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A SECOND  
**REVIEW**  
Of the Late  
**EXCISE SCHEME.**

To which is added,  
A WORD to the FREEHOLDERS  
of GREAT BRITAIN,  
on the approach of ELECTIONS.



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A

# SECOND REVIEW

Of the Late

## EXCISE SCHEME.

**T**HAT the ministerial Writers are all employ'd to vindicate their Patron, is an undeniable Truth: The many Pamphlets given *gratis*, and the Orders sent from the Post-house, plainly prove it. 'Tis very well known, both at home and abroad, what a late glorious Struggle was made; and that the Projector, back'd by all his Pensioners, dared not to pursue his pernicious Scheme. The Author of a late Pamphlet, entitled *The Rise and Fall of the late projected Excise impartially consider'd*, after running through and repeated a Multitude of already confuted Arguments, vents his Spleen against a certain *Great Man*, tho' a discarded Minister, and rips up the Story of the *Catalans*; to ballance which he should, if he had any Justice, have mentioned Admiral *Hofier's* Expedition, and the worm-eaten Ships at the *Bastimento's*.

To blame Men, and not Measures, is the constant Method of the Court Writers; they mention every thing to the Prejudice of a former Minister, but don't say a Word of *Hessian* Troops, long Parliaments, or a standing Army; and that faithless

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thomless Gulph of Secret Service they can't bear to make the least Touch on. What infamous Falshoods have been asserted about Mr. P—— tampering with a Jury, and his voting against the Repeal of the Test-Acts? How often have the Authors of such scandalous palpable Lies been called on for a Proof of their Assertions? But, conscious they entirely wanted it, have, by their tacit Acquiescence, shewn the Malignity of their Principles, and the inglorious Cause in which they are embarked; and not one of those modest Asserters have had the Honesty to retract their Falsities, tho' so plainly confuted.

I defy those Hirelings to produce one Instance of any one of those Gentlemen, who thought fit to vote for the Propagation of Excise Laws, being thank'd for their Actions; on the contrary, the Body of the People, particularly of the worthy Merchants of our trading Metropolis, who are the best Judges of those Affairs, by their unanimous Rejoicings, and repeated Acclamations, plainly declared their Abhorrence of it, burnt the Projector in Effigy, and blessed the Opposers of the Scheme, as the Saviours of their Liberties, which they apprehended were going to be invaded by the Measures taken, and the dangerous Tendency of it.

To follow the Method of Mrs. Osborne, and others, I shall take a Review of some former Pamphlets, who would fain persuade us to be entirely Frenchify'd, and without any more ado to put on wooden Shoes; but let us take a View of this paltry Performance.

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The first Thing that occurs then is the Motto,

*Non Civium Ardor, prava jubentium,  
Mente quatit solida.* Horat.

which, in my Opinion, is one of the worst, he could have chosen; because the foregoing Line by no means *quadrates* with a certain Person's Character. For, although I won't deny but that Gentleman may be *Tenax repositi*, when he is set upon Mischiefs; I never heard that he was an *ARISTIDES*, and consequently the Epithet *justum* does not in the least suit him. Neither are the Words *mente solida*, which are meant to express a Man of heroick Courage and Resolution, a Jot more agreeable to the Idea the World entertains of him; for every one that knows him knows, that he was never cut out for a Hero. I would desire the Author therefore to amend it, and substitute in its stead,

*Non Civium Ardor, justa tuentium,  
Mente quatit rigida.*

The Meaning whereof is, that not all the Cries and Petitions of the whole collective Body of the People, standing up in Defence of their just Rights and Liberties, can prove his cruel and harden'd Heart, if he can carry his Point. Proceed we now to Paragraph the first.

'Tis the common Artifice of those who have a Point to carry in the popular Way, who would inflame the Multitude without just Reason, to dwell on Generals only, and avoid industriously any distinct State of

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of the Question they pretend to debate —  
 This has been notoriously the Conduct of  
 the *Craftsman*, and his Associates, as in  
 most other Cases, so particularly in that  
 Thread of Harangues with which they have  
 lately amused the Publick concerning *Excises*.  
 Nor was so doing only sufficient for  
 their Purposes; but as on one Hand they  
 would lead their Readers to make particu-  
 lar Conclusions from the most uncertain  
 and indistinct general Propositions; so, on  
 the other, they have stretch'd and ex-  
 tended Particulars to the most compre-  
 hensive Generals; putting one for the other in-  
 differently, as best serv'd the Purposes they  
 have been labouring.

The Author here, like the rest of his Bro-  
 ther Advocates for Excises, charges the *Crafts-  
 man*, and those who have written on the  
 same Side, with what *himself* and the others  
 of his Tribe are notoriously guilty of them-  
 selves; I mean dwelling on Generals only,  
 and avoiding industriously any distinct State  
 of the Question they pretend to debate. For  
 this Reason I shall take him to Pieces Para-  
 graph by Paragraph, that he may have no  
 Room to retort the same Charge upon me.  
 As to inflaming the Multitude, if they are  
 inflamed it has been with the naked Truth,  
 with a bare Representation of Matter of Fact,  
 and not with any Rhetorical Flourishes. If  
 the true Picture of a general Excise is so hi-  
 deous that it won't bear the Light, can the  
*Craftsman* help that? And is he obliged to  
 dress the Monster up in agreeable Colours to  
 set it off, and impose upon his Readers? No,  
 he leaveth the slavish Task for such honest  
 Gentle-

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Gentlemen as the *Occasional Financer*, and his  
 Brother-Advocates.

An Excise upon a single Article or two  
 of Luxury has been sometimes treated of,  
 and considered as a *general Excise*; that is,  
 as one on all the mere Necessaries of Life.  
 The particular fraudulent Trade driven by  
 a few Brewers of, and Dealers in Wine,  
 with the Arts of the Engrossers and Oppres-  
 sors of the Tobacco Business, have at other  
 Times been treated as the whole collective  
 Body of the Trade of *England*; while the  
 Liberty the Dealers in Wine take of de-  
 frauding their Fellow Subjects both of their  
 Money and their Health, by selling the vi-  
 licious Compositions for four or five times their  
 real Value, has been asserted in a Style and  
 Terms that belong only to the whole col-  
 lective Rights and Liberties of the People  
 of *England*. — Are Articles of pure Lux-  
 ury then become the mere Necessaries of  
 Life? Are a few Dealers in Wines and To-  
 bacco sworn to the whole Body of *British*  
 Merchants and Traders? And is the fair,  
 the ample Catalogue of the Rights and Li-  
 berties of the whole *English* Nation, shrunk  
 to the mean, the scandalous Licenses of  
 Fraud and Poisoning? Oh Patriotism, what  
 art thou become! Oh *Caleb*, what wilt thou  
 not attempt to prove!

The next Charge is, that an Excise upon  
 one single Article or two of Luxury has been  
 treated as a general Excise, that is, says he,  
 as one on all the mere Necessaries of Life. —  
 Here our Author, who is pleased to task the  
*Craftsman* with quibbling, is guilty of a very  
 wretched Quibble himself, as well as of a di-  
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rect Falshood. For, in the first place, is only one single Article or two of Luxury charged with an Excise? I believe, if he will be pleased to recollect, he will find an ample Catalogue of them, almost as ample as that of the Rights and Liberties of the *English* Nation. Then, as to his shuffling about a general Excise, and defining it to be an Excise on all the mere Necessaries of Life, it is absolutely false; that would indeed be General Excise with a Vengeance, since it would be an universal Excise: But when the Generality of Commodities are liable to that Kind of Taxation, then a People may be truly and properly said to be under a general Excise, and whether that is not pretty near our Case, I leave all Traders to judge. Our Author then inveighs against the fraudulent Trade driven by the Brewers of Wine, and the Arts of the Engrossers and Oppressors of the Tobacco Business. I dare say every Body would be glad to see a stop put to the adulterating of Wines, but not by an Excise; however, the Nation will, I believe, come very willingly into his Patron's Scheme, and consent to an Excise upon Wines and Tobacco, upon one Condition, *viz.* provided he will previously take off the Excise from *Malt, Beer, Soap, and Candles*: But to have all the Commodities now charged with an Excise remain still charged therewith, and *Wine and Tobacco* added to inflame the Reckoning, and all this in a Time of Peace, is enough to inflame the most passive People in Christendom.

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Besides, who told our Author that an Excise would prevent the brewing of Wines? We see plainly every Day that it does not prevent the adulterating of Brandy: Nay, altho' a Crown a Gallon Excise is laid upon Geneva, is it not publickly sold, or something else for it, which has the same Flavour, and answers the same Ends, in almost every Shop in *London* for 7*d.* or 8*d.* a Quart? If, therefore, an Excise would prevent the brewing of Wines, why does it not prevent the brewing of Geneva, of which there is more drunk, and which, at a Crown a Gallon, would bring in a greater Revenue to the Crown than Wine? I believe it will puzzle our Author to assign any tolerable Reason for this, which will not hold equally strong in the Article of Wines.

Again, how long has Tobacco been reckoned an Article of pure Luxury? Is it not good part of the Subsistence of our Poor? How many Thousands in this City never taste a Morfel of Victuals till Noon, nay, very frequently till Night, but a small Dram, and a Chew, or a Pipe of Tobacco? To raise the Price thereof (which would be infallibly the Effect of an Excise) would therefore be as effectually starving these Wretches, as laying a Tax upon Flesh-Meat and Bread-Corn. For these unfortunate People (who are at the same time the most valuable Part of our Nation, being the Manufacturers of the Product of our Lands) do not live so hard out of Choice, but because Want of Business reduces them so low, that they can afford themselves no better Sustenance. Considering all Things, therefore, I think it is very happy they

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they can be contented so easily, and we ought not to exasperate them more by enhancing the Price of Tobacco.

But, before I leave this Paragraph, I must obviate one Objection, which, I foresee, will, otherwise be made, by those worthy Gentlemen the Advocates for Excises: It is this; that Tobacco is not one of the mere Necessaries of Life, and that People may subsist without it. True, I grant it, so they may without Small-Beer; thank Heaven, this Island abounds with excellent Springs; there is plenty of good Water: They may do very well without Leather for their Shooes, and wear Wood, as we see our good Neighbours and Allies the *French* have long done; but, perhaps, Things are not altogether ripe for that Fashion. Though, I must confess, I think it ought to have been brought in Vogue before a general Excise; for I'm afraid, the Officers will be very apt to cripple us: But, to return from whence I have digress'd. — Although Tobacco is not, in Fact, one of the mere Necessaries of Life, it is, by long Use, and Custom, become actually so, to most of our poor Manufacturers; to increase the Price thereof, therefore, on Pretence of its not being one of the mere Necessaries of Life, would be full as unreasonable as increasing the Price of Small-Beer, on Pretence of its not being necessary, because People may drink Water: Proceed we now to the next Paragraph.

Without aiming, therefore, at any distinct Reputation of all his Sophistry, than what will follow from a plain Consideration of what appears to have given Occasion for it; I shall state, not what I apprehend to

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be the real Design of the Government, which falls not within the Sphere of a Writer of my Class, but what common Report says is the supposed Design, at which these Patriots pretend to be so much alarmed; and then consider the Expediency of that Design in general only; leaving a more minute Discussion of its several Parts to some future Papers; — which I shall do, whether there appears to be really any such Design or not: Because, upon the coolest Examination, it seems such a just and rational Undertaking, as, all Circumstances duly considered, ought to be put in Execution some other Time, though it should not be so just now; and such, when duly weigh'd, I doubt not 'twill appear to all unbiass'd Judges; notwithstanding the Clamour that has been artfully and industriously raised against it.

The Substance of this Paragraph is, first, that our Monsieur *Financier* will state, not what he apprehends to be the real Design of the Government, but what common Report says is the supposed Design, at which the *Craftsman*, &c. pretend to be so much alarmed, after which he will consider the Expediency of that Design in general. He then assures us, that it seems such a just and rational Undertaking, as ought to be put in Execution some other Time, tho' it should not be so just now. — Without quarrelling with him about the Word *Government*, by which (like his Brother-Advocates) it is evident that he means one single Gentleman, nor about the Word *Expediency*, which is a favourite Expression of the same Gentleman's,

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who is very fertile in Expedients, I shall only observe upon the Whole, that the People of *England* are very much obliged to him for his Information, that it is such a just and rational Undertaking; because, as it happens, they have a quite different Opinion thereof. But, perhaps, Monsieur *Financier* may be provided with a weighty Argument for Excises, which the Mass of the People have not.

With respect to the Thing itself, (continues our Author) 'tis said, by those who appear warmest about it in private Conversation, and who pretend to be the best informed in the Point, to be a Design of converting the present Port Duties, or Customs on Wines and Tobacco into an Inland-Duty, or Excise, payable at some one certain Point, or Place, of the Progress of those Commodities, from the Port to the Consumer, which, with respect to Wines, (of which I chiefly treat at present,) is to be accompany'd with such Prohibitions; and Inspections of the Vaults of all Dealers only, as may prevent their balderdashing and increasing its Quantity with any Liquors, that are not Wine.—This is the utmost Size of a Gnat, which these Patriots have, thro' their political Microscopes, shown to the Publick as such a Monster; capable, as they would represent, of devouring the whole Trade, and destroying all the Rights and Liberties of the *British* Nation.

As the Subject of this Paragraph is only guessing at what may be the intended Design, I shall content myself with asking what Sort of Prohibitions and Inspections they must be

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be which will prevent the balderdashing of Wine, and increasing its Quantity with any Liquors that are not Wine. Is an Excise-man to be quarter'd upon every Vintner, or Wine-Merchant, Night and Day? If that be the Case, it will not answer the End; for he must sleep, as well as other Men, and in the mean while the Wines may be adulterated, which, when once done they may defy the Devil to tell with what it is balderdash'd. The only Inspection then that can prevent it, in my Opinion, is, (and I would recommend it, as the best Method, to the Gentleman who patronizes that Scheme) to plant an Excise-man at every Wine-Vault Door Night and Day; who should be relieved by another every two Hours, as the Centinels are upon Guard. That this is but a Gnat every Body must be sensible; how wicked then have they been who have shewn it to the Publick as a Monster capable of devouring the whole Trade, and destroying the Rights and Liberties of the *British* Nation? Proceed we to Paragraph 4.

As to the Motives for such an Undertaking, so far as a private Judgment can reach, it should seem that the principal View which either this, or any other Administration cou'd have in it, must be, an Increase of the publick Revenues; though, upon Examination, it will be found to be accompany'd with divers other very good secondary Consequences; more, perhaps, than any other Tax whatever possibly can be: Which shall be spoken to by and by.—But that a considerable Increase of the Revenues would thence follow cannot be doubted,

doubted, and that from two Reasons: First, the Inspection, which prevented Brewing, would increase the Consumption of real Wines regularly imported; which, though charged by the Hoghead with no greater a Duty by way of Excise, than they now pay in Form of a Custom, would alone make no little Addition to the Revenue thence arising: — While, 2dly, the same Inspection, being more minute, and going regularly farther than that of the Custom-House possibly can, would intercept, and consequently destroy, a great part of the Smuggling Trade, which now escapes their utmost Diligence; and bring a farther Addition thereto by that means. — As to the Amount of both those Effects together, tho' divers probable Calculations might be made, yet, perhaps, nothing but actual Experience could determine it with any Certainty. But, however uncertain that may be, should it amount to any Sum between One and Four or Five hundred thousand Pounds, (the Medium between those Extremes being, perhaps, the most probable Sum) the Benefits thence derivable, to the whole Nation, to the publick Weal in general, can be no ways a Doubt.

Whatever may be our Author's Opinion of the Motives that first occasion'd the setting on foot this Undertaking, (especially in a Time of Peace) it is evident to all unbiassed Judges, to use his own Term, that it was chiefly with a View of influencing Elections of Members for the ensuing Parliament: There might be, perhaps, a secondary Design (but it wou'd never have answer'd)

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not a Jot better or honestier; viz. to improve the Revenues of the Crown so far by Degrees, as, in Time, to render PARLIAMENTS, those Scourges and Terrors of EVIL MINISTERS entirely useless; this may possibly be one of those very good secondary Consequences which our Author means.

But before I go any farther, I can't help making one Observation upon our Author's Jesuitical Way of Expression; whether it proceeded from the Inaccuracy of his Style, or any other Cause, I shall not pretend to determine. It *should* seem (says he, not it *does* seem) that the principal View of this or any other Administration must be an Increase of the publick Revenues: It *should* seem indeed calculated for the Good of the Publick, but it is very evident that it *does* not seem so, in the Eyes of the *Body* of the *English* Nation.

As to the two Reasons which our Author assigns why an Excise upon Wines would increase the Revenues; viz. first, that the Inspection would prevent Brewing, and so increase the Consumption of Real Wines regularly imported, which would be an Addition to the Revenue; and 2dly, that it would intercept, and consequently destroy great part of the Smuggling Trade, which would be a farther Addition thereto; I can't help being so unhappy as to differ with him in my Opinion on both these Heads. For, I not only deny that it would prevent *brewing*, but likewise, that it would increase the Consumption of Real Wines regularly imported, imported, or destroy the Smuggling Trade. As to the brewing and balderdashing, I have



have already answer'd that ; as to the increasing the Consumption of Real Wines, it is as evident as that the Sun shines, that an Excise upon any Commodity lessens the Consumption thereof eight Parts in ten ; and as to its destroying the Smuggling Trade, it is notorious that after an Excise is laid upon any Commodity, ten times more of it is *run*, than was before such Excise was laid ; as the *East India* Company have found by woeful Experience, since the Excise on *Tea* and *Coffee*. To proceed, I agree with our Author, that any Sum between One and Four, or Five hundred Thousand Pounds would be a Benefit to the Nation, if it were not swallow'd up by Commissioners, and their Crew of Subalterns ; but I can by no Means agree with him that any such Sum would accrue to the Publick from this Scheme, because there would be less Wine regularly imported, and more smuggled than at present : Let us now examine the next Paragraph.

With respect to which advantageous Uses of such an Increase, I would not be thought to dictate any thing directly to Judgments so much more capable of applying it properly, but only point out to my Readers, in general Terms, to how many various good Purposes the Wisdom of this or any future Administration, or Legislature, might convert such a Fund. Where, in the first Instance, it might be used to the immediate Relief of all the Land-owners of the Kingdom, by supplying the Place of Part of that unequal Burthen the Land-Taxes have laid on them, for an almost uninterrupted Succession of

of forty Years : — Or, should it upon Trial answer Expectation, it might in a few Years, upon the farther Progress of the Sinking Fund, furnish the Legislature with a ready and proper Means of diminishing divers of those Taxes that now fall on the mere Necessaries of Life ; such as those on Malt, on Beer, on Soap, on Candles, and on Leather ; and in this Light, after it had eased the Land holder, it might not only ease the Poor in general, but help the Manufacturer, and consequently the most advantageous and staple Parts of our whole national Trade ; while every Branch of it might thereby be carried cheaper to Foreign Markets, as well as be deliver'd so to our own Consumers at home ; and thence make even the Wine-drinkers some amends for that Expence ; so advantageous are Taxes that fall on any of the Arts of Luxury, when compared with such as fall on Trades for raising the Necessaries of Life. And so far would such a Tax be from threatening any thing disadvantageous to what ought to be call'd and look'd upon as the Trade of *England*. — Or, lastly, should it not, by the Wisdom of our Legislature, be applied to the direct Relief of any of these ; but be carried to the Sinking Fund, it would nevertheless prove as considerable, tho' not so immediate a Relief to them all in general, by vastly hastening the Discharge of the public Debt, and thereby removing more speedily that Burthen from them all together, and in so doing restore the Body Politick much sooner to that Force and Weight which the Discharge of such

such a Debt would infallibly give it among its Neighbours. — While so far as those Taxes affect our Liberties at home, as these Patriots affect to think, so far it would hasten the Removal of that Danger, and be helping to annihilate those very Inconveniences which they would charge it with increasing.

Our Author, having assumed the Name of the Financer, is willing in this Paragraph to give us a Specimen how well he understands the Finances, perhaps with a View of recommending himself for a PLACE to a CERTAIN GENTLEMAN. — Accordingly, like an apt Pupil, he takes Example by that HONOURABLE PERSON, and first throws out a Sugar-Plumb to the Land-holders, in hopes they'll be GUDGEONS enough to swallow the same Bate a second time. In the next Place he tells us, that it might be a ready Means to diminish divers of those Taxes that now fall on the mere Necessaries of Life, as Malt, Beer, Soap, Candles, and Leather. I can't help observing here (tho' perhaps our Author will think it a little malicious) that he seems to have designedly omitted SALT in this Catalogue of Necessaries. I suppose he imagined the Taking off the Salt-Tax might be too fresh in our Memories; besides, as SALT is the Emblem of WIT, 'tis very probable that a certain Person, who is a notorious Enemy to the Original, cannot bear even its Type, and therefore is resolv'd, as far as lies in his Power, it shall remain tax'd for ever, as a perpetual Memorial of his Aversion not only to WIT itself, but to all who have any share of it: As to the Remainder of this notable Sentence, it

it requires a Dutch Commentator to explain it: In this Light, (continues he) after it had eased the Land-holder, it might not only ease the Poor in general, but help the Manufacturer, &c. In this Light! in what Light, in the Name of Wonder! What does this Blunderer mean? The Vivacity of his Imagination has outrun his Reason this Bout; which I will demonstrate to him by an Argument, which, as much a Financer as he calls himself, he won't like, because he will find it impossible to evade it. Every one knows that the Sum of Five hundred thousand Pounds, taking his Calculation in its utmost Extent, cannot at one and the same Time relieve the Land-holders, and diminish the Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, or, in other Words, ease the Poor: If it relieves the Land-holders therefore, it will not at the same Time ease the Poor; and if it is apply'd to easing the Poor, it will not at the same Time relieve the Land-holders.

Lastly, our Author enumerates the Benefits that would accrue to the Publick, if this Sum of 500,000l. should be carry'd to the Sinking Fund. Therein I agree with the Gentleman; IF it should be carry'd to the Sinking Fund, and IF the Sinking Fund should be apply'd to no other Use than that for which it was originally designed. But will Monsieur Financier have the Front to assert, that that sacred Depositum of the Nation, has never been perverted to other Purposes? I believe he hardly will. Proceed we to the next Paragraph.

So much as to the primary Motives for, and advantageous Uses of such a Tax. Besides

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sides which would arise, as mentioned above, divers secondary Benefits of no light Moment to the Nation. The whole Body of *Wine-Drinkers* would find the good Effect of prohibited *Brewing* both in their Purses and Persons. To all the Moderate, who use Wines as a *Cordial*, the genuine *Juice* of the *Grape* would go much farther than the present abominable Sophistications; and both they, and those who exceed in their Quantities, would find a wide Difference in its more healthful or less dangerous Effects; while the Savings in the Apothecaries Bills would amply compensate the Difference between Neat Wines and such Trash. ——— Which Consideration of Health is not only valuable to every private Man, but of such Moment to the Publick, that in a well regulated Country, where such a mischievous Trade was grown so general and notorious, such an Inspection as might prevent it, would, perhaps, by wise Men be thought necessary, and fit without any Respect to the publick Revenues, but as a Part of the publick Policy only. ——— The Apothecaries Shops have been wisely and justly subjected to a proper Visitation; and 'tis as much more reasonable that the Vintners Vaults should be so, as the Sound are more numerous and more valuable to the State than the Sick. ——— By the same Means the fair Dealer would be set on a Level with the Sophisticator, who at present undersells him. Nay, even the seeming Inconveniences of such a Law, and Tax, would prove, comparatively, both private and publick Benefits:

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I mean that *increased Price* and *increased Import* of Wines, which some People may object as disadvantageous Consequences of it; but both those, while they made the Merchant Importer some Amends for the Trouble of an Excise, would enable him to give better Prices at home for the Commodities he sends abroad in Exchange for Wines; while the same increased Price and Import would enable the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, &c. to allow better Prices for them there also. And thus a great part of the Profits which are now sunk in the Pockets of the Wine Brewers would be thrown into another Channel, and reach the honest Manufacturers, whose Industry is the Support of the Publick; a Channel, which, at worst, would make the Luxury of the Wine-Drinker much more beneficial, both to the private Trader, and the Nation, than suffering it to be turned, as it now is, to the Encouragement and Support of the vilest and most mischievous of all Frauds; the destroying Numbers by a slow Sort of Poison, under Colour of selling them *Cordials*, and cheerful Entertainment.

Our Author here proceeds to enumerate the secondary Benefits which would arise from an *Excise* upon *Wine*, and which (he says) would be of no light Moment to the Nation. The first of these is, that the whole Body of *Wine-Drinkers* (whereof I presume he is one at the present,) would find the good Effects of *prohibited Brewings*, both in their Purses and their Persons. A very great Blessing truly! and worthy purchasing with an *Excise*! Heaven forbid I should speak ir-

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reverently of so valuable a Body, four Fifths of whom, at a moderate Computation, are *Gentlemen*, or as they are called in *Holland* *IDLEMEN*, and consequently a dead Weight upon the industrious Part of the Nation: However, I will very readily allow them to be as valuable as he pleases; but yet he must give me Leave to think that another Body of the People, who would suffer greatly by an Excise upon *Tobacco*, are infinitely more valuable, I mean the poor Manufacturers, Artificers, and Labourers. Besides, who told our *Financer* that even these Gentlemen would find any good Effects from thence either in their Purfes or their Persons? I much question it.—The chief Ingredients wherewith *Wines* are said to be adulterated, are *Malt-Spirits* and *Cyder*, and to which, if he pleases, he may add the Whites of *Eggs* and *Isinglass*: Now how long have any of these been thought unwholesome? They are so far from it that they are quite the contrary. So much for their Persons, now how will they be Gainers in their Pockets? It is acknowledged on all Hands, nay even by the *Financer* himself, that an Excise will raise the Price of *Wines*; this then must be a notorious Falshood; proceed we to the rest. To the moderate, he says, the genuine *Juice* of the Grape would go much farther than the present abominable Sophistications.—How does he know this? If the *Neat Wines* go farther it must be from their Strength; now I do aver that we have *Cyders* in *England* of as strong a Body as any *Wine* in *France*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, and for *Malt-Spirits* I believe they are quite out of the Question. This Argument therefore, like the rest, falls to the Ground. Oh! but (says our *Financer*) both the moderate and those who exceed

ceed would find a wide Difference in its more healthful, or less dangerous Effects. I have already shewn this to be a notorious Falshood; and as to the Savings in the Apothecaries Bills, I must tell him he is quite on the wrong side of the Question. I must therefore take Leave to inform his Judgment.—First, It is universally agreed by all Naturalists, Philosophers, and Physicians, that our beneficent Mother *Nature* has carefully provided, that the Product of every Nation shall be best suited to the Constitutions of its Inhabitants; accordingly we find that *MALT-LIQUORS* and *CYDER* agree better with a downright *English Constitution*, that has not been debauched, than *WINE*. This being granted, and it was never yet denied by any one that pretended to understand any thing of *Medicine*, I do affirm that in all Illnesses proceeding from bad *Wines*, (for that is the general Excuse of those who find themselves ill after a Debauch) the usual Symptoms are a Vomiting (or at least a Reaching to vomit) and a *Diarrhea*, or Looseness; now 'tis certain that neither of these can proceed from *MALT-SPIRITS* or *CYDER* taken in moderate Quantities; and as for the Whites of *Eggs* and *Isinglass*, they are well known to be both very wholesome and innocent: Let us therefore lay the *Saddle* on the right Horse, and instead of ascribing our Illnesses to bad Wine, let's attribute them to Excess; instead of charging them upon the Roguery of *Vintners*, and calling them *WINE-BREWERS*, &c. let us honestly charge them upon our Drunkenness, and being Sors.—Our *Financer* in the next Place pretends a mighty Concern for our Healths, and very wisely stumbles upon the visiting of the Apothecaries Shops, as a Precedent for

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for the visiting of the Vintners Vaults. But let me ask this wise Man of *Gotham*, this *Machiavel* of a Statesmen (like another *Financier* that shall be nameless) is there no Difference between visiting the Apothecaries Shops by the Wardens of their own Company, and Physicians, who are the proper Judges of their Medicines; and his at a seasonable Hour, and not above twice a Year, and the inspecting Vintners Vaults by Excisemen, who are no proper Judges of the Goodness of WINEs, and this not only every Day, but at all Hours of the Night? O WIT! where wast thou when he made this BLUNDER? But, by a certain Fatality, the Writers on a certain Side do *nothing* else. Our *Author* immediately afterwards asserts another *notorious Falshood*, *viz.* that the seeming Inconveniencies of such a Tax would prove both private and publick Benefits. In order to demonstrate this, he begs the Question, and takes for granted what every Dealer in excised Commodities knows to be *false*; *viz.* that the raising their Price increases their Importation. Upon this *sandy Foundation*, the contrary of which is evidently true, does he build all the rest of this notable Paragraph; for which Reason I shall take no farther Notice thereof, but proceed to the next.

Hitherto of the advantageous Effects of such a Tax, in very concise Terms, each Article of which, if set in its full Light, would exceed the Bounds of this Paper. — And what Objections have been urged to counterpoise Considerations of such Weight and general Benefit? Why truly nothing, but some loose Discourses against EXCISES in general; exaggerating their Inconveniencies chiefly with respect to three Points, the Trouble of Visits  
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and Inspections of Excise Officers give the Trader. An imaginary Influence those Officers may have over them with respect to their Votes in Elections; and the Manner of determining disputed Points by the Commissioners, or Justices of Peace, and not by a Jury. — Now, without offering here minute and particular Answers to all these, which has been done already, and would exceed my present Bounds; it may be thought sufficient, perhaps, by unbiassed Judges, to observe of them all in a Body, that they either prove nothing to the present Case, or prove too much; for supposing them of any just weight, they conclude, that Excises in general are such a Mode of levying Taxes, as ought to be entirely abolished; and then our *Lands*, together with the *Customs*, instead of receiving any Ease, must bear the whole Weight of the publick Expence, and be further charged with several hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*. — But if this be thought too much, then do they prove nothing to the present Point; for while the publick Necessities lay the whole Body of the Dealers in *Malt* or *Beer*; together with the *Leather-Dressers*, the *Soap-Boilers*, and the *Tallow-Chandlers*, all of them Preparers of, or Dealers in, the mere Necessaries of Life under the Inconveniencies of an Excise: What Reason in the nature of Things, what Policy, or what Justice can be urged for exempting the Dealers in WINEs, a gainful and expensive Article of foreign Luxury, from bearing a Part of that Burthen? — Especially if two Points be considered, 1<sup>st</sup>, That these have escaped it hitherto, while those have borne it long, and must do so yet longer. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That  
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the same Act of Justice which distributes their due Share of that Burthen to the WINE-Trade, tends evidently, as I observed above, to shorten the Term of those Inconveniences; (if they are real) both to the private Individuals and the Publick; from which Consideration only every Dealer in those excised Commodities has, as well as the Publick, a just Claim to one upon these.

I have already shewn, in my Observations upon the former Paragraph, what *advantageous* Effects are to be expected from an EXCISE upon WINES and TOBACCO; and I hope I have set that in such a clear Light, that a Reader even of the meanest Capacity, if not a *downright Natural*, may be a tolerable Judge of the Point in Dispute: I shall therefore say no more upon that Head, to avoid being prolix, and tiring my Readers with dull Repetitions, like the Writers on the other Side of the Question. Our Author is pleas'd to add, that nothing has been urged against Considerations of such Weight and general Benefit, ———— *Risum teneatis Amici!* but some loose Discourses against EXCISES in general; exaggerating their Inconveniences (observe the Softness of the Expression) with respect to three Points, &c. — I shall beg Leave to say something upon each of those three Points. First then, as to the Trouble the Visits and Inspections of Excise Officers give the Trader. — Why really I can't help thinking, that for a free-born *Englishman* to have his Warehouse, Shop, and House, even to his WIFE'S BEDCHAMBER, visited, and rummaged, at all Hours of the Day or Night, by every pert Rascal that shall think it worth his While to be troublesome, at the same time that the Fellow,

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strip him of his *Salary*, shall not be worth a *Groat*; nor, perhaps, would not be trusted in an *honest* House, is an Inconvenience, to which even the Gentleman who treats it so mildly would not care to be subject: In plain *English*, 'tis a damnable Hardship, such a Hardship that the *Christians*, who are born Subjects to the Great *Turk*, and are look'd upon by the *Mahometans* as little better than Dogs, are not expos'd to the like. — Our Author is pleas'd, in the next Place, to treat the Influence of Excise Officers over those who deal in exciseable Commodities as imaginary; contrary to the Sense of the whole Kingdom, excepting those who have PLACES or PENSIONS, and are lost to all Sense of feeling the Miseries of their Fellow-Subjects. As imaginary as this Influence is, it has been a Grievance universally complain'd of for many Years, and that by both Parties, according as each has been uppermost; it being very certain that any Dealer in excise-Commodities, who ventures to *vote* contrary to the Direction of the Excise Officers, must expect the most tyrannical and barbarous Usage, as has often been found by woeful Experience. Nay, 'tis well if they are contented with harassing him Day and Night with needless Visits and Inspections, ten to one but they hire some worthless Rascal, if they won't in Policy appear against him themselves, to swear that he has defrauded the King of his Duties, and so get him fined exorbitantly by the Commissioners. — The third Point, *viz.* the Manner of determining disputed Points by the Commissioners or Justices of Peace, which are generally never a Barrel better Herring; it has been allow'd on all Hands to be so unreasonable, and

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there are so many notorious Instances of their Oppression and Partiality, that none but a *Man*, who has an undoubted Title to the Epithet of *Os DURUM*, would have had the Impudence to have call'd it by the soft Name of an *Inconvenience*. 'Tis damnable insufferable Oppression, and were an *Excise* once made general, any Man of common Sense would prefer the *French* Method of Dragooning, to lying under the Lash of such harden'd insolent Miscreants as some of them have been: Enough therefore of this melancholly Subject; how does our Author endeavour to elude the Force of these Arguments, for to answer them is beyond his Power. Why truly he says; they either prove nothing to the present Case, or too much; for, supposing them of any just Weight, (continues he) they conclude, that Excises in general are such a Mode of levying publick Taxes as ought to be entirely abolish'd. — Agreed, I heartily join with *Monsieur Financer*, it ought to be entirely abolish'd in every Country that would preserve its Liberty; and as to his pretending to terrify us with saying that *our Lands* and *Customs* (observe the Word *our*, in a Man who I dare swear by his slavish Notions never had one Foot of Land) must bear the whole Weight of the publick Expence, I would fain ask him how he did before there was ever such a Thing known as an Excise? For Instance, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the *Spaniards* invaded Us openly with the most formidable Fleet that ever was equip'd since the Days of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, a Fleet call'd *in Terrorem* the *INVINCIBLE ARMADA*; (not a few puny Guard de Costa's) how, I say, did we do then? What slavish Expedients had we

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Recourse to in those glorious Days? The Answer is easy, she had an able, and a faithful *MINISTRY*; and the *Hands*, *Hearts*, and *Purses* of all the most valuable Part of her Subjects. — Yet had she more Conspiracies to struggle with than any Prince before or since; I urge this, because our *Financer* shall not object the Disaffection of an inconsiderable Handful of People: 'Tis true, if by the *Disaffected*, the Ministerial Writers mean the *Disaffected* to a certain Person, the Case will be extremely alter'd; and in that I rejoice, since I believe it the *ONLY SECURITY* we have for our *LIBERTIES*. Our Author, in the next Place, has the Insolence to urge, our having so many Commodities excised already, as an Argument for laying *WINES* and *TOBACCO* under an *Excise* likewise. A very pretty Argument truly! just as if a Man should load an Ass as long as he could stand under it, and then urge that as an Argument for laying on more, till he breaks his Back. Another Argument he uses as a Sugar-Plumb to draw in the Dealers in *Malt*, *Beer*, *Leather*, *Soap*, and *Tallow*, is, that *Wine* is an Article of *Luxury*, whereas their Commodities are the *Necessaries of Life*, therefore *Wines* ought to be excis'd as well as they. Do they so? I think not, unless it would prove an immediate Relief to any one of them; for, as to his fine Pretences of easing the Land-holder, the Manufacturer, or being apply'd to the *Sinking Fund*, we must beg his Pardon if we neither believe nor trust them. Proceed we to the next Paragraph.

'But tho' I think this a full Answer to the general Thread of their Reasoning, I must not omit taking Notice of a particular Point or two that have been urged. — First, it has been

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said that such a new Tax would tend to a  
*General Excise*, for in some Places indeed they  
 vouchsafe to suppose the Design particular, tho'  
 in others they treat it as general, and in or-  
 der to have the better Colour for Support, in  
 so doing, lay down that Proposition, which is  
 best is but a sad Quibble; because all Particu-  
 lars are made up of Particulars; or else it is a  
 direct Falshood, for the Essence of a *gen-  
 eral Excise*, and in which its Inconvenience  
 consists, is its charging all the mere Necessaries  
 of Life, and thereby falling hard upon the  
 Poor; but all Excises on particular Goods  
 of Luxury, be they ever so numerous, are so  
 far from having any Tendency that Way, that  
 when judiciously chosen, they are, it may be,  
 the best imaginable Expedients to keep any  
 People from the Necessity of falling under such  
 a One, as this might, perhaps, amongst others  
 prove the present State of our publick Reve-  
 nues; together with what farther Demands a  
 sudden, an unforeseen and expensive War might  
 possibly make on the Nation, should such a  
 One happen before this, or some such like Ex-  
 pedients should have alter'd our Situation.—  
 Another Point much insisted on against Excises  
 in general, is, a Danger to our Liberties from  
 a supposed Influence of the *Officers* on the *Votes*  
 of Electors for Parliament; but, without urging  
 the Provision of the Laws in that Case, &c. Let  
 it be consider'd, that while the Body of our  
 Gentry, from among whom so great a Part of  
 the Legislature is chosen, are rich and flourish-  
 ing, the Body of the *House of Commons* can  
 hardly ever fall into any dangerous Depend-  
 ency; whereas, should ever the Gentry be gene-  
 rally impoverish'd by heavy and long conti-  
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nued Land-Taxes; thinking Men may, per-  
 haps, apprehend that our *Liberties* may be  
 risked in a much more dangerous Part and  
 Point, than that of Excisemens Influence at  
 Elections; and that to such a degree, that  
 an Excise which should supply for a few  
 Years the Place of but One Shilling in the  
 Pound Land-Tax, might probably go much  
 farther to secure our Liberties within Doors  
 than the Influence of all the Excisemens in  
*England*, were their Number doubled, could  
 tend to hurt them without. In one Case  
 the Danger is silent and beyond the Re-  
 medy of all Law; whereas any considerable  
 Attempts of the Other, should they ever  
 be made, would but heighten and increase  
 Opposition, to a degree that must certainly  
 overturn any *Ministry*, I had almost said  
 any *Court*, that should attempt it. So that  
 even in that Light, as well as in shorten-  
 ing the Date and Duration of those Incon-  
 veniences in general, this Duty would  
 have its Merits in tending to secure, in-  
 stead of attacking our Liberties.  
 Our Author, in this Paragraph, charges the  
*Craftsman* either with quibbling, or telling a  
 direct Falshood, I suppose he means in his  
 Definition of a General Excise; if that be  
 the Case, I must beg Leave to charge the  
 Falshood upon him, for an Excise undoubt-  
 edly may very properly be said to be ge-  
 neral, when the Generality of Commodities  
 are subject to that *Hardship*, whether they are  
 the mere Necessaries of Life or not. But  
 since he makes such a Pother about the mere  
 Necessaries of Life, as if they were exempted  
 from an Excise, I must tell him that he can-  
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not name so much as One of the Necessaries of Life, which is not affected thereby; and I am surpriz'd the *Craftsman* should mention the Land Tax only as affecting *Flesh-Meat*, when all *Flesh*, excepting *Pork*, pays no less than *three* Excises, and lies under *greater Hardships* than any other Commodity whatsoever, tho' *Beer* pays *two*, first in *Malt*, and then in *Beer*. For I would feign ask any impartial Man, what is an Excise upon *Hides*, *Leather* and *Tallow*, but a *threefold* Excise upon *Flesh Meat*? — The *Gentleman* afterwards, in his great Zeal for the Projector, tells us that all Excises upon particular Articles of Luxury, be they ever so numerous, are, it may be, the best Expedients imaginable to keep a People from the Necessity of falling under a General Excise. By this I find, tho' should the present Design take Effect, which Heaven forbid! we are likely to be favour'd with more *such Schemes*; for, be they never so numerous, our *Financer* assures us 'tis all for our Good. Our *Author* likewise, after the Example of a *certain Person*, is very fond of Expedients; but I am afraid also, that like the said Person, his Expedients will be found *very destructive*; for which Reason I desire my Countrymen never to try them. He then would terrify us with the Demands which a sudden, unforeseen, and expensive War may occasion, if it should happen before some such Expedients should have alter'd our Situation (for the *worse* I suppose he means). But I believe his Fears are groundless, for several Reasons; first, 'tis impossible any War should happen which our discerning Minister will not foresee; 2dly, I dare swear  
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we shall never have a War, whilst a *certain Person* rules the *Roast*, if any prudent *Compliances* can prevent it, as has been more than once experienced by our good Allies the *French* and *Spaniards*. As to his saying that an Excise, upon never so many Articles of Luxury will not pave the Way for a General Excise as he brings no Argument to support this ridiculous Assertion, it deserves no Answer. — Our Author tells us next, as to the Influence of Excisemen over *Elections*, that while the Body of our *Gentry* are rich and flourishing, the Body of the House of Commons can hardly ever fall into any dangerous Dependency; whereas, should they ever be impoverish'd by heavy and long continued Land-Taxes, our *Liberties* would be risked in a much more dangerous Degree within Doors, than they could be without, by the Influence of Excisemen, were their Number doubled. — Now this happens to be a direct Falshood; for our *Liberties* never were, nor ever will be in Danger from the Landed Interest, even tho' they should pay *Four Shillings* in the Pound: No, whenever our *Liberties* are in Danger, 'tis from a Set of *hungry Courtiers*, who, without any more Land than will just qualify them to get themselves chosen in petty Boroughs by the Influence of Excisemen, Custom-house Officers, and *something* else that shall be nameless, tho', perhaps, they were never before heard of in the Places for which they are elected. Then, as to his placing our Security in our *Gentry* being rich and flourishing; let them be ever so rich, if they can't live within the Compass of their Incomes  
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they will be liable to be corrupted, and then I would fain know, how secure our Liberties would be, when a good Place or Pension is offered them. He then assures us, that any considerable Attempts to undermine our Liberties by the Influence of Excisemen, would but heighten Opposition to a Degree that must overturn any Ministry. — The Gentleman forgets there is a Standing Army. Come we now to the last Paragraph.

To come therefore to a general Conclusion; this Tax in its Application to diminish that on Land, to decrease some of the Excises on the Necessaries of Life, or to the Sinking Fund, promises fair for becoming both a present and future Ease to the Body of the Subjects of England. — In immediately turning a great Part of the Gains of the Wine-Trade more directly to the Manufacturers; and in its future supplying Part of the Duties on such Necessaries of Life as immediately affect those Manufacturers in general; it seems calculated for the Benefit of the most valuable Branches of our National Trade. In the Relief it might immediately offer the Body of our Gentry, and in shortening the Term of more inconvenient Excises among us, as well as that of the whole Debt; it seems to consult the Safety of our Liberties. — In laying the Venders of Luxury, for all these good Reasons, under a like Excise with those borne by their Fellow-Subjects, whose Trades are much more necessary and useful to the Publick; it appears highly agreeable to the Justice of PARLIAMENT. — And lastly, for all those Reasons, it may

may be, perhaps, thought suitable to their Wisdom. — So that upon the Whole, if a private Capacity may attempt making any Judgment of that Sort; such a Tax appears to have all those good Qualities so lately recommended from the THRONE to the HOUSE of COMMONS, and which that August Assembly so lately resolved on as their Standard in chusing future Supplies; and that to such a Degree, that I may safely challenge those who have oppos'd it, to name any one of all the numerous Taxes now on Foot in England, that has so many just Recommendations, and so few valid Objections.

Never certainly was such a Heap of Stuff thrown together to banter Mankind as in this Paragraph: What! is this single TAX to diminish the Land-Tax, abate the EXCISES on Malt, Soap, Leather, Candles, &c. and likewise to be apply'd to the Sinking Fund. What Rhodomontade is this? Why, 'tis well known that the Whole that it will produce will not more than answer the taking off One Shilling in the Pound upon Land, after all the Charges of collecting it are paid; accordingly that if the utmost that has been propos'd by the Projector, as a Sugar-plumb to draw in the Land-holders not to oppose it. How then, in the Name of Wonder, is it to answer all these other Ends? But as if all this were not enough, it is immediately to turn great Part of the Gains of the Wine-Trade to the Manufacturers; God a Mercy, Monsieur Financier, by my Consent you should be made one of the Committee of Ways and Means; what Schemes should we then have for the

Good of the Publick! But the most admirable Assertion of all is; that it seems to consult the Safety of our *Liberties*. Did he expect to be believ'd when he affirmed this? Surely he could not; nay, I aver, that he did not believe it himself. And as to his urging that the *Venders* of Luxury ought to be laid under a like Excise with those borne by their *Fellow-Subjects*; we will not dispute it, provided the Excise is taken off any of the *Necessaries* of *Life*; but, as to the applying it to the *Sinking Fund*, we must beg his Pardon, if we are afraid it will be most of it sink in *private Pockets*.

I have now done with the *Occasional Financier*; all the other Papers written by that *worthy Gentleman* being founded upon the same Arguments with the first, for which Reason they must stand and fall with that, and the same Answer will suffice for all: As to his *insufferable Scurrility* in some of them, I shall take no Notice thereof, the *best Reply* to such Language (in my Opinion) being what they deservedly met with, I mean to be *burnt* by the Hands of the *Common-Hangman*.

Proceed we now to Mess. *Carus* and *Meanwell*, those two *worthy Seconds*, and finish'd Copies, of Messieurs *Osborn* and *Walsingham*: This *new Reinforcement* to the Band of *Mercenaries*, with equal *Modesty* and *Honesty*, have undertaken a Task, which I am very much afraid; will prove *too arduous*, even for *Gentlemen* of their *consummate Abilities*. This was no less than to make *FREE BRITONS* in Love with *Slavery* and *Oppression*, and to *persuade* them out of their *Feeling*.

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As this was an Attempt very unlikely to succeed, one would have imagin'd that it must have been supported with some *shew* of *Argument*; but there is a *certain Fatality* attends all the *Ministerial Writers*, a *certain pernicious Influence*, which reduces them to the *Necessity* of *blundering most* when they think they are *most arch*; and to hit their *Patron* a *Slap on the Face*, when their Aim is to wound his *Adversaries*: The Consequence of this is, that they *multiply* daily like the *Hydra's Heads*. In short, neither *Argument* nor *Wit* is their Talent; I would advise them therefore to stick to their *old Weapons Scurrility* and *Falshood*, which it must be confess'd they *handle* to *Admiration*.

To return to Messieurs *Carus* and *Meanwell*, it would exceed the Bounds I have prescribed myself in my present Undertaking, should I enter into a minute Examination of all these Gentlemen's extraordinary *Performances*; wherefore I shall only make some cursory Remarks thereon *en passant*, which, however, shall be sufficient to set their *Inconsistences* and *Absurdities* in such a *glaring Light*, that none but *Noodles* will ever be in Danger for the future of being *mised* by their *Sophistry*, if any *simple well-meaning* People have already been so *weak* as to suffer themselves to be *imposed on* by them.

To begin then with Mr. *Carus*, this Gentleman, in his Letter of *March 3*, is pleased to say, 'That the present Dispute between the *Anti-ministerial* and *Ministerial Party*, is at present so high, as to deserve the utmost *Cognizance* from the Publick.' Did ever any one know such a *Blunderer*? We admit  
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it does, and have endeavour'd to persuade the Publick to take full Cognizance thereof, which they have accordingly done and which has occasion'd this *uncommon Outcry* not only from the *whole Band of Mercenari s*, but even from the *Great Author* of the *Letter of a Member of Parliament to his Friends in the Country*.

'The *former* (continues Mr. Carus) charge 'the *latter* with Designs of enslaving and 'impoverishing the People; and the *latter* 'retort on the *former's* Endeavours to disturb 'the Peace, and to endanger the Safety of 'the Nation' Another *notorious Blunder!* For, if this be the Point on which the present Dispute rests, the only Question that remains to be ask'd will be, *Which Party has best made out their respective Charge?* And in that I appeal to the whole *collective Body* of the People, for I shall not venture to decide it *myself*, for *Reasons* that, I believe, are *obvious* to every *impartial* Person.

As to Mr. Carus, instead of *clearing up* this Matter, he goes on to give us a *Dissertation* upon *Government* in general, and tells us that we had better have *any Kind of Government* than *none* at all. An *admirable Consolation* truly! I am very glad it dropp'd from his Pen; had it fallen from mine, I am afraid, according to the *present Doctrine* of *Inuendoes*, they would have interpreted it into a *Libel*, and said I meant it as a *Sneer* upon our *present righteous Ad——n*, and that 'twas as much as to say better have *that* than *none*.

Mr. Carus then proceeds to give us such an *admirable Definition* of *Tyranny*, that, in *Justice* to that Gentleman, I must not pass it by

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by. 'Tyranny (says he) is a *Yoke* laid by 'few on the Necks of *many*;' a very exact Definition truly! but now let us see what Inference he draws from thence. 'And consequently (continues he) whenever it grows 'so *pressing* as to excite a general Desire of 'Change, the *latter* have it always in their 'Power to throw off the Subjection of the 'former, and to make what Choice they 'please of a new *Form of Living*, i. e. of a 'new *Government* for themselves.' Is not this an *admirable Doctrine?* Did Mr. Carus believe this when he laid it down for a *Truth?* Or did he lay it down as a *Snare* to draw in the Unwary, that there might be some more *forfeited Estates?* If he did I fancy he will miss his Aim.

I can't help saying, however, that one would be apt to think he did; by his bringing the *Revolution* in *Portugal* as an Instance to support his *Doctrine*; and observing, that the *Violence* of those in Power, and their *Contempt* of the *Populace*, drove the People on trying their *own Strength*.

Be that as it will, I shall endeavour to shew the *Fallacy* of his *Inference*, even granting his Position to be *true*, (which I can by no Means admit) that Tyranny is a Yoke laid by *few* on the Necks of *many*: For, if one half oppress the other, or the greater Number oppress the less, it would, nevertheless, be equally Tyranny. But allowing, I say, his Position to be *true*, his Consequence will by no Means follow: In order to prove this, I must beg Leave to make one Supposition.

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Supposing then, for Instance, that, in any State, an inconsiderable Number should find the Means to engross the Riches and Power of the whole Nation; and supposing that by introducing universal Corruption they should be able to keep up a Standing Army in Time of Peace, in order to awe their Fellow-Subjects; which Standing Army should be so quarter'd, as to be able to be drawn together in any Part of the Kingdom in a Week's Time; supposing, I say, this were the Case, how could the whole collective Body of the People withstand a considerable Body of disciplin'd Forces? Is it not notorious that Ten thousand undisciplin'd Troops cannot stand against five hundred regular Forces? I believe Mr. Carus will be puzzled to answer this.

That Gentleman tells us, in the next Place, ' That when Writers, who pretend to reason on political Subjects, speak of the Common-wealth, the Nation, or the Publick, they ought to make Use of those Terms only to express the collective Body of the People.' — Agreed, and pray who uses it in any other Sense? But then let me tell him, that although an inconsiderable Handful of Men who have juggled themselves into Places and Employments, should happen, even against their Consciences, to run counter to the general Sense of the Kingdom, that will

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will not hinder but the Remainder may very properly be called the collective Body of the People. Otherwise this would be an Expression never to be used; since every Individual of the Person, never was, nor, I believe, never will be, unanimously united in one Opinion, in any Nation in the Universe.

Mr. Carus then charges those who oppose the Ministry with exciting Commotions, and busying themselves with spreading Jealousies, and then runs on into a hundred thread-bare Invectives; but there are two very remarkable Paragraphs, which I must by no Means pass by; because therein the Gentleman gives up all that the warmest Advocates against Oppression and Slavery have ever contended for.

' Obedience, (says Mr. Carus) is due to every Government, so long as those who administer keep to their Duty, that is, remain satisfy'd with that Proportion of Power which is entrusted to them by the Constitution, and make Use of that Power for those Purposes; and for those only, for which it was entrusted with them; this, I think must be granted me as a Principle self-evident.' Mr. Carus is very much in the right of it, no-body will deny this, no more than what follows. ' Indeed, continues he, if at any Time Men of prodigious

‘ digious Artifice should get into the Ad-  
 ‘ ministration, and should take such Mea-  
 ‘ sures, tho’ not directly contrary to the  
 ‘ Letter of the Laws, as tended either  
 ‘ to extend the Royal Prerogative, or  
 ‘ their own Power, beyond the due  
 ‘ Bounds, or were calculated to fleece,  
 ‘ or to oppress the People; I am ready  
 ‘ to grant, an honest and wise Man should  
 ‘ oppose, and by every lawful Means he  
 ‘ could think of, endeavour to defeat  
 ‘ them.’ Do you so, Friend *Carus*, do  
 you grant this, if you do, it is all we  
 ask, or contend for, and we leave you  
 to guess *who those Men are*.

Mr. *Carus*, in another Paper, seems very  
 angry with Mr. *D’Anvers* for calling him  
 an *Hibernian*, as if that was the greatest  
 Abuse imaginable; I don’t know what  
 may be his Opinion, but it is mine that  
 there are a great many very *worthy Gen-  
 tlemen of that Nation; Gentlemen*, who  
 would be far from being *proud* of hav-  
 ing such a One as *Carus* for their *Coun-  
 tryman*. — But why all this Anger?  
 Why is the Gentleman so much provok’d  
 at the Appellation of *Irishman*, that he  
 should spend a whole Letter in vindica-  
 ting himself from the Charge? As if the  
 World cared *one Farthing* what Country-  
 man *such a Mortal* was. Can any one  
*abuse* him more than he has *abused* him-  
 self? Has he not publickly printed him-  
 self

self the *abandon’d Advocate of Slavery and  
 Oppression*? And can there be a *worse Pro-  
 stitution*? Can *any Name* be more *scan-  
 dalous*? I believe not, in the Opinion of  
 all *honest Men*; but I have done with a  
*Wretch* who is *lost to all Sense of Shame*;  
 proceed we now to Mr. *Meanwell*, a Gen-  
 tleman every Way as well accomplish’d  
 as the former.

This *modest and learned* Writer is plea-  
 sed to inform us, in his Letter of *March  
 6*, ‘ That the Design of History is not  
 ‘ merely to inform an idle Curiosity,  
 ‘ but to instruct Futurity by the Example  
 ‘ and Misfortunes of their Forefathers :  
 ‘ This, *continues he*, is making the noblest  
 ‘ Use of the Historian’s Labour, and this  
 ‘ is the only Intent of the following Es-  
 ‘ say.’ So then we are to be *instructed*,  
 I find, by this Gentleman, tho’ he will  
 not allow the *Cities and Boroughs* who  
*chuse* them, to give any *Instructions* to  
 their *Representatives*, even when they ap-  
 prehend their *Liberties* to be in the *ut-  
 most Danger*.

The Reason of this is very evident,  
 for he tells us very plainly, ‘ That the  
 ‘ *Britons* are the only People under Hea-  
 ‘ ven, who, when they are *most* happy,  
 ‘ are least thankful for being so, or la-  
 ‘ bour industriously to make themselves  
 ‘ otherwise.’ We thank him very hear-  
 tily for this Information, but to let him  
 into

into a Secret, nine Parts in ten of the Nation would be very glad if they were not quite so happy as he is pleased to represent them; and that *in that very particular Circumstance* which he, and his *Clan*, would vain persuade us is our *peculiar Felicity*.

Mr. *Meanwell* proceeds to inform us that because the *Rebels*, who cut off *K. CHARLES'S Head*, brought this Nation into the *utmost Confusion* and *Misery*, which by the *Bye* could never have been done without a *Standing Army*; therefore we ought to bear all manner of *Oppression* without a *Murmur*, for fear our *well grounded Complaints* and *Remonstrances* should bring a *Friend* of his to *lose his Head* by the *Hand* of *Justice*, which would be a *very great Loss* to Mr. *Meanwell*, whatever it might be to *nine Parts* in *ten* of the Nation. Admirable *Doctrine* truly! A fine Use Mr. *Meanwell* makes of his *Learning* as well as his *History*!

But since Mr. *Meanwell* is pleased to be so very *communicative* of his *great Literature*, as to be willing to read us *Lectures* upon *History* at so small a Price as *Two Pence*; I would fain ask him if he could have pick'd out no other Cause but *Faction*, to which to ascribe that *Prince's unparallel'd Misfortunes* and *Tragical End* with more *Justice*: I fancy he cou'd, if not, I can for him.

What does he think, for Instance, of those two worthy Gentlemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*? These are the *Giant Traitors* who brought that *unhappy Monarch* to the *Block*; these are they that by their *Oppressions* created all the *ill Blood* in the Nation, and 'twas nothing but the King's protecting them, especially the *latter*, too long, that brought all that *dreadful Train* of *Calamities* that ensued upon him. Let Mr. *Meanwell* then no longer ascribe that *Prince's Fall* to *Pym*, *Hampden*, *St. John*, and *Holles*, but to the *insolent, over-bearing Temper* of Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, who forced his Royal Master upon such *destructive Measures*, as he could not but know must end in his *Ruin*, as they likewise prov'd *his own*, to the *great Joy* of all who wish'd well to *England*.

'Tis true that *pernicious Minister* advised the King to one Thing that would, perhaps, have prevented his Fate, tho' it would not have prevented the Destruction of *Strafford*, whom sooner or later he must have given up, if he desired ever to come to any Terms with his People. His Advice was this, to send over for a Body of *Irish Forces*, who were all *Papists* to a Man, to keep the *English* in *Awe*, whilst he pursued his *damnable Schemes*; but that unfortunate Prince, who

who was by no Means cut out for a Tyrant, was of too good a Temper to follow such arbitrary and bloody Counsel, which alone could have secured him, as the Case then stood.

I believe by this Time Mr. Meanwell wishes he had let his Historical Lectures alone, since he finds 'tis very easy to turn his own Cannon upon him, and I will engage for one Instance he produces of Faction's involving a Kingdom in Confusion, I will produce him twenty of bad Ministers bringing a Nation to utter Ruin: Besides that there never was a Faction which did not take its Rise from the Oppression or Mismanagement of Ministers, for which Reason they ought justly to be look'd upon as the primary Causes of all the Mischief that has ensued.

I have now done with this worshipful Triumvirate, until they, or the great Author of the Letter of a Member of Parliament to his Friends in the Country, from whom they all take their Cue, think fit to produce something more worthy answering out of their political Budget, which when they do, I doubt not but they will meet with deserved Correction either from myself, or some abler Hand.

F I N I S.

A  
Word to the FREEHOLDERS  
ON THE  
Ensuing ELECTION of a new  
PARLIAMENT.

Gentlemen,

THAT a burnt Child dreads the Fire is an old English Proverb, I own; but yet it is true in every Particular of human Oeconomy. Would any rational Person intrust one again, who has before deceived him, especially in a very material Affair. Would any Merchant, or Trader, in the Kingdom intrust a Commander with another Ship, who had wilfully endeavour'd to lose a former Ship? No surely they would not, but this relates only to the present Time. Now, Gentlemen, your future Conduct will not only affect yourselves, but your Posterity; Children yet unborn will either bless or censure your Conduct on this present Occasion. Your Laws, your Liberties, your Rights, are what you are now to defend, as in the glorious Cause of Liberty, you are to make a stand, and not like Oxen to be Bought and Sold. Britain is by Foreigners stiled the Garden of Liberty, and will well deserve the Name, if you  
G place



place trusty Guardians over it; but when you put your Confidence in Men, who will let every thing run to Ruin and Desolation, instead of deserving the Appellation of a Free-People, you will become the Scorn and Derision of the Nations round you. The glorious Revolution, on which the present Act of Settlement is founded, was brought about by King *James's* Endeavours to get a corrupt Parliament. The first Declaration made by the then Prince of *Orange* was, that he came to redress Grievances, and to procure a *free Parliament to be called*; and after an Abdication made by King *James* it was thought fit to call a new Parliament, to consider of Methods (among other things) to prevent *Bribery and Corruption in Elections of Members of Parliament*. Queen *Anne* of glorious Memory pursued the same Measures, and in her Reign the Triennial Act passed, which time has since been enlarged, and the Time limited to Seven Years, which must expire in a very short time, unless drawn to a greater Length by a fresh Act of Continuance.

Let every Member of the Commonwealth, or who is anxious for our common Prosperity, consider whether they don't deserve the worst of Usage, should they, contrary to their Conscience, elect such Persons to represent them, who have once betrayed their Trust. Let us all unite in the common Cause, and despise the Man who shall profusely lavish away his Money in riotous Treats, or ignoble Bribes. Let us despise the Proffer, and the Man who offers it, reasonably supposing that every just Man would rely on the Free Votes of his Fellow Subjects,

Subjects, and would not lay out his Money unless he had sure Hopes, or firm Promises of a Re-imbursment, with a considerable Interest.

A certain List will ever be had in Remembrance by every *True Briton*; it is easy by that to observe what Influence Places and Pensions had. How have those worthy Patriots eterniz'd their Names, either by throwing up, or being discarded their several Employments? A glorious Example for Posterity to imitate, and a just Pattern for unbias'd *Englishmen* to follow. How are they carested, adored, and blessed by their fellow Subjects! Whilst some People are detested and abhorred, ashamed of their Actions, they dare not pursue their Schemes, but shrink their Shoulders, and drop their Projects.

Consider, Gentlemen, how you have been treated by some Men in Power; you are esteemed the Dregs of the People, and have been vilified, and distinguished by many opprobrious Titles, such as insolent Rascals, sturdy Beggars, &c. And this at a Time when you thought your Liberties about to be invaded, and when some of the principal Pillars (that is, the Merchants) of the Nation went to petition against any new Incroachments. Must not that Man be insolent to the last Degree, who dared make use of such Expressions, and might not he have Ground to fear the Fate of *De Witt*, or that he might be liable to the first and third Articles in the Impeachment of *Thomas* late Earl of *Strafford*, or to some bordering or tending that way.

Upon

Upon the whole, Gentlemen, you have no body to blame but yourselves for any future Grievances; you may consider, that when once you have chosen your Representatives, your Hands and Tongues are tied up; you place others in the room of yourselves, and put your greatest Confidence, in them; your Wives, and Children must be subject to the Laws, Restrictions, Pains, and Penalties, made, agreed to, and enacted by your own Consent. Maturely think on your approaching Opportunity of making yourselves a free, happy, and a great People; study your own Interest and Advantage, and shew by your Conduct that you are resolved to keep the Dominion of the Seas, and the Ballance of *Europe* in your own Hands; and instead of fearing, give Law to all who dare oppose you.

*Let Liberty set smiling on the Plain,  
And Peace and Plenty tell your Monarch's Reign.*

