A letter from a Member of Parliament for a borough in the West, to a noble Lord in his neighbourhood there, concerning the Excise-Bill, and the manner and causes of losing it / [M. M].

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Publication/Creation

London: Printed for J. Roberts ..., 1733.

Persistent URL

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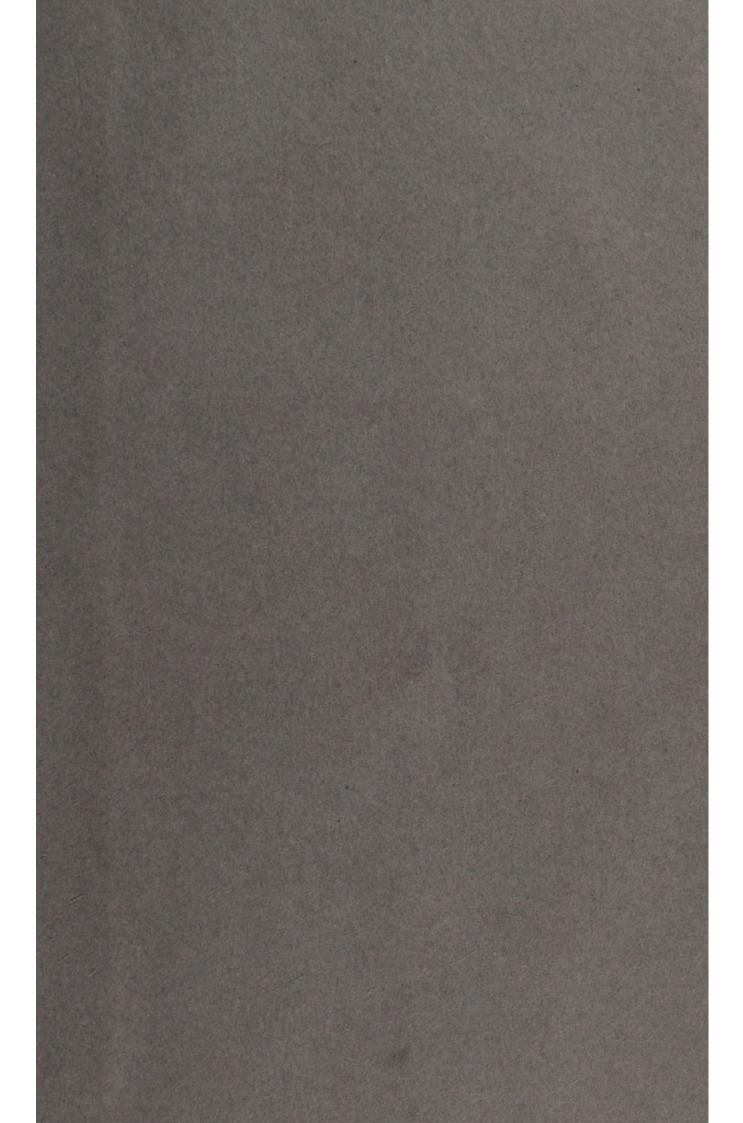
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LETTER

FROMA

Member of PARLIAMENT

FORA

Borough in the West,

TOA

Noble LORD in his Neighbourhood there, concerning the Excise-Bill, and the Manner and Causes of losing it.



LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. M DCC XXXIII.

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LETTER

FROM A

Member of PARLIAMENT, &c.

OUR Lordship remembers well, how grossy the name of the Church was prostituted and abused, about twenty Years ago, to cover the Ends of a mad Faction, who whilst they raged against the Cause of Liberty, which is always the Cause of God, were ready to overthrow the Religion and Government of their Country, under the Character of Englishmen and Churchmen. Nay, they considently pretended to be the A 2 only

only true Churchmen; tho' if their Words, their avowed Principles, their public Writings and Actions had any Meaning, their evident Aim was Slavery and the Pretender. But though every thinking Man saw this, the Multitude saw it not; and being bewitched with the Cry of the Church, approved and promoted all the Mischief and Violence committed under that pious Cloak.

I, my Lord, have seen another venerable Word strangely mistaken and abused in a late Instance here, I mean the Word Liberty, which in my humble Opinion has been more than taken in vain; and the Sound of it manifestly perverted to banish the Substance; as by that Sound public Tumults and false Terrors have been raised against that great Bulwark of Liberty, the Freedom and Independency of Parliament.

I am so full of this ill-boding Event, and so much affected by it, as what I apprehend to be entirely subversive of all Liberty, that I cannot help troubling your Lordship with a few Observations about it. Your Lordship came into public Life possessed with all the rational Notions of Liberty; and tho you have for many Years retired from attending in Parliament, you have the Inte-

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rest of your Country as much at heart as any Man in Parliament or out of it.

Before I left your Neighbourhood to come to my Seat in the House of Commons, I had feen so many Papers full of the Danger and Terrors of a General Excise, that with all the Allowance which I usually make for the Partiality and Design of such Papers, I could not help being a little alarmed by them; the more for that I saw no Answer made to them in other Papers. From whence I inferred, that the whole was not Invention, though a great part of it might be fo; and thus I came to Parliament in a Disposition far from favourable to the Court with regard to the Project on foot. As I have no Employment, I could not be influenced by those who bestow Employments and can take them away; and as I never shall take an Employment, I could not be prejudiced by the want of one. Neither have I any other Motive to please or sowre me, no Authority or Dependance, from Kindred, or Friends, in Place or out of Place. So that if I am subject to Mistake, it can be only from want of Discernment.

Before I left the Country, we were alarmed with a Design of new Taxes. By the present Bill no new Tax was laid, but only

only a better Method proposed of gathering an old Tax; by which Change a Saving to the Public was intended, sufficient to eafe the Land. The Design at least was noble and benevolent; and the Defign of a new Tax appears a wicked Falshood. The chief Objections therefore lay against the Method, the Method of an Excise upon Wine and Tobacco. And here I will venture to fay, that in no Bill whatfoever, either for Excise, or for any other Duty, was there ever fuch great Tenderness and Regard shewn to the Ease and Security of the Subject. Several of the former Laws of Excise were softened, and new Clauses added to check Excise Officers. The Commission of Appeal was taken away, and three Judges from Westminster-Hall were appointed to try any Dispute between the Commissioners of the Excise-Office and the Traders. And in case of Informations upon Oath before a Justice of the Peace, for fearching private Houses for Excised Commodities, (which Informations no Justice of the Peace could before refuse, any more than he could refuse granting his Warrant pursuant to such Information) it was now left to his Judgment and Discretion, whether he believed the Oath of the Informer; and he was at Liberty to grant or not to grant his War-

rant.

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rant. Nor has any Officer Power by this Bill to enter into any private House, or into any private Room in public Houses, but upon such Information and Warrant; and upon such Information and Warrant, any Custom-house Officer may already enter there.

But the contrary of all this was confidently afferted, and greedily believed: Nor was there any Reading or Believing, but on one Side. The Multitude frightened by false Stories, and blindly following their Demagogues, run like a Current one way. Besides the regular Infatuation from daily and weekly papers, little Hand Bills were dispersed by thousands all over the City and Country, put into Peoples Hands in the Streets and Highways, dropped at their Doors, and thrown in at their Windows; all afferting that Excisemen were (like a foreign Enemy) going to invade and devour them, and ready to enter their Houses; into all Houses, private or public, at any time, by Day, or by Night. They might as well have afferted, that these Excisemen were to be invested with Power of Life and Death.

Such as could not read, were informed by fuch as could; and all were ready to inform,

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inform, and missead, and enrage one another. It was the Theme of Coffee-Houses, Taverns, and Gin-shops, the Discourse of Artificers, the Cry of the Streets, the Entertainment of Lacquies, the Prate of Wenches, and the Bugbear of Children.

Of all these, scarce one understood a word of the Matter, nor would understand: It was common to hear Men, otherwise very reasonable Men, declare that they would read nothing on t'other Side. What wonder then if the Vulgar and the Many were totally bewitched? If you were to represent the thing truly to one of these angry People, (and angry most of them were) he would not credit you; nay, probably affront you. Some of them carried this obstinate Perseverance in a Mistake so far, as to swear, that they would not believe that the Bill had one restraining Clause in it, though they saw it there. No: We were all to be delivered, Men, Women and Children, bound Hand and Foot, to Bands of Excisemen.

Even the Number of these terrible Excisemen was not to exceed one hundred and fifty, not three to a County; yet were

Mockery and Abuse of Words! What Strength does or can a Poor Exciseman add to the Crown? Nay, the Crown by this Scheme must have lost a great Number of very considerable Officers, I mean the Receivers General of the several Counties; of which Officers every County hath one, some more, generally Men of Condition, and of great Instuence over all the Free-holders in England, from being Masters of Money, and of Power to distress or spare such a vast Body of Men.

Nor by this Bill was an Exciseman in the Country Towns to visit any Houses which Excisemen do not commonly visit already; since such as sell Tobacco, do likewise sell Tea, Cossee, and Chocolate, Commodities long since subject to Excise: And all the Inns being visited by Excisemen, as they brew Beer, could find no Hardship in being visited for Wine too.

But pray, my Lord, where is the Slavery, or even Hardship, that Excisemen have a Privilege given them by Law to enter publick Shops and Cellars, where Footmen, Porters, Coblers, Tapsters, and all forts of People are entering every Mo-B 2 ment

ment of the Day, and are therefore public and open, that they may be entered? Nor does an Exciseman require any separate Attendance from the public Dealers, whose Business it is to be in the way, attending their own Affairs, and serving their Customers.

Besides, are these Men to do nothing for the Government which protects them? If it be Slavery to contribute such Assistance, I doubt all Government, and every Law that is made infers Slavery; because all Government and all Laws imply Powers and Privileges necessary to their Support and Execution; and it is scarce possible to execute any Law without hurting Particulars.

The whole of the Question seems to lye here, whether the whole People of England had better maintain one hundred and fifty Excisemen at fifty pounds a Year a-piece, or the Freeholders of England continue to pay half a Million yearly for ever; whether the whole People ought to pay seven or eight thousand pounds a year, or part of the People pay five hundred thousand pounds a year. And even these Excisemen would be paid out of the Pockets of Knaves, by curing the Frauds notoriously

riously committed. But the poor Land-holder must be doomed to groan and pay, rather than Shopkeepers and Innkeepers be visited by Excisemen, though they be already visited by Excisemen, and rather than the fraudulent Dealer shall be enslaved by common Justice.

Doubtless Your Lordship would laugh at fuch wild Inconfiftencies, were not the Subject in its Consequences too serious and affecting. Many things occur upon this Affair furprizing enough. One amongst the rest is, that some Gentlemen who laid on former Excises, Excises upon the Necesfaries of Life, upon Commodities of our own Production, Excises still subsisting, upon Soap, Candles, and Leather, were the most zealous Opposers of the Excise upon Wine and Tobacco. I do not even hear that they at all condemn or censure themselves for being the Authors of the other and more severe Excise, or call the Law by which they did it (as they do this) a Badge of Slavery. Such different Eyes and Conceptions have Men in Power and out of Power! Might not the People learn a useful Lesson from such contradictory Conduct, if the People ever would learn?

rioufly corsmitted. But the poor Land-

With all the Cry of Taxes, let it be faid to the Glory of his Majesties Reign, and to that of his Ministers, that there has not been one new Tax laid on in his Time. And as to the present intended Alteration in the Revenue, it was evidently calculated for the Benefit of the Public in General, calculated to ease one great part of the People, without laying any new Imposition upon the rest. The whole Saving and Advantage was to redound to the Public, and no part to his Majesty; since his part of the Duty was still to continue under the Castoms.

own Production. Excites till lublifting. What therefore could the Court or the Ministry gain by this Project, befides the Reputation of curing execrable Frauds, and of relieving the Land? What Influence or Service could accrue to the Ministry from two or three additional Excisemen in a County, especially when almost half the Number of considerable Officers of the Crown were to have been dropped, I mean the Receivers General of the Land-Tax? Let me observe, that by the present Laws of Customs and Excife, the Commissioners of both, or the Commissioners of the Treasury for the Time being,

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being, have Power to create as many Officers as they please.

The Ministers therefore would, in this View, have rather lost Strength than gained it by the Scheme: But as I still think it a worthy Project, and of great public Advantage, they could not have failed at last to have reaped a noble Harvest of Credit and Applause from it; and such public Credit being Strength, their Enemies foresaw it, and laboured to prevent it. I am forry that they succeeded; perhaps one time or other they themselves may be forry; the sooner too, for that they are not like to reap much Advantage from the prefent Success.

The Thing was lost for not being generally understood; and interested Men, supported by angry Men, prevailed, by raising salse Alarms, which had been perfectly needless, had the Thing it self been alarming. If it was really a bad Bill, what occasion was there for salsifying the Design of it? And would it not have been sufficiently exposed by representing it as it was, without Inventions and Aggravations? But this would not answer the End; this would not

have

have inflamed the People, nor perhaps warmed them. It would not have flartled them, to have been told, " that " by preventing the Frauds of some " particular Men, all other Men would " have been benefited:" No: But it terrified them in good earnest, when they were perfuaded, that they were upon the point of being devoured by a General Excise; that this Great Dragon would confume their Substance, and starve their Children; and that their Liberty and whole Fortunes were to be fubjected to the Tyranny and Rapine of Excise-Officers. It was from such terrifying Representations as these that the People took Fire, and grew enraged at their best Benefactors, and fond of fuch as abused them.

Could there, my Lord, be greater or more inexcusable Wickedness, than such shameful Misrepresentations and Libels? It is certain, that by such Arts and Emissaries the popular Rage was first raised, and afterwards continually sed: Insomuch that the Thing it self about which the Multitude were terrised and mad, was generally no more understood than the Visions of Jacob Behmen, or any other mysterious and unmeaning Jargon:

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Jargon: And when they met together in Numbers, it was not to reason, nor to inform one another of the Truth, but only to catch and promote the popular Falshood and Frenzy.

It somewhat resembles what I have heard your Lordship say of the Romish Priests abroad, who make the common People believe that the Protestants eat the Children of Catholics; and that since the Resormation, the English have the Faces, not of Men, but of Dogs. The Fright and Mistake here about this Bill of Excise was so strong and universal, that the Children began to be asraid of going to-bed, for fear that Excisemen should break in and murder them by Night.

My Lord, I never yet could learn how to reconcile this Practice of reprefenting Things falfly, be they Things personal or Things public, to the Principles of Conscience and Honour. If I, for Example, by altering or curtailing a Man's Expression, make him say what he did not say, and thus turn his innocent Words into a guilty Sense; am I

not a manifest Falsisier? And what else is false Evidence or Imposture? And would the Man who thus hurts another Man's Character, spare taking away his Life by the same ill Means?

It has been boldly fuggefted, and the People have been made to believe, that none but Creatures of Power, flavish and indigent Men, such as lived by Corruption, and the Bounty of Ministers, were for this Excise. Perhaps there never was a more monftrous Conceit and Imposition. My Lord, Men, many Men, of as great Fortunes and as fair Characters, Men of as much Ability and Dignity as any in the three Kingdoms, were for it. Independent Men, some of them such as never had, never will have any Employment, Men of the greatest Figure in the Law, were for it; and many who have Places did not therefore vote for it because they have Places, but because they thought it reasonable. Or if there were any for it because of their Places, I might perhaps as truly fay, that some were against it because they had not Places.

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He is a miserable Wretch indeed who, in Points that are essential or of moment, considers an Employment, any Employment, preserably to his Duty, his Country, and his Character. We see that several who have Places opposed this Scheme. This shews that private Opinion sometimes gets the better of a Place, as Resentment sometimes does of Opinion and Reason. Many of our angry Men had Places once. Did these Places influence them then? If not, why may not others be as honest as they?

I can likewise assure your Lordship of what you will easily conceive and believe, that many opposed the Excise, though they thoroughly approved it, some from Engagement to Party, some out of Resentment to Ministers, and several were apprehensive of popular Commotions, and the Consequences of such.

It has been afferted and published, over and over, that no Authorities of Merchants, or of such as understood C 2 Trade, Trade, and had written about it, could be produced in favour of Excises. Yet it is true, that the best Authorities that could be produced have been produced, the Authorities of the samous Pensioner De Wit, that of Mr. Mun, that of Sir Josiah Child, and that of Sir Walter Raleigh. These are all quoted in the Appeal to the Landholders, which I lately sent, with some other Papers on the same Subject, to your Lordship.

It is almost needless to mention, even in general, who they were who opposed the Excise, or from what Motives. Some doubtless did so from Conviction: Add to these all who gained by Frauds; all who governed Party, or were governed by it; all fuch as hated the Ministry, all such as wanted to be Ministers; all who were disappointed by one Side, all who had Hopes from the other; difaffected Writers, Coffee-house Orators, Makers and Spreaders of false News, busy Agents for the Pretender, Popish Priests, Tale-bearers, Ballad-Singers; all railing at Excise, misrepresenting

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it, and afferting that it was to be General.

It fignified nothing to answer, and ask, whether every Thing was to be excised, because one or two Things were? It availed not to fay, that the same Objection would eternally lie against any Tax what soever, and that laying on Four Shillings in the Pound upon Land, inferred, by this Reasoning, the Necessity and Certainty of laying on Twenty Shillings in the Pound. I fay this reasonable Answer signified nothing: The People were frightened and infatuated, and only listened to their own Fears and the Voice of Clamour. Their Imaginations had raifed this fame Excise into a hideous Phantom; and when the Brain is on fire, it is not Reason that can cool it.

This upon the whole, my Lord, was a Fit of general Madness, like that about Sacheverel. All Men now laugh at him and his Cause, and wonder why any Man could be for either, when the Ravings of that Mad-man, which he called Sermons, evidently struck at all

all Liberty whatfoever, Civil and Religious. But fuch is the Power of Party, which teaches Men not to reason but to rage. The Cry then was against Liberty; Tumults were raised, and Public Authority flighted and defy'd, in Defence of Passive Obedience. The Cry now is for Liberty, and fuch Combinations and Riots are raised, and fuch Violence is practifed, as are threatening and fatal to Liberty. If Crowds direct the Legislature, and Laws are made or dropt by Force or Fear, what becomes of Liberty? But thus good Words are ever profaned, and wrested to cover and recommend unrighteous Doings.

They are the worst Enemies to Liberty, who turn it into Wantonness; and the beginning of Slavery is often Licentiousness. Liberty is a Sacred Thing, the great Ornament and Blessing of Human Society, which without it is a Gaol, or State of Bondage; and it is degraded and defiled when it is made the Cant and Sport of sierce and unruly Multitudes, who, however tenderly protected, kindly used.

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used, and utterly unprovoked, complain of Slavery, when Laws are made to prevent Frauds, and rise in Thoufands for sear of a sew Score of Excisemen to be scattered up and down a great Nation.

This, my Lord, is too great Mockery. I never heard that these poor Fellows, the Excisemen, who are themselves the greatest Slaves in the Kingdom, laboriously employed, poorly paid, and feverely curbed and ruled, ever attempted to infult the Persons of any Men, much less the Persons of Legislators and publick Ministers, or to pull down Houses, or to block up the Streets, or to rob or terrify peaceable Subjects. These were Acts of Oppression and Rage reserved for hotheaded Multitudes, who cry Liberty, but exercise Tyranny, and portend Slavery.

It is said these surious Crowds and their Excesses were not encouraged. My Lord, it is manifest they were encouraged: Circular Letters and Messages from the Leaders and Managers

of the City, and from their Tools and Agents, were affiduously dispatched to all Housekeepers in all Quarters, inviting them to assemble at Westminster. Or if these Men must not themselves be called Crowds, 'tis certain that, whenever they assemble upon such Occasions as this, Crowds follow them; and all Men who act like Mobs, are Mobs, be their Fortune what it will.

Kingdom, laborionfly employed, poor-I have the Pleasure to tell your Lordship, what I know you will have Pleasure to hear, that People begin to cool apace, and to recover their Senses; that all sober Men detest the late Tumults; that all the Well Affected declare themselves ashamed of their late Conjunction with fuch as had far different Defigns. I think I may fafely add, that the Defeat of the Scheme is not likely to produce any of the great Consequences that were expected from it, and for which that Defeat was fo violently la-My Lord, it is manifelt they when couraged: Circular Letters and Mof.

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In the Course of an Opposition so violent, it was not wonderful to obferve a strange want of Candour towards the most reasonable and popular Parts of the Scheme. Instead of Commissioners of Appeal, three Judges from Westminster-Hall, as I have already told your Lordship, were to hear and determine Suits of Excife. Would your Lordship know the Objection made to this? It was faid, " that the Judges too were appointed " by the Crown." True; and so are the Sheriffs of Counties, who return Juries; nay, make Returns of all the Members of Parliament chosen in each County, or for it. Is not some Power, are not very great Powers, abfolutely necessary to the Grown, to enable it to execute the Laws, and to preserve the Ballance of our Constitution? I do not find that the Crown aims at any new Powers; and 'tis necessary to our Liberties, that it should preserve what it has. Besides in these Suits about this Excise, the King could have no Interest, as having no Share in it; and the Dispute, when

when any happened, must have been between private Subjects, and the Public in general.

I have mentioned to your Lordship what Care was observed, that Informations upon Oath, in order to fearch private Houses, should not be lightly granted. But all that Care did not fatisfy Men, who were refolved not to be satisfied. It was still Slavery for any House to be subject to Search upon any Information, or any Account, though it were full of Goods that had paid no Duty. What could be more unreasonable? If any the meanest Subject lose any of his Goods, and swear that he suspects that they are in fuch a House, he may, by a Warrant from a Justice of the Peace, fearch that House. And shall not the Public have an equal Privilege? Surely it ought; and the Officers of the Customs and Excise can do fo now. Is your Lordship of Opinion, that because of this terrible Power in those Officers, to the great Infringement of the Liberty of Smuglers, the Customs too, ought to be suppressed?

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Oh Liberty! How is thy amiable Name abused?

After all that I have said to your Lordship about this Bill, it is needless to add that I was heartily for it, and am heartily concerned that it is lost. If ever it be attempted again, I shall be for it again, though they who now opposed it should bring it in. To me it seems so reasonable and useful a Bill, that I cannot help thinking it will one time or other pass, though I doubt it will hardly be attempted soon.

When the Freeholder, who has so long and sorely selt the Public Burdens, finds himself loaded next Year, and every Year with Two Shillings in the Pound, instead of having the whole taken off, he will then remember whether he has most Obligations to those who proposed this Scheme, or to those who defeated it. I fancy he will find it no good Reason for such Payment, that his Neighbours, the Grocer and Innkeeper, will by

by this means have fewer Visits from the Exciseman; for visited by him they both are already. Nor would the Poor Landholder be a-bit easier or better satisfied, were the genuine Reasons for this Opposition and Uproar, to be given him.

When the drunken Fit is over, People will have their Eyes clearer, and may then reflect whether they have Cause to bless the Authors of their late Intoxication. But from angry Multitudes, or angry Men, little Moderation or Candour is to be expected; and, all over the World, it is not always Truth that governs the Many. I am one of those who profess to espouse what I apprehend to be Truth, against all the Fierceness and Noise of Multitudes. Nor can any Man censure Me for following my fincere Opinion in voting for the Excise, without entitling me at the same time to censure Him for voting against it. To say that Men were influenced to be for it, may as well be faid of fuch as were against it. I believe Men have often gone as great

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great lengths to get Power as others have to keep it; and they who rail at Ambition in Place, sometimes rail from Ambition to be in Place. Thus Catiline and his Associates railed at Cicero and other Roman Rulers.

When I mention Cicero and Catiline, your Lordship, who knows how
much I hate and disapprove all false
and malicious Parallels, will readily
acquit me of making any; and I declare solemnly I mean none. Our
Condition and Story, and that of the
Romans then, are not alike; and it
is extremely unjust to make unjust
Applications of Facts and Characters.
This would be to abuse History and
the Ears of Men, and deserves as
much Blame as any other Act of
Deceit and Injustice. I wish such
Practice were less common.

I begin to be tired with the length of my Letter; I wish it has not tired your Lordship. It is the longest that ever I sent to you or to any other Person. Perhaps I may never again have so much Cause and Mat-

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ter for another; but shall be glad of all Occasions to testify to your Lordship with how much sincere Respect I am,

My LORD,

Your most obedient

And most humble Servant:



again here to much Caule and Mat-

what all Men, who few him



P. S. Your Lordship will probably be told, in the Country, what I have heard whispered here already; I am told it is even confidently reported in Coffee-houses, and will probably be soon the Burden of Journals; "That " the honourable Person in the Admi-" nistration, who proposed the Scheme, " was strangely dashed and terrified " upon presenting the Petition from " the City, and upon feeing the Spirit " which appeared to favour it in the " House." To all which I can truly answer, for I was in the House, and attended to his whole Behaviour, and I do aver to your Lordship upon my Honour, that I never faw any Man, during the whole Ferment and Contest, more utterly free from all Signs of Perturbation and Fear. Upon the Day in which he was threaten'd with Infults, and upon the Day after he had been infulted, he spoke long, and clearly, and intrepidly, with no fort of Concern, and with infinite Force and good Sense. This

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This is what all Men, who faw him, and heard him, if they be not notoriously prejudiced, must own; and I have heard some of his Enemies confess, that his Behaviour, upon that Occasion, was firm and good, and that he spoke with Pertinency and Spirit. — But this Truth, with many others, so inconsistent with the Politicks of Party, must not, it seems, be communicated to the People; lest it might prove a Reason with them for respecting him, when its so much the Fashion to lessen, and blacken, and expose him.

From this, and many other Observations, it is exceeding plain to me, how little, how very little the People know either of those they hate or of those they love; how often they commend, where they have cause to condemn; how often they condemn, when they have reason to commend; how apt they are to mourn, when they ought to rejoice; how ready to rejoice, when they should mourn; often to detest Men of the highest Abilities, and often to adore such as have none.



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