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THE
CRISIS:
OR, THE
BRITON'S Advocate.

PROVING,

I. The fatal Consequences that will certainly ensue from the Snares laid by wicked and designing Men, to deprive us of the invaluable Blessing of being a *Free People*; being a full Answer to the Pamphlet, call'd, *Observations on a Paper, intitled, The List of those Gentlemen who voted for and against the Excise*; shewing, that that stupid Piece is calculated to deceive Mankind, and to bring them over to think favourably of a Scheme, which, was it ever to

take Place, we may from thence bid Adieu to our Rights and Liberties.

II. Remarks on another Pamphlet, which likewise came from the same Quarter, intitled, *The Rise and Fall of the late projected Excise Scheme impartially consider'd*; fully shewing the dangerous Consequence and evil Tendency thereof; and that, should it not meet with a true *British* Opposition, Things would be brought to a very unhappy Period.

To which are annex'd,

The SPEECHES of Mr. C—r of the E—r, and J—ph D—rs, and H—y P—m, Esqrs; in Behalf of a particular Motion made by Mr. C—r of the E—r: With the Replies of Sir W—m W—d—m, Sir J—n B—n—d, and W—m P—t—y, Esq; And ANNOTATIONS on the Whole. With Considerations on the King of France's Declaration of WAR.

L O N D O N :

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A
Full ANSWER
 To a late
STUPID PERFORMANCE,
 CALL'D,
Observations upon a PAPER,
 INTITUL'D,
THE LIST.

I Am not in the least surprized to find, that great Offence has been taken at the Publication of *The LIST* of those *worthy Gentlemen*, who, in Complaisance to a *certain honourable Person*, were pleas'd to *vote for the EXCISE-BILL*; contrary to the *express Desire and Instructions of their Principals*, and even contrary to the *universal Voice of the People* throughout the Kingdom. A *stupid Pamphlet*, that has lately made its Appearance, under the Name of,

B. 2 *Obser-*

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Observations upon a Paper intitled, THE LIST, is both a convincing Proof, and a tacit Confession, how much it has anger'd them; it being as *natural* for those whose Deeds won't bear Examination, to *shun the Light*, as it is for a *gall'd Horse to wince*, or for a *certain Person*, who shall be nameless, to take the mentioning of *Sejanus*, *Cardinal Woolsey*, *Mortimer*, or any other *over-grown Plunderer* of former Times, as a design'd Reflection upon himself, which perhaps the Person who brought them upon the Stage never had the least Thought of him.

I HAVE already observed that the above-mention'd Pamphlet is a *stupid Piece*; and I am fully persuaded that all who have *mortify'd* themselves with the perusal thereof (as I was obliged to do for my Sins) will heartily concur with me in the same Opinion; nevertheless that my *Performance* may not be *wholly unprofitable* to myself, and that no *weak Brother* may be *stagger'd* by that little *shew of Argument* that runs through this *miserable Performance*, I will throw away an Hour or two in taking it in Pieces, and *expose* it to my Readers in its *proper Colours*.

THE Author in the first Place, is very angry that great Pains has been taken to disperse this *List*, wherefore in his *mighty Wisdom* he thinks proper to make some Observations both upon it, and upon the Persons who have been so very industrious in dispersing it.

I wou'd fain ask this *angry Gentleman* if it is a *new Thing* to *disperse Lists* of those Members who have *signaliz'd* themselves by any *remarkable*

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ble Vote? were not *Lists* publish'd of those who voted for and against the *Hessian Forces*, *Standing-Armies*, &c? Is it not highly reasonable that every Gentleman should be rewarded according to his Demerits? And how should those Members who have been *most indefatigable* in the Service of their Country be intitled to their *just Quota* of popular *Applause*, and the *Affections* and *Gratitude* of their *Fellow-Subjects*, if they are not made acquainted with their *disinterested Behaviour*, and *publick Spirit*, on all *remarkable Occasions* by *such Lists*? It is certainly most fitting that it should be so; sure I am that no Member, who votes according to his Conscience is not under some *sinister Influence*, will ever be displeas'd with the Publication of *such Lists*, and acquainting the World with his Conduct.

THE second Thing that provokes the Author is, that the Gentlemen who voted for the *Bill* are *distinguish'd* in this *List* by the *several Employments* whereof they are *possess'd*: Besides which, it seems, there is a *malignant N. B.* intimating that most of those who were for the Question were under *visible Dependancies*, besides others who were supposed under *more secret Influences*.

WHY really it must be own'd that this is a very horrible Crime; what! set a Mark of Distinction upon so many *honest Gentlemen*! a terrible Charge truly! But let us see how we can bring the Author of the *List* off. Either these Employments were conferr'd upon these Gentlemen on account of their *great Deserts*, or for some *sinister End*: If the *first* were the Case, why should

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should they be angry at the World's being made acquainted with their uncommon Merits? If the latter (which we will not presume to suppose, and I dare swear the Author of the Observations will not grant) it is very just that the World should be informed thereof.

THE Author of the Observations proceeds to tell us, that the List was dispersed for two Intents: To throw a Reflection on those who voted for the Bill, by insinuating that they did so contrary to their Opinion, with a View to their Place; and to direct the People of England whom they are not to choose to represent them in the next Parliament.

I suppose the Author of the Observations thinks this is a Clincher, and that it is utterly unanswerable; it may be so; it is certainly absolutely impossible to know upon what Grounds any Man acts; the searching of Hearts is the Prerogative of GOD alone; but what is all this to the Purpose? A Highwayman may be (or at least may pretend to be, for it is my Opinion no Man does a Rascally Action but he knows it at the same Time) of Opinion that he has more Right to the Money in a Traveller's Pocket than the Traveller himself; and consequently may not act contrary to his Opinion when he robs him of it, but what will be the Consequence thereof? Will his Opinion justify him in so doing? No, I dare swear he will be hang'd up for all his Opinion.

As to the second Article, that it is a Direction to the People whom not to choose; I hope the Author of

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of the Observations will at least be so honest to own that it is not an Offer to Bribe or Corrupt them, and I would fain know how long it has been criminal to offer to inform their Judgments? — For my part, I am so far from thinking it criminal, that provided he will but give me any tolerable Assurance I shall be paid for my pains, nay if he will but prevail upon his PATRON to subscribe to the same Number as he did of the Translation of Tacitus, viz. five Hundred, I will engage to write a positive Direction to the People whom they shall choose; I will even name at length the fittest Persons for every Shire, City, and Borough, and enumerate their several great Services whereby they are entitled to the Favour and Gratitude of their Countrymen, as their voting for the Excise-Bill, &c, &c, &c.

THE first of these (says the Author of the Observations) carries a very high Reflection upon the Majority of the House of Commons, for it appears that there was a Majority for the Bill, in all the Questions that were put relating to it. Why really this is a very candid Way of arguing; by this way of reasoning if a Man should print a List of those Lords who voted for and against enquiring into the Frauds of the South-Sea Company, and should distinguish those Peers who voted against it by the several Employments which they held, he might be brought in guilty of Scandalum Magnatum. This is allowing the Doctrine of Innuendoes with a Vengeance, perhaps the Author expects as good a Reward as the worthy Author of that Pamphlet receiv'd for that admirable Performance which ought to have been burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

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THIS *Insinuation* (says the *Author* of the *Observations*) asserts a Point contrary to the known Meaning and Intention of the Law — What in the Name of Wonder does he mean by this! Did ever any one hear of an *Insinuation* asserting any Thing before? Why 'tis a down-right Contradiction *in Terminis*: I always thought People made use of *Insinuations* on such Occasions where they either *durst not*, or *did not care to*, assert a Thing positively. For instance, I may intimate that the *Author* of the *Observations* is a *Wretch* who *prostitutes his Principles for Hire*, and that he is one of a *certain Person's Band of Pensioners*; but far be it from me to assert such a Thing positively.

HE next tells us what every one knew before, that a Member of the House of Commons may be re-elected after his accepting an Employment, and hold both his Employment and his Seat in Parliament. Upon which he makes this *wise* Observation; If therefore it had been thought incompatible, that *no* honest Man (mind the Eloquence of his Style, I suppose he means *an* honest Man, but such Mistakes are pardonable in a *DEAR-JOY*, as I take our *Author* to be) cou'd serve both his King and his Country at the same Time, in two different Stations, whereby the Wisdom of the Legislature would not have authorized such a Practice. — Why really, Sir, no body ever did think it *incompatible*; so far from it, that no Man can serve his Country, but he must at the same Time serve his King *ipso Facto*; and on the contrary, if any Man pretends to serve his King, and, proposes any

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any Thing that would be a *Disservice* to the *Publick* (as a *certain Person* did on a late *memorable Occasion*) it would be so far from proving any *real Service* to him, that it would do him a *real Prejudice*; and the *Proposer*, whoever he be, ought to be rewarded accordingly.

THE *Author* proceeds next to consider the second Point, *viz.* the *List-Writer's* Advice to the People, whom they are not to choose to represent them in the next Parliament; and here (he tells us) lies the secret Venom and wicked Intention of this *Author* and his Abettors. No other Person (continues he) is assign'd, why the Gentlemen mark'd in the List are to be excluded from the next Parliament, but because they voted for the *Excise-Bill*. I will suppose that they were mistaken in that Vote (pursues he) *Good luck!* 'Tis well he will be so good as to suppose any Thing: Is this a reasonable Cause why they are never to be admitted to sit in Parliament again? — This is an *ensnaring Question* whilst the present Parliament is in Being, wherefore I shall only answer it by asking him another Question. If he had a *Servant* who shou'd act directly contrary to his express Commands, and that in an Affair of the utmost Importance, whereon his future Welfare entirely depended, would he continue him in his Service, or ever employ him again?

HE then tells us that when a Member is voted guilty of a criminal Fact, and *expell'd* the House, this Punishment never extends farther than the Parliament he then sits in; he is not render'd incapable of sitting in any future Parliament.

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liament,—I can't imagine how *our Author* came so *unluckily* to stumble upon this; it is *ripping up* an *old Sore* that *won't bear touching*; and I believe he will hardly have any Thanks for his Pains; since one can't pass it by without calling to mind that a *certain Person* was formerly *expell'd* the House for BRIBERY, a *Crime* of such a *Mischievous Tendency*, that whoever is once found *guilty* thereof, ought never to be suffer'd to sit in the House again; wherefore it were highly to have been wish'd, that there had at that Time been such a *Precedent* as the Act for *incapacitating Mr. A—bie*, and the *South-Sea Directors*, who were only *guilty* of the *same Crime*; and that *another Act* had been *form'd* upon the *same Model*, in the *Instance* above-mention'd, which would have prov'd a *Blessing* to the *whole Nation* in general.

OUR Readers must observe then, that there are *Crimes* of *different Degrees*; some of which are so very *heinous*, that no *less* a *Punishment* than rendering the *Persons* guilty *incapable* of any Office for the future, was thought by the *Wisdom* of the *Legislature* *adequate* thereunto; and I leave them to judge, whether, with relation to their *Electors*, there cou'd well be a *more aggravating Crime*, than for their *Representatives* to act *directly counter* to their *Instructions* and *Desires*, and that in an *Affair* of the utmost *Consequence*.

OUR Author assures us, in the next Place, that the *List-Writer's* Reason for keeping these Gentlemen out of Parliament is, because he knows very well they will oppose all those wicked
Defigns

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Defigns that he is engaged to carry on, the first of which is, to render the Administration odious, which can tend to nothing but *Confusion* and *Ruin*. In answer to this, I shall venture to affirm, in my turn, that it is not in the Power of any *List-Writer* in *England* to render an *Administration* odious, unless they first render themselves odious by their *Male-practices*; and that when they do so, the *laying it open* is so far from tending to *Confusion* and *Ruin*, that it is the only Way in the World to *preserve us from them*.

HE then runs on into a *senseless Encomium* on these Gentlemen, and tells us, that they, or their Ancestors settled the Crown on the present Royal Family; that they, or at least most of them, are sprung from those Families who ventured their *Lives* and *Fortunes* to *rescue* the *Liberties* of the People at the Revolution. — Why suppose they were, wou'd that be an *Excuse* for their *giving them up* now? — These Gentlemen (continues he) have been educated in the same Principles, and, 'tis to be hoped, will always tread in the Steps of their Ancestors — Let them shew it then by their *Actions*, and they will need none of this *Author's awkward Defence*. — Yet these Gentlemen, (pursues he) are to be excluded the next Parliament! and why? Because they have supported and concurr'd in the Measures of the present Administration, which, notwithstanding all the *Clamour* that has been rais'd against it, has hitherto procured *Peace* and *Happiness* to the Nation. — Very true, we have had *Peace*, but what sort of *Peace*? Why, a *Peace* that has been *worse* than any *War*; a *Peace* wherein we have been *openly insulted* and *plunder'd* by our
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Neighbours, without *daring to make Reprizal*; a *Peace* wherein we have been forced to *maintain* more *Standing Forces*, than Queen ANN did in the Time of *open War*; in short, a *Peace* wherein Captain *J—ns* lost his Ear, without any *Reparation*, and wherein *our own Hands* have been *ty'd up*; at the same Time that *the Hands* of *all our Enemies* have been *let loose*, to *buffet us at Pleasure*. — As to the second Article, *viz. the Happiness* this Nation has enjoy'd; it may be *pretty well guess'd at* by the *foregoing Sample*; but if that shou'd not be thought sufficient, I desire the *Author* wou'd ask the *whole Body of Merchants and Traders* throughout *Great Britain*, who are certainly the most proper *Judges*; for, I think, it is agreed on all *Hands*, that we must be a *Great and Happy PEOPLE*, only in proportion as our *TRADE* flourishes or decays.

OUR Author goes on and tells us very wisely, that these *Gentlemen* must be excluded, to make room for others of a different *Way of Thinking*; — very true, or else, according to the old Proverb, *WE HAD AS GOOD KEEP Bad WE KNOW, AS Bad WE DON'T KNOW*. — Or otherwise (continues he) my *Author's Friends* have little hopes of coming into *Play*; and rather than not gain that *Point*, this *WRITER* and his *Adherents* will run the *Risque* of a *TORY*, nay, of a *JACOBITE Parliament*. — Goodluck a-day! Does the *NOODLE* think to *fright* us at this Time of Day with the Bugbear of a *TORY*, or *JACOBITE Parliament*? Don't we know that *WHIG* and *TORY* are only meer Names made use of by crafty *Knaves* to keep us a divided People, whilst they plunder
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and fleece us at pleasure; and that the *JACOBITES* are such an inconsiderable *Handful*, as cannot be in the least dangerous, whilst the present *Royal Family* are possess'd of the *Hearts* of the *People*, which, I hope, will be as long as there is one of them remaining.

OUR Author, in the next Place, sets up for an *ORATOR*, and attempts to harangue his *Country-men* out of their *Senses*. In order to this, he begins with a *Work of Supererogation*, and terms them *FELLOW-COUNTRY-MEN*; which makes me believe him not only a *DEAR-JOY*, but a *CONCEALED PAPIST*, nay a *JESUIT*: For 'tis certain that nothing can be more dreadful to the *PAPISTS*, than to see us all lay aside foolish *DISTINCTIONS*, and unite in one common *Interest*. — Well then, our *Author* desires Leave of his *Fellow-Country-men* (as he call them) to lay before them the *Designs* of these *Gentlemen*, that they may the better guard against them. Their *Designs*, he assures us, are to destroy the present *Ministry* if they can, and they wou'd engage their *Country-men* in their *Measures*, by making them believe, by their false *Representations*, and *Suggestions*, that their *LIBERTIES* and *PROPERTIES* are in eminent *Danger*; that a *STANDING ARMY* is kept up to destroy the *Constitution*, when *Opportunity* offers; that there is at all *Times* so much publick *Money* in the *Exchequer* as will enable a wicked *Minister* to put such a *Design* in *Execution*; that every *Thing* is to be fear'd from the daring *Enterprizes* of the *Persons* now at the *Head* of *Affairs*; and that therefore they have but one *Opportunity* left, to save themselves and their
Posterity

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Posterity from utter Ruin, viz. in the Choice of Members to represent the next Parliament.

THE Answer to all this is very easy; I deny the Assertion: I deny that any Gentlemen have a Design to destroy the present Ministry by FALSE Representations and Suggestions; as to the rest, it is certain that our LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES wou'd have been in eminent Danger if the *Excise-Bill* had pass'd; and it is as certain that the *Standing Army* is not kept up to preserve them, and that if ever the *Constitution* is destroy'd, it will be by the Means of *Standing Forces* to keep the People in Awe, a sufficient Sum in the Exchequer to corrupt those who should be the *Guardians* of our *Constitution*, and a WICKED MINISTER who will stop at nothing to carry his own HELLISH DESIGNS: From hence I conclude, that the People cannot be too careful in the Choice of the Members to represent them, not only next Parliament, but every Parliament.

OUR Author tells us, in the next Place, that if the LIST WRITER'S Advice is to be follow'd, it must necessarily turn out a TORY Parliament, and therefore exhorts his FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN (a Word of his own making, of which he is very fond) not to enter into any RASH ENGAGEMENTS. If I might presume to exhort them in my turn, I wou'd say the same; I wou'd exhort them not to enter into any RASH ENGAGEMENTS with such, whom they have Reason to believe are PENSIONERS, and will be CORRUPTED; I wou'd even venture to lay down a RULE whereby to know them; which is by their offering

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offering to corrupt others, as thinking the same Means which prevailed with themselves, will influence all Mankind; I wou'd caution them likewise to beware of PLACE-MEN, who are very reasonably to be suspected, the rather because two Thirds of those who voted for the *Excise-Bill* were of that Number; but I hope, my Country-men are sufficiently alarm'd, and don't stand in the least need of my giving them any Cautions.

WE are told, in the next place, by our Wiseacre, that the Contests at Elections for next Parliament will lie where they have hitherto done, viz. between the WHIGS and TORIES. This I absolutely deny; they will lie between the COURT INTEREST and the COUNTRY INTEREST; a much better Distinction and grounded on a much juster Foundation, than the invidious Appellation of WHIGS and TORIES. Our Author tells us afterwards, that these Gentlemen (meaning those Persons whom he imagines to have dispersed THE LIST) vainly flatter themselves, if they think they shall make any Figure upon that Occasion. If he really thinks they will make no Figure on that Occasion, why is your Author so uneasy? Why is he so much afraid of a TORY Parliament? We have seen his Patron find the Means to bring over Persons who have not only been esteemed TORIES, but JACOBITES; mere TORIES therefore need not be so terrible to him, neither are they; what he dreads is, an HONEST, INCORRUPT, TRUE-BORN, ENGLISH PARLIAMENT, and such a one I both hope, and believe, no lawful Endeavours will be omitted to procure, at

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at the ensuing Elections, by those Gentlemen who are in the COUNTRY INTEREST.

OUR Author proceeds in the next place to make his wise Observations upon the Persons who disperse the LIST, who, he assures us, are the Discontented Party. If all who are discontented at the present Posture of Affairs were to have a Hand in dispersing this LIST, I am afraid half a Million would not suffice for every one to disperse one, and consequently the Printers would have been so fully employ'd, that they would not have found one to have printed his elaborate Performance, which would have been a great Misfortune to the Publick.— He then very modestly asserts, what I never heard asserted before, not even by 'Squire Walsingham, viz. That the *discontented Party* would have it understood, that the KING *himself* has not the *least Share* of Power: This is a *Coup de Maître* with a Witness! I would fain ask from whom his Patron then derives the *exorbitant Power* which he assumes? For it is an Axiom in Philosophy, that *Nil dat quod non habet*.—He further tells us, that they give out, that the Minister is forming Designs to subvert the Constitution, and to govern by absolute Power; which is evident, by his endeavouring to invade the Liberties of the People, under the specious Pretence of Law; a Method of all others the most dangerous, as it is not so soon perceiv'd, and gives the least Alarm.—If this Charge is false, it will return upon the Authors of it, but if there are any Grounds for it, every one will allow, that the People cannot be put too much upon their Guard against any such Designs.—

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figs. — He then asks this wise Question; *Are not all Acts of Arbitrary Power Acts against Law?* Why no; *Arbitrary Power may be establish'd by Law*; and 'tis to prevent that, we ought to be careful in the Choice of our Representatives, at the next Elections.

OUR Author next tells us, with an Air of Triumph, that it wants Explanation how a Minister can propose to *invade the Liberties of the People by Laws of their own making*. In answer to this I shall only ask him if he never heard of such a Thing as *Breach of Trust*? Suppose a Man agrees to refer a Thing to Arbitration, and binds himself in a Bond to stand to the Award of the Umpires, one of which he imagines to be his Friend, and believes will not betray him, as being of his own choosing; if this Umpire being gain'd over by a Bribe, shou'd betray the Interests of his Friend, wou'd not the Man be destroy'd by a Law of his own making?

THE Author then enters into a Defence of the *Excise-Scheme*, and, contrary to what is now *notoriously* known by every Body, asserts, that the Nation wou'd have reap'd great Advantages from thence; that a great Sum wou'd have been sav'd for the Use of the Publick; that the Planters of Tobacco wou'd have been encourag'd by it, and that other burthensome Taxes might have been taken off, or at least prevented from being laid on: After all these *notorious Falshoods* is one Thing to be believed which this *shameless Author* asserts? — But this is nothing to what this Author can do; for in
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the very next Page he *very modestly affirms*, that this Bill was calculated to mitigate the Rigour of the EXCISE-LAWS and that the *Liberties* of the People are *more exposed*, and *more liable to Insult*, as the Law now stands, than they wou'd have been, *if this Bill had pass'd*.

IN the next Place he runs on into a long Detail of what the Dispersers of the *List* alledge against the MINISTER, as that he is making very hasty and large Steps to procure his Point, by displacing those, who, he thinks will not concur with him, and by bringing into Employments such as he judges will concur in his Measures. But he dwells more particularly upon two Points which (he says) they assert, make it evidently appear that it is his Design to govern by *Arbitrary Power*. *viz.* His attempting to carry the *Excise-Bill* last Session of Parliament; and the placing and displacing of *Officers*, in order to *model* both the *Army* and *Court* to his Mind. — As to the first of these (he says) he hopes he has shown, that it was neither a *wicked* nor *unreasonable* Proposal, nor that cou'd in any Shape tend to, or be a Foundation of absolute Power. — How he has shown this I have already observ'd, let us now see how he gets over the second Charge; *viz.* the placing and displacing of *Officers* in order to *model* them to his Mind.

IN answer to this he has Recourse to an unfair Evasion, by placing all Alterations in the Officers, of the Court and Army to the *King's* Account, and *skreening* his *Patron* under that *sacred Name*; well knowing no loyal Subject will

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will presume to censure the Actions of his Sovereign. — But does he think any one so ignorant not to know that our Monarchs seldom do any Thing without the Advice of their Ministers; and that it is no uncommon Thing, for a Nobleman, who enjoys a good Post, and obliges an ambitious Statesman, by voting contrary to his Measures, to fall a Sacrifice to his Resentment?

HE then draws a Parallel between his Majesty and a Master of a Family, who, he says, is at Liberty to choose his Servants, and to place and displace them as he thinks proper; upon which he adds, it would be a little hard then that the King should not have the same Privilege in that Respect with the rest of his Subjects; and concludes, that such Removals are then only terrifying when ARBITRARY POWER is first attempted, and they are made to facilitate its Birth and Progress.

IN the first Place, I don't think there can any fair Comparison be made between the King, and the Master of a private Family, unless it be immediately with Respect to his Household Servants: In other Cases, his Servants may, in some Measure, be deem'd the Servants of the Publick; and as to his saying, that such Removals are only terrifying, when ARBITRARY POWER is first attempted; it is a gross Mistake; for they are terrifying, when they are to pave the Way for ARBITRARY POWER, and are generally the first Steps that lead to it, before it is thought proper to discover, that any *Arbitrary Designs* are to be set on foot.

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OUR Author then turns Conjuror, and tells us, that *Liberty* and *Property* can not be invaded, but such Invasion must be felt by somebody. A very fine Discovery truly! *Arbitrary Power* (continues he) cannot be exercised, but the Effects of it will immediately appear, and give a general Alarm; as we have many Instances in the Reigns of our former Princes, which ended not only in the Destruction of their Ministers, but prov'd fatal to themselves; so hard it is; upon such Occasions, to separate the Minister from the Prince.—Here again is another gross Mistake; there have been many Instances of *Arbitrary Power*, which have not given a general Alarm; there must be repeated Instances of the Exercise of *Arbitrary Power*, and that to a great Degree of Violence, before a whole Nation is alarm'd thereat; and as to his saying, that it is hard to separate the Minister from the Prince, it is a notorious Falshood, no Prince was ever involv'd in Destruction with his Minister, unless he obstinately protected him, in Acts of TYRANNY, against the Bent, and united Resentments of his whole People.

OUR Author then proceeds, like the Champion at a Coronation, to defy the Dispersers of the LIST to give an Instance of any one Effort of lawless Power, under the present Administration; and asks, whose Liberty, Property, or free Exercise of his Religion is invaded? Is this a fair Question? Does he think we never heard of *Informations* in the *King's-Bench* for *Libels*? However, we will venture to say thus much;

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much; that if all the Facts contain'd in a Pamphlet, call'd, *LIBERTY and PROPERTY* be true, there are flagrant Instances of a Gentleman's *LIBERTY and PROPERTY* being both openly invaded, without his having been able to obtain any Redress.

WE are then ask'd, how likely it is that the Dispersers of the LIST should remove the Ministers by the Means they make use of? And in what Manner it would answer their End if they could raise the greatest Aversion in the People to him? The Answer is easy; they would elect none of his Creatures; and when he could no longer gain his Point in the House of Commons, he must fall of Course. He need not therefore be under any Apprehensions of his Patron's falling under any violent Attempts, he is not yet so formidable as to make it necessary to have Recourse to Assassinations, or any other Act of Violence to remove him.

HE then goes on to tell us, that the People have no Power, no Opportunities, no Ways, or Means of addressing the Throne, for the Redress of Grievancies, or informing their Prince what a dangerous Situation he and the Nation are brought into, by the Counsels of an evil Minister, but by their Representatives in Parliament. Upon which he asks this unfair Question: If therefore our Case is so very desperate as these Gentleman would have it believ'd to be, why have they not mov'd the Parliament to proceed in the known legal Method made use of by our Ancestors, *viz.* By *Impeachment* or *Attainder*? Ridiculous! Did he ever know

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know a M—r *impeach'd* or *attainted* in the *Zenith* of his *Power*? Did ever his *own Patron* dare attempt to act in that Manner, in the Case of the late Earl of O—d, and the Lord B—ke? And yet I dare swear both he and his Patron will affirm, that they did not want Materials, to make good their Charge, when in the Queen's Time they were represented in as black Colours as it is possible to paint a certain Person in at present: And that Person is foully bely'd, if he had not a great Share in representing them in such Colours, altho' he is very apt now to resent such Usage himself to the utmost Stretch of Power. What his Advocate therefore would infer, *viz.* that all Accusation that are brought against him are groundless and malicious, because his Accusers don't proceed against him by those Methods, is a very false Assertion, as is justify'd by his own Example.

THE Difengenuous Wretch, having laid down a false and absurd Position, which no Man in his Senses will grant, goes on yet farther to build upon it, and would basely charge the Dispersers of the List, with a Design to raise Discontent in the People against his Master's Government, because they have not as yet either impeach'd or attainted his Patron, and still insists upon it, that it will be pretty hard to separate the Minister to the King. To stop his Mouth for ever, if he has any Modesty, which I much doubt, I shall only remind him, that there is a Maxim in Law which says, the King can do no wrong, and his Ministers only are accountable for any Male-administration that

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that shall happen during their being in Power.

OUR Author then lugs in the *Pretender* by the Head and Ears, and would make us believe that we shall be in Danger from him, through the Attacks of the Dispersers of the List, upon the Minister; whereas there is hardly a Child but knows that he is no more than a political Scarecrow, introduced from Time to Time, by the Ministerial Advocates to serve a Turn, and when they have nothing else to say.

THE Remainder of this hopeful Pamphlet is a Chain of Arguments) every one of which make against the Author) to prove a notorious Falseness, *viz.* that we are in a *happier Situation than ever*, and go through all Ranks of Men, every one *lives more comfortably* than his *Ancestors*.

To prove this *impudent Falseness*, he alledges, that the Nobility and Gentry are possess'd of greater Estates, and much more numerous than formerly; which (if true) is so far from being a Proof of our *happy Situation*, that it is quite the contrary; for the fewer Hands the Money is in, the less it circulates amongst the Body of the People, or in Trade. Our Merchants (continues he) daily attain great Riches, are possess'd of considerable landed Estates, and frequently rise to the Class of the Lower, and some to that of the higher Nobility: This may be true of some Merchants, but how many are there of them? were there ever fewer Merchants than

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at present, or did ever more break? He says much the same of Tradesmen and Artificers, to which therefore the same Answer may be given, for it is certain, that never was the general Stock in Trade less than at Present, nor ever more Bankrupts.

BUT the most preposterous of all is his endeavouring to prove the good Situation of the Farmer, by his paying a much higher Rent for the same Land that his Father and Grandfather held, when it is only a Proof that *Luxury* prevails so amongst the Gentry, that they are obliged to rack their *Tenants* more than their Forefathers, in order to support their *Pride*. He positively asserts, that the Farmers, at the same Time that they pay greater Rents, live in a more comfortable Manner than their Forefathers; but every one knows this to be a *notorious Falshood*, for *Hospitality* is almost banish'd every Country, and the Farmers never liv'd more miserably than at present, nor were ever Rents worse paid, or more Farms empty. And as to the Servant and Labourer having greater Wages than formerly, this only proves that Money is not now so valuable, since they liv'd more comfortably then than they do now, and Six-pence then, wou'd go farther than a Shilling now.

His last Argument to prove our *flourishing Condition* at this Time, is the many *good Laws* that have been made since the *Revolution*, for the securing the *Lives, Liberty, and Property* of the Subject against all attempts of the Crown, the Benefit whereof all Ranks of People happily

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ly enjoy. — We grant there have been many *good Laws* made since the *Revolution*, for the Security of the Subject against all attempts of the Crown; but have *none* of those Laws been *repealed* of late Years? And have not others been made which are *utterly inconsistent* with the *Security* of the Subject, both with Respect to his *Life, Liberty, and Property*? Not to mention the late Glorious attempt to extend the *Excise-Laws* to Commodities not yet *exciseable*?

I HAVE now done with this *blundering Performance*, in Defence of the worst Cause that ever was undertook; and hope I have convinced my Readers, that the *Author* of the *Observations* has not produced one Argument, in support of the Title, he wou'd make us believe, those *worthy Patriots* who voted for the *Excise-Scheme*, have to our Favour, at the ensuing Elections of Members to serve in the next Parliament: It must be now left to the *Freeholders, Citizens, and Burgesses* of *Great Britain*, to act as they shall think proper; only I wou'd have them remember, that if they let this Opportunity slip, it may be the last they may ever have, of *asserting* their *Rights and Privileges, Liberties, and Properties*.

BUT since the foregoing Author has taken the Liberty of making his *wise Observations* upon the Gentlemen whom he imagines to be concern'd in *dispensing the List*, I hope I may be indulged, in my turn, in taking the same Liberty, and making a *few Remarks* upon the Speeches, said to be made by certain Gentlemen, in the Interest of the *Projector* of the late *notable EXCISE-Scheme*.

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THE C—r of the E—r having made a Motion last Session of P—t, for applying 500,000l. arising out of the *Sinking Fund* to the current Service of the Year, in order to continue the Ease granted to the landed Interest the Year before, by laying but one Shilling in the Pound upon Land, it was strongly opposed by the Gentlemen in the Country Interest, and there ensued a long Debate thereupon, in the Course of which *W—m P—lt—y Esq;* having observed; that the aforesaid Gentleman had once the Vanity to call himself the *Father of the Sinking Fund*, but that if *Solomon's* Judgment was right, he who was for *splitting* and *dividing* the Child can never be deem'd the true Father; added farther, "He may claim, and I shall allow him the Honour of being the Father of two Children, a *Standing Army* and an *Excise*, but as for the *Sinking Fund*, he seems now to renounce all Pretences of being the Father thereof."

HEREUPON the C—r of the E—r stood up again, and answer'd; that whether he was vain of being thought the Father of it or not, he remember'd when the establishing that Fund was treated as a *monstrous Project*, and then he was obliged to father it, but no sooner was it found out to be a good and right Thing, but other Gentlemen endeavour'd to rob the real Father, whoever he was, of the Glory of being the Father of that Child; and that as for the other *monstrous Project*, so much talk'd of, he believed he might live to have it told him, that he was not the Father of that neither.

UPON

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UPON this Sir *J—n B—rn—rd* stood up, and observed; that as to that Honourable Gentleman's being afraid of being robbed of the Glory of being Father of the *Excise-Scheme*, he believ'd he might be very easy in that Respect, for whatever he had met with in other Cases, he needed not be in any Apprehensions as to that; for, for his Part, he was so far from believing that it would procure *Honour* to the *first Projector*, whoever he was, that he was convinced it wou'd turn out to his *eternal Shame* and *Dishonour*, and that the more the Project was examin'd, the more the *Projector* wou'd be *hated* and *despis'd*. But (he continued) that as to the Question before them, altho' the landed Interest, as well as every other, stood very much in need of Relief, yet that their Ease in particular was not alone to be consider'd but the Welfare of the Nation in general, both as to the present and future Times; and that as he was convinced, that what was then propos'd, would, in the long Run, be contrary to the Interest of the Nation in general, he must give his Dissent thereunto.

IN answer to this, up started *J—p—h D—s Esq;* Representative for *B—r* in *Sussex*, and observed; that he was so far from seeing any Inconvenience in what the Honourable Gentleman had propos'd, that considering how little Occasion there was at that Time for paying off any of the Publick Debts, he was SURPRIZED at his MODESTY in *asking so little* from the *Sinking Fund*; for if he had *asked the Whole* it would have been reasonable to have given it him, since it

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was for the Support of a Government under which we enjoy'd so many Blessings, more particularly that of the *free Exercise* of our *holy Religion*. He farther observ'd; that the landed Gentlemen had borne the greatest Share of the late War; that by that War they had been loaden with many heavy Taxes; that by that War all those Funds were created out of which the *Plumb-men* of *London* have made most of their Estates, by which they were enabled to deck their Wives in *Velvets* and *rich Brocades*, whilst *poor Country Gentlemen* cou'd hardly afford their Wives a Gown of *Lindsey-Woolsey*; and lastly that the landed Interest had long labour'd under the *greatest Distress*, and therefore they shou'd embrace every Opportunity of giving them Relief.

It wou'd be the greatest Injustice imaginable, to this *worthy Patriot*, to pass over this *excellent Speech*, without making some few *Remarks* therefore *en passant*: He is *surprized* (he says) at his *Modersty* in asking so little from the *Sinking Fund*. Now I dare swear, there is no *impartial Person* who reads this, but will be *more astonish'd*, than this Gentleman was *surprized*, that he was ever *surpriz'd* at all at the Matter; it must be own'd, however, that he has given the Gentleman who made the Motion an admirable Hint for his future Conduct, and I shou'd not be at all *surprized* if he shou'd have effectually *cured* him of his *great Modersty* by this Time, and if we shou'd have a Motion this Year for the *whole Product* of the *said Fund*. The *Value* this Gentleman sets upon the *free Exercise* of our *holy Religion*, seems next to demand our *utmost Attention*; especially

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pecially as he is in the Interest of a Party who have ever been thought to have *no value* for any *Thing* but *their Interest*; I congratulate them upon so *zealous* a *Supporter*, long may they enjoy the Fruits of his laudable Endeavours for their Service. The last Thing I shall take notice of in this Gentleman's Oratory, is his politick Observation upon the *Plumb-men* of *London's* being able to deck their Wives in *Velvets*, &c. whilst the *poor Country Gentlemen* can hardly afford their *Lindsey-Woolsey*. By this *invidious Insinuation*, he seems to aim at creating a Difference between the *landed Interest* and the *trading Interest* of *Great Britain*, a Point that has been of late pretty much labour'd, for Ends not hard to be guess'd at, but I hope all Land-holders will see through this shallow Design, and that it will be attended with no better Success than the *Excise-Project*. As to the relieving the landed Interest, there is certainly no Body but what wou'd willingly afford them any *real Relief*, whenever Opportunity offers, but the Relief here propos'd seems so far from being a *real Relief*, that it plainly appears to be but a *palliative Care*, a sort of *patching up an old Sore*, which never fails to leave a Patient in a worse Pickle than it found him.

SIR W—m W—nd—m then stood up and observ'd, that there ought to be no Distinction made between the Interest of the Landed Gentlemen, and that of the whole Nation in general; that the *Sinking Fund* was a *Sacred Fund*, appropriated to the relieving the Nation from that Load of Debts and Taxes, under which it now groans; that it was a melancholy Consideration to think of the present vast

vast Load of National Debt, and that if the Motion then made should be agreed to, how dismal would this Consideration be render'd, when we reflect on the little Appearance there will then be of this Debt's ever being paid? That if ever there was a Time for easing the People, it was now; but that when he reflected on what was done the Session before, he was really afraid of proposing any Relief for the poor *Manufacturers* and *Labourers*, because he did not think they could trust themselves; that the *Salt Duty* had been taken off as the most grievous to the *Labourer* and the *Poor*, and the *Sinking Fund* thereby *diminished*; but that very Tax was again laid on, because some pretended to have found out, that the *Landed Gentlemen* of England were poorer than the *Poor*.

He farther observ'd, that last Year the *Salt Duty* was laid on for three Years in lieu of one Shilling in the Pound Land Tax for one Year, and that this was pretended to be a Relief to the *landed Interest*; but that it was then evidently made appear, that it was no Relief to any landed Gentleman, unless he was a Man of a plentiful land Estate, and that the People were to pay above a Million for the 500,000l. then saved in the Pockets of the landed Gentlemen; and that this upon strict Examination wou'd be found to be much such another Relief as that last Year. After some more Arguments to the same Effect, he concluded with seconding the Motion made by Mr. P—t—y for the *Chairman* to leave the *Chair*.

HEREUPON

HEREUPON up stood H—y P—m Esq; and observ'd, that as other Gentlemen had their *melancholy Considerations*, so he had his; that the most *melancholy Consideration* he had was, notwithstanding our having a Government under which we enjoy our Laws, Liberties, and Religion to the utmost Extent, yet it was necessary to put the Nation to a *great annual Charge*, in order to support that Government against the Foreign Enemies of our Constitution and Religion, supported and encouraged by our Factions and Divisions at Home; that this was the Reason we cou'd not, by a Saving in the Publick Charge, give that Ease to the landed Interest which was become absolutely necessary; and since we cou'd not with any Safety to the Constitution, or to the present happy Establishment, give that Ease by such Saving, they must resolve to give it in a Manner the least burthensome to the People, and that he took to be the Method then proposed. That Gentlemen might talk as they pleased of what was done the Session before, but that in all Places where he had since been he had had the Pleasure of the universal Thanks of the People, for the Ease then given to the landed Interest; that whatever Glos's might then be put upon that Affair, he knew some Gentlemen who appear'd against it, were heard to say when it was first mention'd; *This is a most damnable Project! It will please the Country too much, and therefore we must endeavour to render it abortive.* After alledging several other Things to the same Effect, this Gentleman, concluded for agreeing with the Motion made by the C—r of the E—r.

I BELIEVE

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I BELIEVE there are few People who have read the Speech, from which I have taken this Extract, but have prevented me, in taking Notice themselves of one extraordinary Allegation contain'd therein, *viz.* that it is necessary to put the Nation to a great Annual Charge, in order to support the Government against the Foreign Enemies of our Constitution and Religion, supported and encouraged by our Factions and Divisions at Home. I must own I am at some Loss to know whom the Gentleman meant by the *Foreign Enemies* of our Constitution and Religion, at a Time when we enjoy'd the most profound Tranquillity, and were at Peace with all the Nations round us: But I am still much more at a Loss to know what he means by our *Factions* and *Divisions* at Home, which encourage these *Foreign Enemies*. For my part, I know of no *Factions* amongst us; the Word *Faction*, to the best of my Understanding, is always used to signify a Party of *seditions, turbulent People, combin'd together, to support and carry on some unjustifiable Designs*; now I know of no such Party, so combined together, to carry on any such Designs, of late Years; wherefore I am still absolutely in the Dark as to this Point. And as to our *Divisions*, I never knew a Time when we were less *divided*; the only Division that now subsists amongst us, is that of the *Court Interest*, and the *Country Interest*, or, in other Words, *Excise-men*, or *NO Excise-men*, a Division that I hope always will subsist, or else I am sure we shall not be long a *Free People*. Now which way a Division, by which alone we are preserved a *Free People*, can be any Encouragement

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ment to the Foreign Enemies of our Constitution and Religion, I am at a Loss to find out; I am sure, to my poor Apprehension, were there no such *Division*, but were we all *groaning* under the *Load* of a *General Excise*, and whatever other *Load* a *wicked and ambitious Statesman* might think proper to lay upon us, it would be a much greater *Encouragement*, to our *Foreign Enemies* to invade us, since we should then have nothing left worth fighting for, but being as *great Slaves* as possible already, should submit quietly to any *new Yoke*, as thinking it could not be worse than that we already *groan'd* under. I can find then no *Factions* or *Divisions* amongst us, that could encourage our Foreign Enemies, unless the worthy Gentleman meant those two formidable Malecontents, *CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;* and *F. O. G.*

THE next Thing, and indeed the last, that I shall take Notice of in this SPEECH is, that some Gentlemen, who appear'd against the laying on of the Salt Duty again for three Years, in lieu of one Shilling in the Pound Land Tax for one Year, were heard to say, *It was a most damnable Project, it would please the Country too much, and therefore they must endeavour to render it abortive.* If this Gentleman had not positively affirm'd this, I should not easily have believ'd it; I could not have believ'd that any one, who has the Honour to sit in the House of Commons, would have used it as an Argument for appearing against a Bill, that it would be too acceptable to his Country, much less that he would have been so weak as to let those, who were of the contrary Side, over-hear him say

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so; it were to be wish'd therefore, that he had named those Gentlemen, since there would have need'd no more to have rais'd the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of them.

SEVERAL other Members spoke in the Course of this Debate, both for and against the Motion; but the Bounds we have prescrib'd ourselves at present, will not permit us to take Notice of any more of them; we shall therefore only make some few Remarks on the King of France's late Manifesto and Declaration, which we hope will not be disagreeable to our Readers.

THE Motives which the King of France alleges, induced him to take up Arms at this Juncture, are, the Defence of the Dignity of his Crown, the Glory of the French Nation, and the Honour and Liberty of Poland. These Motives are certainly highly justifiable, since according to them, the Court of Vienna must have been the Aggressors; but, however this be, it is not at all surprizing that his most Christian Majesty shou'd endeavour to support his Father-in-law on a Throne to which he has been advanced by the free Choice of the Polish Nation.

THE most Christian King declares at the same Time, that 'tis with no ambitious or Self-Interested Views he has had Recourse to Arms; that content to possess a flourishing Kingdom, and to reign over a dutiful People, he seeks not to extend the Bounds of his Dominion; that the Emperor has brought upon himself a War, which he has render'd unavoidable by the Violence

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ences offer'd his most Christian Majesty, in a Particular that ought to be held the most sacred amongst Sovereigns, wherefore he is determin'd to wipe off the foul Blemishes cast upon him, and to light up the Honour of FRANCE in its brightest Lustre; that 'tis to G.O.D. to give Victory, that he calls upon him with Confidence, and is bold to hope that his Success will be answerable to his Moderation, his Patience, and the Purity of his Sentiments.

THE King of FRANCE farther declares to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, that he is entirely dispos'd to observe all the Treaties subsisting with the GERMANICK Body as long as he may look upon it as a Friend; that the Estates of those Princes who stand neuter, shall be treated with all kind of Regard and Tendernefs, and that he is solely intent upon pursuing his just Resentments for the many Injures the Emperor has done him in the Face of all EUROPE.

FROM this Manifesto and Declaration it plainly appears, that the Resentment of the King of France is bent personally against the Emperor, from whom he avers, that he has receiv'd such a Personal Insult upon his Honour, as could not be put up, without wounding the Dignity of his Crown, and the Honour of his Blood: If this be the Case, I see no Reason any other Power has to interfere in their private Quarrels.

By this Rupture between France and the Emperor, the King of Great-Britain once more holds the Balance of Europe, (long may he continue

tinue so to do) and his Alliance will, no doubt, be eagerly courted by both Parties: It is more than probable, that we shall be at last oblig'd to engage in the War; especially since there is such a formidable Confederacy against the Emperor, by the unexpected Alliance lately struck up between the Courts of France, Spain, and Sardinia, which, in all Likelihood, must make the former an *Over-match* for his Imperial Majesty, and soon render her as formidable as she was before the late War, unless we fall into the *lighter Scale*, and help to counterpoise her.



REMARKS

REMARKS

UPON A PAMPHLET, INTITLED, *The RISE and FALL of the late Projected EXCISE, impartially consider'd. By a Friend to the English Constitution.*

A *Notable Pamphlet* having been lately publish'd, under the plausible Title above-mention'd, I believe it will not be improper to lay open the *Drift* of the said Performance, as an Antidote to the Poison which that Pamphlet is visibly design'd to diffuse amongst the Body of the People.

THE Design then of this *hopeful Piece*, is to make us believe, if we were so very weak, that those Gentlemen who voted for the *Excise-Scheme*

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Scheme are the best Friends to the Publick, and the properest Persons to be again intrusted with the Care of the Preservation of our Rights, Liberties, and Properties; and that, on the contrary, those worthy Patriots who voted against it, opposed it only for Opposition Sake, and are the most dangerous Enemies imaginable to our invaluable Constitution.

It might have been reasonably expected, that a Position, every Way so unlikely to obtain Credit, should have been supported with some shew of Argument; but instead thereof we find (as usual in all Writings that come from the same Quarter) nothing but a confused Heap of positive Assertions, without the least Shadow of Proof to justify them.

ONE of the first Allegations, which he produces in Justification of what he advances, is a down right Falsehood, viz. that the late *Scheme* would have saved the Nation 500,000 *l.* per Annum. It is true, he pretends to take this from an authentick Piece, published by Mr. FRANKLIN, but I am apt to believe, that in the Piece he refers to it is not granted, that it would actually have saved so much, it is only argued, that supposing it would, nevertheless that *Scheme* would have been not only pernicious, and destructive of the Liberties of a Free People, but even of the very Being of Parliaments.

But it is now publicly known, that not the tenth Part of that Sum would have been saved to the Nation, if that destructive Bill had passed; this

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this Point was given up, even by the Projector himself; with what Face then can this Author pretend to take a Thing for granted, that is openly known to be false, and afterwards argue upon it, as if it were a self-evident Truth? In short, the main Stress of this Pamphlet lies upon the Truth or Falsehood of this Position, and if we deny it, as every Man in his Senses must, all the Author's fine Compliments, to the Gentlemen in the Interest of the Projector, must of Course fall to the Ground.

OUR Author, having taken for granted, what no Man takes for granted but himself, is pleased then to expatiate upon the many Advantages, which, from this Alteration in the Collection of the Revenues would have accrued to the Publick. According to him, it would have eased the landed Interest, the poor Clergy, the Manufacturers and Labourers, and in short, every body: It was to have taken off our Tax upon Soap and Candles, and it was likewise to have taken off the Duty upon Leather; in a Word, it was to have been like a Mountebank's universal Medicine, A SALVE FOR EVERY SORE.

BUT the greatest Excellency of the *Excise-Scheme* remains still untold; it was an express part thereof, it seems, to remove the chief Inconveniencies, and to lessen the Extent of the *Excise*: Was there ever a more admirable Expedient heard of! The Extent of the *Excise-Laws* already in Being, was to have been lessened by an Extension of the *Excise-Laws* on Commodities not yet *exciseable*. Wou'd one believe that

that any Man cou'd advance so monstrous an Absurdity! Why this is just like curing One of the the TOOTH-ACH by cutting off his Head, and yet this is no more than what this HOPEFUL Author says; *totidem Verbis* in Page 18 and 22 of his admirable Performance.

I HAD almost overlook'd another valuable Recommendation of the *Excise-Bill*; it wou'd it seems, have prevented Perjury by lessening the Number of Oaths, the frequent and common Use of which has promoted that heinous Sin. — This is another admirable Discovery of this Author's; I cou'd never have imagin'd that the same Persons, who, but a few Years ago, advis'd a Bill to set the WOMEN A SWEARING, shou'd now be the Projectors of another Bill to prevent Perjury; but we suppose they grow, like Serjeant MAYNARD, *older, and wiser.*

BUT this is not the only Discovery our Author can make; the very Time this Bill was brought into the House, when the Prospect of a new Election was so near, is (it seems, according to him) one Proof among many others, that the Gentlemen for it, solely intended the Service of the Publick; and hoped, by preventing gross Abuses, and thereby easing some heavy Taxes, to gain the Favour of their Country. Unconcerned Spectators (continues he) of great Wisdom and Impartiality, are firmly of Opinion, that this Design of honest Popularity was their greatest Crime, and in Truth gave Rise to the Opposition. — Good-lack a-day! How far into a Mill-Stone some People can see! I always thought and have heard

heard it always alledg'd, by Persons who have neither been reckon'd FOOLS nor PARTIAL, that the bringing in this Bill at the Time when the Prospect of a new Election was so near (to use his own Words) and the laying on the *Salt Tax* again the Year before, was a Proof that it was design'd solely to gain an unwarrantable Influence at the approaching Elections, by the Influence such Number of Officers, immediately dependent upon the TREASURY, must have had over those, who dealt in Commodities liable to their Inspection. — The Inconveniencies of this Bill (says our Author, observe the Softness of the Term Inconveniencies, for a Bill that was calculated to deprive some Thousands of eminent Merchants of their LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES) might easily have been obviated in a COMMITTEE; but their Opponents, who in Cases the most unexceptionable, discover the same Spirit of meer Opposition, cou'd by no Means allow them to gain the Favour of the People. — I am afraid our Author is mightily mistaken in this Point; for I dare swear no Body envies those Gentlemen, the Favour they have gain'd of the People, by their Behaviour on this Occasion.

IN the very next Paragraph, our Author assures us, that there was not the least Intention to extend the *Excise* farther: I wou'd fain ask this Gentleman how he came by his Information, and who is oblig'd to believe him upon his bare Affeuration? Are those Gentlemen who write on his side of the Question, so famous for their Varacity, to be credited upon a meer *Ipse dixit*? No, I shou'd suspend my Belief thereof even if the *Projector* himself were to make the same Affeuration. F IN

IN the very same Page, having told us, that every Article of Life was represented as coming under an *Excise*, he goes on, all Persons who *gained by cheating* the Publick (no inconsiderable Number of Men) with great Industry *propagated* the *Falshood*. — I am afraid our Author is again under a great Mistake as to this Point; for altho' we will readily allow with him that the Persons who *gain by cheating* the Publick are *no inconsiderable Number* of Men; and altho' we will not deny but they are *apt to propagate Falshoods*, we must beg Leave to dissent from him, when he says that all Persons who *gain'd by cheating* the Publick, with great Industry asserted (whether *falsely* or *truely* I shall not now dispute) that every Article of Life was coming under an *Excise*. I believe I cou'd name one, who is reported to have gain'd as much by *cheating* the Publick, as forty *Tobacco-Merchants*, and *Wine-Merchants* put together; and who, if he pleas'd, cou'd make a very good Judgment whether every Article of Life was design'd to be put under an *Excise*; who nevertheless was very far from *propagating* any such Report, whether *true* or *false*, that there was any such Design.

OUR Author tells us, in the next place, that it had been Time enough to *raise Alarms* when we found the least Tendency towards a Design to *excise* any part of our *Food*, or enter any private House; but that it was by much too soon for these Alarms, when it was certain there was no other Intention but to regulate the Duty upon two sovereign Commodities. —

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How was this certain? What Proof does he bring to support this Assertion? And who is obliged to believe him without any Proof? I am sure at first it was credibly reported, that *Sugars* likewise were to have been put under an *Excise*. — He then goes on; an Attempt to introduce an advantageous Regulation of the Duties already laid on *Wine* and *Tobacco*, cannot with the least Shadow of Justice be loaded with the Imputation of a *general Excise*, which Complaint was never heard of when a more rigorous Collection was appointed for *Coffee* and *Chocolate* than what was lately propos'd for *Wine* and *Tobacco*. — A very pretty Argument truly! Because the People of *England* have been so peaceable and such loyal Subjects as not to murmur at the many grievous and heavy Impositions they already groan under, therefore they ought to be loaded yet more 'till their Backs are quite broke; according to this Way of reasoning, if they had not murmur'd at the late intended *Excise* on *Wine* and *Tobacco*, that might have been urged as an Argument the next Year for bringing *three* or *four* more *Commodities* under an *Excise*.

HE then tells us, that Publick Measures are *only to be influenced* by the *Publick Good*. Wonderful Information! Who did not know this? But who does not know likewise that the *Publick Good* is frequently the *last Thing consulted* by *some People*; witness when the *Excise-Scheme* was set on Foot? He then makes another Discovery in which every *honest Man* will heartily agree with him; *viz.* that if ever it shou'd happen that Publick Measures shou'd be influenc'd and directed

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directed by any Consideration (CORRUPTION for Instance and *private Interest*) but the Reason of Things, and the Good of the Community, the Happiness, the Safety of a FREE PEOPLE, and the very Being of a well-ballanced Constitution are at an End. — Well, this is agreed on all Hands, what does he infer from this? Why truly that therefore no Boroughs shou'd have sent Instructions to their Members to oppose the Excise-Bill: One may easily find where the Shoe Pinches. — Were this Practice to be repeated (he says) it wou'd soon prove fatal; and I say, were it not to be repeated, whenever there is the same Reason, it wou'd certainly prove fatal: There is no Tax more unequal (continues he) than that laid upon Land: This is a gross Mistake, the Window Tax is ten Times more unequal: He then proceeds to argue upon a Supposition that every Country and Borough in the Kingdom shou'd positively enjoin their Members to vote against the Land-Tax, what wou'd be the Consequence? Prithce, suppose the Sky shou'd fall, what wou'd be the Consequence of that?

A LITTLE farther our hopeful Author drops a villanous Insinuation, as if the Gentlemen concern'd in the Opposition design'd to have spirited the People up to an Assassination; I dare swear every one of them scorn and detest the Thoughts of it: They despise the Projector of the Excise too much, and do not think him formidable enough, to aim at having him taken off by a Way that wou'd shock all Mankind, make him universally pitied, and themselves universally abhorr'd: I wou'd not therefore advise the Writers in his Interest, to suggest this infamous Falshood any more

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more, if they wou'd wish to be believed in any one Thing they advance. He then expatiates upon the many Mischiefs done by this Opposition, the great Savings the Publick has lost, and the many Frauds that have been prevented from being discover'd; but above all it wou'd make a Dog laugh, to hear him lament very pathetically, the SCREENING great Frauds, and giving publick Encouragement to Perjury and Corruption, which he ridiculously endeavours, against all Probability, to lay at the Door of the Gentlemen in the Opposition. — Poor honest Gentleman! How glad wou'd he be, I warrant him, to have ALL who SCREEN'D great Frauds, ALL who have given publick Encouragement to Corruption under the Hands of Justice, and brought to condign Punishment! I am glad to find him a Man of so much Integrity, such clean Hands, and I shall begin to conceive some Hopes of a certain Person from his retaining such an upright Gentleman in his Service: But let us see what Proofs he brings in support of this odd, this absur'd Allegation, that the Gentlemen in the Opposition have skreen'd great Frauds, and given publick Encouragement to Perjury and Corruption. — Why truly they absolutely rejected the Whole of the Excise-Bill, without proposing any other in its Room.

A VERY horrible Charge this truly! Let us see how true it is: Why these very Gentlemen propos'd a Committee who should be empower'd to make a thorough Enquiry into all Frauds whatsoever, not in the Customs only. This was a home Stroke, and it was so much apprehended
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(I will not say by whom) that *certain Ways and Means* were used to get a Committee who shou'd be in the Interest of a *certain Person*, who has of late Years been famous for *not SKREENING any Frauds*, nor giving any Encouragement to *Corruption*. And what did this Committee do? Why truly they drew up a Report, that consisted of little more than what appear'd to the House from the Commissioners of the Customs, and then excused themselves on its being too late in the Year to make any farther Progress therein. Let any one now judge at whose Door *skreening of Frauds and Corruption* ought most justly to be laid. But I believe my Readers are by this Time pretty well tir'd with this *notable Piece*, and shall therefore give neither them nor myself any farther Trouble with animadverting thereon.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A.

Pag. 4. l. 10. for *which* r. *when*. P. 5. l. 14. for *is not* r. *and is not*. P. 8. l. 28. for *whereby* r. *surely*. P. 15. l. 26. for *your* r. *our*. P. 23. l. 17. for *and go* r. *and that go*. P. 31. l. 4. after *was* r. *that*.

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