, Sir, tell Them very graciously, that They are ignorant of their *own Interests*; that They know nothing of *Trade*; and that you are resolved to make Them happy under *these Laws*, whether They will, or no.

As a Proof that *this Remedy* will be adequate to the *Distemper*, you give us an Instance in the late Act, for excising *Coffee, Tea and Chocolate*; which, you say, hath brought above a *Million* more into the *Exchequer*, during the *eight Years*, in which They have been under *these excellent Laws*, than They produced in the *eight Years* preceding. How far We may take your Word for This, I know not; or, supposing it to be true, it may be owing to, other Causes, besides the *Prevention of Frauds*; such as *Luxury*, and the *increas'd Consumption of those Commodities*, which is now become almost universal; for it is certain that *Tea* was never so much *run*, as it hath been since *that Act*; and

(21)

and I am credibly informed that whatever the *Excise* might produce at first, it hath dwindled away again for several Years past; so that, perhaps, We shall find, upon a strict Enquiry, that, excepting the Abatement of *Premiums on prompt Payment*, (which, in Effect, is an *additional Tax*) the Publick hath gain'd but little by this *boasted Improvement of the Revenue*, besides an *Increase of Officers*, and the *Power of awing and harassing the Subject*; for there is hardly any Thing wanting in *that Act*, which is to be found in the Finances of *France*, or *Denmark*.

And yet you are not ashamed to suggest, that the *Inconvenience*, which hath arisen from the *Alteration of collecting the Duties on these Commodities*, is in no Degree adequate to the vast Benefit, which hath accrued to the Publick.—Pray, Sir, is not the distressing and vexing many Thousands of the People an *Inconvenience*?—Is not the Discontent of the People of *England* in general, arising from this Alteration, an *Inconvenience* of great Weight and Consequence?—Do you think, Sir, that nobody's Ease and Happiness are to be consulted but your own; or that your single Resolution ought to bear down the united Judgment of the People of *Great Britain*?—I apprehend, Sir, that This of it self would be such an *Inconvenience*, as no *Increase of the Duty* whatsoever would compensate to the People.

The next Thing remarkable in your *Letter* is your Declamation on the *fatal Mischiefs*, accruing to the *Merchants* and their *unfortunate Friends*, who are *Sureties* for Them, by their having *Credit* given Them on their *Bonds*; which tempts Them to employ their Money in *Exchange-Alley*.

What a noble Friend art Thou to the *Traders of Great Britain*?—Is not *Credit* equal to *Money*?

(22)

ney? — Is not *Credit* to the Publick a *Multiplication of Money*? — Have not you found it so, in many Instances, for your own Advantage? — Hath not the diffusive Influence of *Credit* reduced the *national Interest* to half what it was, in former Times? And, if the *Credit of Traders*, on which the *national Credit* depends, is taken from Them, how soon must They sink into *Bankruptcy*? — However, thus far I will agree with you; that an *Excise* will prevent the Ruin of many Families by *Credit*. — Why? — Because Multitudes of *Tradesmen* will be undone, for want of Persons to give Them *Credit*. — Who will trust *Shop-keepers*, do you think, who are liable every Day of their Lives to be reduced to Ruin, for little *Mistakes*, or *Frauds*, by *arbitrary Judges* and *exorbitant Penalties*? — It is like giving Security for their GOOD BEHAVIOUR; which, in some Cases, is little less than a *Prohibition from lawful Business*.

As for STOCK-JOBING, if any Thing will encourage it more than usual, it is an *Excise*; and, perhaps, That may be one of your covert Reasons for pursuing *this Scheme* with so much undaunted Vigour; for if the Merchants and Traders of *England* should not be able to pursue their honest Business without a Load of heavy Chains on their Legs, They will naturally resort to *Stock-jobbing*. Despair of getting a competent Livelyhood and Substance by *Trade* in the common Way, to which They were bred, will drive Them to *extraordinary Methods* of Subsistence. *Necessity* compels Men to Acts of Hazard and Danger. It forces some to the *Highway*; others to *Exchange-Alley*; and many to serve the vile Purposes of a *wicked Minister*. But you, *Sir*, cannot plead *Necessity* in your *Excuse*. It is meer Wantonness and Insolence of Power, which prompt you to sport, in this Man-
ner,

(23)

ner, with the *Fortunes* and *Liberties* of your Fellow Subjects.

After this ridiculous *Invective* against *Credit*, you are pleased to make an authoritative Declaration, without any Colour of Reason, or Coherence of Argument, *that in Consequence of this Scheme, Great Britain will become a free Port, and a general Storehouse for WINE and TOBACCO.* — So extraordinary an Assertion as This deserves a Remark or two; and first as to *Wine*.

For God Sake, what can your *Honour* mean by saying that your *Scheme* will make *Great Britain* a Storehouse for *that Commodity*? How ignorant must you be of the Nature of all Sorts of *Trade*, except *one*, to fall into so silly a Mistake? To what Purpose shou'd any Body land *Wines* here, in order to export them abroad? Was This ever heard of before? For my Part, I am an utter Stranger to any such Kind of Commerce; nor do I believe that *Wines* were ever, or will ever be exported from *Great Britain*, in any Quantities worth Regard. To what Place, I pray, can the Merchants be supposed to send them? *Other Countries* can buy *Wines*, or take them in Exchange for their *own Goods*, at a cheaper Rate than They can have them from *us*.

And as for making *Great Britain* a free Port and a general Store-house for *Tobacco*, your *Honour* seems to have fallen into a greater Blunder than in the former Article. Can this Island be the *Store-house* for *Tobacco* in a greater Degree, than it is at present? Is not the chief Part of *this Commodity* the Growth of our *own Plantations*? And is not all our *Plantation-Tobacco* now brought hither? Can it be carryed to any other Country without being first landed in *Great Britain*? — At present therefore *this Island* may be properly
said

(24)

said to be the *general Storehouse for Tobacco*, tho' not a *free Port*; and you wou'd do well to consider, *Sir*, whether any Alteration in the Course of *this Trade*, especially by way of *Excise*, may not affect it in a very great Degree, and encourage *other Nations* to become our Rivals in it; as They have already been, with too much Success, in *Sugar* and *other Commodities*.

You now pay your Devoirs to the *Retailer*, and make some Apologies to him for not taking his Case into Consideration before.

Why really, *Sir*, I think it is high Time to give these poor People a *few good Words*; and you seem to set out very fair; but on reading several Pages, under this Article, I can find nothing in them but the same Strain of *Railing* and *Abuse*; with an awkward Attempt to prove that it is all for *their Good*. You confine your Invective, indeed, to the *fraudulent Trader*; but you plainly intend it against the *whole Body of the Retailers in general*; for tho' you are pleas'd to admit that there is such a Thing in the World as a *fair Trader*, you do it in a mighty cool Manner, by way of *Parentesis*; as much as to say, *Rara Avis in terris!* if I may venture to give you a little Scrap of *Latin* in my Turn.—But let us come to the Point; which brings us to the *second Objection against the proposed Alteration*; that it will be *injurious to ENGLISH LIBERTY*.

You begin with that Branch of the Objection, which concerns the *Power of the Officers to visit Houses*; and affirm, without any Hesitation, that it will be for every *honest Man's Advantage and Credit*; upon which I must beg Leave to ask you a few more Questions.

Good *Sir*, do you think it can be for the *Advantage of the honestest Man in England*, to have every
Room

(25)

Room in his House constantly liable to be rummaged, by Day or by Night, at the Will and Pleasure of a *scurvy little Fellow*, who may hope to recommend himself by being *vexatious in his Office*, or perhaps with an Intent only of drawing out a little *Civility Money*; which may afterwards be made a Charge against the *poor Retailer*, and involve him in *severe Penalties* and *ignominious Prosecutions*?

Is it for the *Advantage* of an *honest Man* to be at the Charge of keeping *Scales* and *Weights*, as well as being oblig'd *himself to assist in weighing his Goods*, as often as this *busy Familiar* shall be pleas'd to require it?

Is it for his *Advantage* to be at the Trouble of keeping *regular Accounts* of all the Goods He sells every Day, and to whom He sells them?

Is it for his *Advantage* to be continually dancing Attendance at the *Permit Office*, and waiting the Pleasure of the *little Clerks* there, who may happen to be regaling Themselves at a *neighbouring Alehouse*, for every Quantity of Goods He may sell above *six Pound Weight*, or above a *Gallon* in exciseable Liquors; which is liable to be seized and forfeited without their Certificate?

Can it be thought to be either for the *Advantage* or *Credit* of an *honest Man* to lye under the Obligation of frequently purging himself upon *Oath*, in the exactest Manner, with Regard to his particular Dealings?

Is it for his *Advantage*, that these *Protestant Inquisitors* should be let into the particular Knowledge of all his Dealings; by which Means they may frequently have it in their Power to depress his *Credit*, and clandestinely work him out of his *Business*?

In Justification of these *exorbitant Powers*, you draw a very pretty Comparison between *Ships* and
D Houses,

(26)

Houses; and tell us, that the *Custom-House Officer* has the same Power over *one*; that the *Exciseman* hath over the *other*.—But I must beg Leave to make a small Distinction in this Case.

A *Ship*, Sir, is a most ingenious Piece of *Mechanism*, design'd for the Conveyance of mercantile Goods from one Part of the World to another; and, as I apprehend with humble Submission, cannot be called a *fix'd Habitation*. For this Reason, it is liable to Inspection in all Countries, like *Waggons* and *other common Vehicles*. But a *Man-fion-House*, or *private Dwelling-place*, hath been always esteem'd a sort of *Sanctuary*, in most *civiliz'd Nations*; especially where *Liberty* prevails in any Degree; and, in *this Nation*, it hath always pass'd under the Name of a *Man's Castle*; till you, Sir, form'd the Project of invading and reducing it to the same precarious State with our *floating Castles*.

But you seem to think *this Visitation of Houses* absolutely necessary, and not at all inconvenient to the *honest Trader*. The *honest Trader* is of another Opinion, and knows there is a *Mystery*, even in the *fairest Trade*, which ought not to be discovered. *Dear Sir*, give me Leave to appeal to your self, in this Case. Do you not from your Heart believe the Art of *Decyphering* to be a very *honest Trade*? Do you not think it as *mysterious* an Art as any carry'd on even by the *Wine Brewers* and *Tobacco Factors*? And yet, Sir, you may remember that it was adjudg'd by the highest Authority, on a very solemn Occasion, that This was a *Mystery*, which ought not to be revealed; though the Interest of only *TWO PERSONS* in the whole Kingdom were concern'd in it.

But let me go a little farther on this Subject of discovering the *Mysteries of Trade*. What is the Reason,

(27)

Reason, Sir, for giving large Sums of Money with *Apprentices*? Is it only for *Board and Lodging*; or is it to instruct them in the *Art and Mystery of the particular Trade*, to which They are bound? Are not *these Words* the very Terms express'd in their *Indentures*? If therefore your *Reasoning* is just and your *Scheme* should prevail, I would advise all Gentlemen, as well as others, to bind their Sons *Apprentices to Excisemen*, as the best Way to instruct them in the *Mysteries of all Trades at once*; so that if *one* fails, they may take up *another*.

But here you recur once more to the *Mysteries of Iniquity*, and assert that it is upon this Account the *Retailers* dread an Inspection.—— Lord, Sir, how came you, of all Men in the World, to be so fond of discovering *Mysteries of Iniquity*? Do but consider what a terrible Fright you was in but a few Pages before, on Account of *these Days of Reformation*. One wou'd think that you had lost your SENSES with your HONESTY, as your learned Advocate Mr. Osborne observed, in his judicious Paper of *Saturday* last; but I will put the Issue of our present Dispute on *this single Point*.— Will you, Sir, who are so zealous for extending this *visitatorial Power*, be pleas'd to put your self under the *same Jurisdiction*, and consent to have your *Accounts inspected*, and the *Mystery of your Dealings exposed*, in the same rigorous Manner, by *Commissioners*, to be appointed by the PEOPLE? Grant us only *this Point*, and I believe all the *Corporations in England*, LYNN itself not excepted, wou'd revoke their *late Instructions*, and heartily concur in a *Scheme*, which might be attended with such *infinite Advantage to the Nation*, and, perhaps, no small *Improvement of the Revenue*.

D 2

But

(28)

But as we can have no Hopes that you will ever consent to any *Inquisition of this Sort*, let us examine the remaining Part of your *Letter*.

The Privilege of *Englishmen*, to be tryed by *Juries*, is so well understood by every Class of People, and the Argument upon it hath been so fully exhausted, in the Course of *this Dispute*, that it may be thought almost impertinent to offer any thing farther on that Subject; and I do assure you, *Sir*, that nothing shou'd induce me to do it but your *own great Authority*, in seconding the ridiculous Arguments of your *little Advocates* against this fundamental Privilege of the People.

However, *Sir*, I shall be very short, and consider only the *Instances* you have produced, to support your Argument against *this Method of Trial*.

For this Purpose, you are pleas'd to mention *the Land-Tax and Window-Tax; Disputes about Parish Rates; the Repairs of Highways and Bridges; the Payment of Servants and Manufacturers Wages; and Disputes between the Clergy and their Parishioners about small Tythes*; all which Cases, you tell us, are directed by Law to be adjudged and determined either by particular Commissioners for that Purpose, or by neighbouring Justices of the Peace, either in their private Capacity, or at the *Quarter Session*, and WITHOUT A JURY.

But it unluckily happens, in all these Cases, that there is not *one Penalty*, or *Forfeiture*, accruing to the *Officers*, or the *Crown*; neither are the *Officers* appointed by the *Crown*; but by the *Parliament*, their respective *Counties*, or *Parishes*; so that all these Instances are quite foreign to the Case of *Excises*, and nothing to the Purpose.

You confess that, in the Case of small Tythes, the *Vicar may, if He pleases, sue in the Exchequer*; and

(29)

and therefore I am at a Loss to guess for what Purpose you could insert This in your Collection of Cases, determinable in a *summary Manner*, without a Trial by *Juries*,

You likewise acknowledge, that the greatest Privilege of an *Englishman* is a fair and impartial Trial, and in most Cases by a JURY. — Let me ask you therefore how the *Merchants* of *England* have so far incurr'd your *Honour's* Displeasure as to be excluded from this greatest Privilege of *Englishmen*?—I believe, *Sir*, that I may answer for the whole Body of them, that They wou'd rather submit to the Vexation and Expence of a Prosecution in the Court of *Exchequer*, where Trials by *Juries* are still preserved, than leave their Property to the arbitrary Determination of *Court Commissioners*; and This, *Sir*, is all I shall say to you, at present, upon the Point of *Juries*.

You now proceed to the *Dangers* apprehended, (or *insinuated*, as you call it) from the *new Levy of Officers*, which will be necessary to put your *Scheme* in Execution; and comfort us with an Assurance that the Number will be very inconsiderable; which you are pleas'd to illustrate by the small Increase of *Officers*, occasioned by the late Act for excising *Coffee, Tea and Chocolate*. You inform us that the additional *Officers, created on that Account, were no more than 80, excepting Clerks, and Persons employed solely in Writing*; and that the present proposed Increase will not be 150 in all ENGLAND; BESIDES some Warehouse-keepers in this Town of London, whose sole Business it will be to keep a Key, jointly with the *Merchants*.

Well, *Sir*, let us allow this Calculation to be just, and that no more than 150 *Officers* will be added for ENGLAND, on your *new Scheme*; yet including

(30)

cluding SCOTLAND, and the Officers employed there, with all the *additional Clerks and Warehousemen*, on Account of *Tea, Wine and Tobacco*, in both Kingdoms, They will certainly amount to a very large Number. Let us suppose them only to be 500; can *such an Increase*, added to the 600 raised last Year, on Account of the *Salt Duty*, and the vast Multitude subsisting before, be thought of no *Danger*? May not all *these Offices* be given to the Sons, Servants, or Dependents of THOSE PERSONS, whom a *Minister* too often finds it his Interest to oblige? And does not This tend to abridge and undermine the Freedom of *those Assemblies*, which is the only Support of our *Liberties and Constitution*?

But what Security can the Publick have, if your *Project* should take Effect, that you will raise no more than 150 of these *new Troops*? May you not enlist what Numbers you please, even *ad Infinitum*, if you find it necessary for the Support of your Measures? Who can controul you, when the *Scheme* is established, if the *united Voice of the whole Kingdom* cannot controul you at present?

As to the *Warehouses*, which you acknowledge to be a Part of your *Scheme*, I shall only observe that it is exactly another *charitable Corporation Project*. The Goods of the Merchants, it seems, are to be deposited, like common Pledges, in your *Honour's Lumber Houses*, under the Inspection and Care of such an honest Steward, as *John Thompson*.

But I am really weary of following you through this Labyrinth of Inconsistency and Folly. I shall therefore conclude with a few short Reflections upon the whole.

Aristotle

(31)

Aristotle observes very justly, that great Care ought to be taken in changing the *fundamental Parts of any Government*; and that the utmost Caution ought to be had against *Those*, who attempt it *by Degrees*.—*Machiavel*, (who was, perhaps, as great a *Politician*, though not quite so honest a Man) says, in Effect, the same Thing; when He advises any *Prince*, or *Minister*, who has a Mind to alter the *Constitution* of his Country, to preserve the *same outward Forms*; and tells us that the Power of the *Roman People* was intirely destroyed by these Means.

Let us now apply these Maxims to the Case of *Excises*.

When *this Method of Taxation* was first established amongst us, in Times of a *civil War*, the *Projectors* of it proceeded by *regular Degrees*, against the general Inclination of the People; but finding Themselves strong enough to succeed in their first Attempt, They went farther; *whereupon Mr. Pym*, as *Dugdale relates*, *did by his Letter to Sir John Hotham*, signify, that They had proceeded in the Excise to many Particulars, and intended to go on farther; but that it would be necessary to use the People to it by little and little; and accordingly, under the specious Pretences of paying the Debts, maintaining the Army, and Security of Trade, before the Year was ended, They extended the Excise to be general, even to the SHAMBLES.

When the *same Scheme* was attempted, after the *Revolution*, it was proposed only for a short Time, during the Exigencies of a *War*; and *Dr. D'Avenant*, who wrote for *Excises*, at that Time, by the Direction of the *Treasury*, hath this remarkable Paragraph in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, viz.

“ When

(32)

“ When the People, *says He*, grow once so degenerate, as to surrender the Rights of the Nation, there is no Ward against *such Corruption*; and a *Parliament*, that wou'd consent to continue *Excises* beyond the *Necessities of the War*, wou'd give up *MAGNA CHARTA*, or settle the present *Land Taxes* in Perpetuity on the *Crown*; but it is hoped there are not Hands enough, in this Country, to help a *few Flatterers* in the pulling down the Fences of our *Liberty*, and to promote a *Design*, that wou'd as well ruin the *King*, as his *People*.

But it is now Time to draw to a Conclusion; and I will do it, by putting you in Mind, that your *Advocates* have, for several Months, endeavour'd to ridicule our Apprehensions of an *Excise*; and asserted that if any *such Alteration in the Revenue* shou'd be proposed, it wou'd not be attended with those terrible Circumstances, with relation to *Juries, entering Houses, &c.* which the *Incendiaries*, as They are call'd, have represented. But your *Honour* has fully verified all, that hath been said by these *wicked Malignants*, in the Pamphlet now before us. We have nothing therefore to hope, but that our *Representatives in Parliament* will reject your *Scheme*, and persevere in the glorious Spirit of their Predecessors, by declaring with an unanimous Voice, *NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI*.

As this ever-memorable Sentence is the great Foundation of *MAGNA CHARTA*, I hope you will not be displeas'd, *Sir*, with a short Quotation from an * *old Book*, in which the sacred Regard, which our Ancestors paid to that *indelible Law*, is given us in a full and a strong Light.

“ The

* *The Case of the BANKERS, &c.*

(33)

“ The Time would fail me, should I enlarge upon that inviolable Bulwark of our *Liberties* and *Property*, the *MAGNA CHARTA*, or *GREAT CHARTER of ENGLAND*; a *Charter*, purchas'd with the *Treasure* and seal'd with the *Blood of our Ancestors*; a *Law* promulg'd and established to the *English*, with a *Terror* and *Solemnity* inferior only to That of the *holy Commandments* by God himself to the *Jews*. There was here no *Thunder*, or *Lightning*, it is true; but there was so dreadful a *Fulmination of Curses* upon the *Violators* thereof, that no Man ever yet consider'd them without *Horror* and *Astonishment*. A *Law*, rever'd by former *Parliaments* to that Degree, that they enacted *Transcripts* thereof to be carefully preserv'd in all the *Cathedrals* of the *Realm*; that it shou'd be four times a *Year* carefully read before the *People*; that twice in a *Year* the *Prelacy* (*Pontificalibus induti, & * Candelis accensis*) shou'd *Thunder out the greater Excommunication* against the *Infringers* thereof, though but in *Word* or *Council*, (*says the Statute*;) that the *Lord Chancellor* and all the great *Ministers of State*, upon *Entry* into their *Offices*, shou'd constantly be sworn to the *Observation* thereof; that it shou'd be allowed as the *common Law*, by all *Officers of Justice*; that all *Statute Laws*, or *Judgments*, in *Opposition* thereto, should be *null* and *void*; nay, that the very *Priests* and *Confessors* shou'd frame the *Consciences* of the *People* to the *Observance* thereof; and lastly a *Law*,

E

“ con-

* This Ceremony, as related by another Author, was thus: The *Bishops*, holding lighted Candles in their Hands, extinguish'd Them, and threw them on the Ground, every one present crying out; *thus let HIM be extinguish'd and sink in Hell, who violates THIS CHARTER*.

(34)

“ confirmed by no less than *Thirty-two several*
 “ *Acts of Parliament.*— And what was the Rea-
 “ son of all this Veneration and Diligence? Was
 “ *this Charter* of that Sanctity and Importance? —
 “ Yes surely; the Presence thereof was then thought
 “ as necessary to the *English*, as That of the *Pal-*
 “ *adium* to the *Trojans*; the *holy Ark* to the *He-*
 “ *brews*; the *Sea Banks* to the States of *Holland*.
 “ In Company of *this Tutelar*, there was no possi-
 “ ble Danger. In the Absence thereof, no possible
 “ Safety. Such then was the Care of our Ance-
 “ stors, (*wise Men*, perhaps, tho’ not so *great*
 “ *Clerks*) in the Munition and fencing about of
 “ *their Rights* and *Properties*; and so invincible
 “ was their Zeal to transmit *those Jewels* to their
 “ Posterities, with the same Lustre and Beauty,
 “ that they themselves had received from their
 “ Predecessors; those *old English Heroes* seeming
 “ to me to bear always in mind that Saying of our
 “ *Countryman*, and *great Captain*, GALGACUS, when
 “ his Army was in the Instant of joining Battle
 “ here with the *Roman Invaders*; *Et Majores ves-*
 “ *tros & Posteris Cogitate*; *Fellow Soldiers*, says
 “ He, *Remember your ANCESTORS and your Po-*
 “ *sterities*; a short Speech; but containing
 “ more of Argument and Persuasion, than can be
 “ expressed in ten Reams of Paper.

How say you, *Sir*, do you like this Kind of
 Reasoning? — If you do, give me Leave to con-
 clude with one short Passage more from the *same*
Author; which he reports as the familiar Saying
 of Sir EDWARD COKE, and says *will remain a*
Maxim of eternal Truth in this State; — viz. *That*
no Subject (tho’ never so POTENT and SUBTILE)
ever confronted, or jostled with the LAW OF ENG-
LAND, but the SAME LAW in the End infallibly
BROKE HIS NECK.

F I N I S.



ADVERTISEMENT.

AN ARGUMENT against EXCISES. In
 several ESSAYS, lately published in the
Craftsman, and now collected together.

The Second Part of an ARGUMENT against
 EXCISES, in Answer to the Objections of se-
 veral Writers; especially with Regard to that Part
 of the Subject, which relates to the Power and
 Conduct of the *Commissioners and Officers of EX-*
CISE.

With some REMARKS on the Present State of
 Affairs.

The Case of the REVIVAL of the SALT
 DUTY, fully stated and considered.

All on the same Subject, and printed in the
 same Manner, fit to be bound up together.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
 DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
 DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
 5712 SOUTH DICKENS STREET
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
 U.S.A.
 TEL: 773-936-3700
 FAX: 773-936-3701
 WWW: WWW.CHEM.UCHICAGO.EDU