

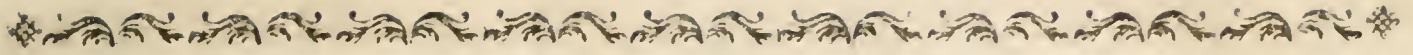


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A

L E T T E R

TO THE

Right Hon. Earl T E M P L E.



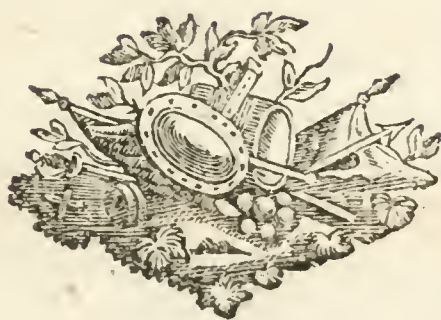
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A P P E A L T O F A C T S:

I N A
L E T T E R

T O T H E

Right Hon. Earl T E M P L E,



L O N D O N :

Printed for A. M I L L A R, in the Strand.

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L E T T E R

T O T H E

Right Hon. Earl T E M P L E.

MY LORD,

WHILE the Affair of the Loan was in Transaction, I took up a Resolution to examine thoroughly into the Merits of it. But then, I found myself at a loss for a proper Patron, to whom I might inscribe the Discourse I was meditating. Sir James Hodges, indeed, occurred immediately to my Thoughts; but though, with all the rest of our Friends in the Common Council, I was fully convinced of his admirable Talent at making a Speech, I could not learn that he had yet gone any great Length, either in numeral or political Arithmetick. Our present excellent Lord Mayor was the next Patron I had in view; and I should certainly have adorned this Paper with his Name, if one uneasy Doubt had not just then startled my Resolution. A certain Peerage began to run over the Town, like all other important Matters, in a Whisper; and while I was thus in search of a Friend, I might have found him perhaps in the Enemy's Quarters.

But, from all this Doubt and Perplexity I was relieved at once by your Lordship, when I heard you make, before a certain Assembly, which you never did nor ever will impose upon the following unexpected and welcome Declaration:---That, although you had no personal Business in the Alley, you had yet made Alley-Business as much your Study as any Jew or Christian there. It is, therefore, with the utmost Propriety that I

B

address

addresses these Papers to you; in which, and under your Inspection, I mean to enquire into the true Merits of a late Bargain made for the Nation. I shall likewise add a Word or two on the Tax that has been laid upon Cyder, and submit the Whole to your Review; which, I know, will be exceedingly cool, and no less candid.

Before I enter upon the Subject, give me leave to make one Remark, which I recommend, with some Earnestness, to your Lordship's Attention, and that of my Countrymen. I have lived under several Administrations of Government, and I assure you, that the most effectual, nay the severest, Way of exposing them, was by a fair Relation of what they did:---Facts are with some Difficulty explained away; and this they and their Friends were so sensible of, that, in all their Replies and Rejoinders, they either denied those Facts entirely, or exaggerated or diminished them, as either best suited the Purpose. By this Touch-stone, therefore, the only one that can distinguish Gold from every baser Metal, I intend to try the late Ministry; or rather, as I think all our Friends would wish, the late Minister. This will be doing the Thing with full Effect. And here, my Lord, I cannot help wishing that those two egregious *Writers*, so well known to the World by their scrupulous Adherence to Truth, to Decency, and good Manners, so generally applauded for the Knowledge and Practice of every religious and moral Duty, who have far outgone the Prynns and Lilburns of former Ages; I could have wished that they had taken this better Method. It is true, they have exposed the greatest Names; for they are no Respecters of Persons, (and they have a Warrant for it in a Book, which both of them extremely reverence;) to the Mirth and Diversion of the Rabble. Nor do I blame a Manner, which must have its Merit, with so gentle and delicate a Humanity, as your Lordship is known eminently to possess; and which has deserved (so themselves assure us) the Encouragement of your Patronage, and the Assistance of your Purse. I honor your Lordship so truly, that I cannot wish either more properly or nobly employed. Those Gentlemen, besides, by turning over Ainsworth's Dictionary, where I believe almost every abusive Epithet in the English Language may be found, have strung a proper Number of them together; and then, after finding out such Names as well-meaning but ignorant Men are apt to hold in some Veneration, have prefixed or added them to those Names, as their true and undeniable Character. Now and then, indeed, a fair Man has been called black, a tall Man shrunk into a Dwarf; but the indulgent Publick, satisfied of their virtuous Intentions on the Whole, have easily passed over such mere Slips of the Pen. Neither do I mean, that they should change their Manner, even in such Trifles, for the future: God forbid! Their Papers would not live a Day after. But still I must wish they had laid their Ax

to the Root of the Tree, by dealing only in Facts, honestly vouched, and fairly determined.

As they have left this Province almost wholly untouched, I may venture to claim it for my own. This will give some Novelty, at the same time, to my Performance; which may tempt your Lordship, and the Reader, to accompany me quite through this Discourse.

But, to clear our Way for this Enquiry, it will not be unnecessary, I think, to lay before your Lordship a fair Account of the Money, that hath been raised *by Loan*, for the public Service, from 1755 to 1762, both Years included. And I would advise my Countrymen, for the Sake of their Wives and Children, of the present Age, and of Posterity, to peruse this Account, with at least as much Care and Seriousness, as they do some other Articles of Intelligence from those News-Papers, which employ three Parts of their Time, and the Whole of their Attention seven Days in every Week.

An Account shewing how much Money hath been raised by Loan, for the public Supplies of each Year, from 1755 to 1762, both inclusively.

<i>Anno 1755,</i>	A Lottery was established for raising one Million for the Service of the Public, whereof 900,000 <i>l.</i> was converted into 3 <i>l.</i> <i>per Cent.</i> Annuities, transferable at the Bank of <i>England</i> , and the remaining 100,000 <i>l.</i> was sunk for the Benefit of the Public - - - - -	<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> 1,000,000
<i>Anno 1756,</i>	1,500,000 <i>l.</i> were borrowed at 3 <i>l.</i> and a $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>per Cent.</i> to continue redeemable for 15 Years; and 500,000 <i>l.</i> by way of Lottery, attended with Annuities at 3 <i>l.</i> <i>per Cent.</i> the Whole transferable at the Bank of <i>England</i> , and amount together to the Sum	2,000,000
<i>Anno 1757,</i>	Three Millions were raised, for which the Contributors were intitled to a redeemable Annuity of 3 <i>l.</i> <i>per Cent.</i> transferable at the Bank of <i>England</i> , and 1 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Cent.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> for single Lives, payable at the Exchequer, - - - 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> A Lottery was also established at One Guinea <i>per Ticket</i> , with an Intent to raise 1,650,005 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> a Moiety whereof was to have been applied for the Service of the Public; but as the Lottery did not fill, the Public were availed of no more than - - -	3,000,000 3,219,261 17
<i>Anno 1758,</i>	4,500,000 <i>l.</i> were borrowed at 3 <i>l.</i> and a $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>per Cent.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> redeemable, for 24 Years; and 500,000 <i>l.</i> by way of Lottery, attended with Annuities at 3 <i>per Cent.</i> the Whole transferable at the Bank of <i>England</i> , and made together - - -	5,000,000 <hr/> 11,219,261 17

Anno

Brought over 11,219,261 17

Anno 1759, 6,600,000 *l.* were borrowed, for which the Contributors had 105 *l.* Stock in 3 *l.* per Cent. transferable Annuities at the Bank of England, and also a Lottery Ticket of 10 *l.* Value for every 100 *l.* contributed; whereby a Debt was created, amounting to 7,590,000 *l.* for the Loan of the said - 6,600,000

Anno 1760, Eight Millions were raised for the public Service, the Contributors to which were intitled to an Annuity of 4 *l.* per Cent. to continue irredeemable for 21 Years from 5th of January, 1760, and then to stand reduced to 3 *l.* per Cent. and also to a Lottery-Ticket of 3 *l.* Value for every 100 *l.* paid in, the Blanks and Prizes to be converted into like Annuities at 4 *l.* per Cent. to continue irredeemable for 20 Years from 5th January 1761, by which means the Public became indebted in the Sum of 3,240,000 *l.* for the Loan of the said 8,000,000

Anno 1761, 11,400,000 *l.* were borrowed at 3 *l.* per Cent. per Ann. redeemable by Parliament; and 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per Cent. per Ann. to continue for a certain Term of 99 Years, and then to cease; and 600,000 *l.* by way of Lottery, attended with redeemable 3 *l.* per Cent. transferable Annuities, making in the Whole - - - - - 12,000,000

Anno 1762, The Contributors of 12 Millions, borrowed for the Service of this Year, were intitled for every 80 *l.* contributed to 100 *l.* transferable Stock, carrying 4 per Cent. to continue irredeemable for 19 Years, and then to stand reduced to 3 per Cent. and for every 20 *l.* paid in, to an Annuity of 1 *l.* to continue for a certain Term of 98 Years, and then to cease - - - - - 12,000,000

Total of the Money raised from the Year 1754, exclusive, to 1762, inclusive } 49,819,261 17

An Account shewing how much the public Debt is increased from the Year 1755 to 1762, both included.

The Amount of the public Debt on January 5th, 1755, was as follows, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Redeemable Debts, Annuities for long Terms, &c.	73,289,673	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Life Annuities granted 1745 and 1746, valued at 14 Years Purchase	872,081		
	74,161,754 14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$		

Increased Debt in the Year 1755	900,000
6	2,000,000
7	3,000,000
8	5,000,000
9	7,590,000
1760	8,240,000
1	12,000,000
2	12,000,000

Increased redeemable Debt	50,730,000
Annuities on Lives, Anno 1757, at 14 Years Purchase	472,500
Long Annuities, 1761 and 1762, valued at 25 Years D ^o .	6,206,250

Increased irredeemable Debts	6,678,750
Total increased Debt	57,408,750

131,570,504 14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

Decreased	
By Annuities for 2 and 3 Lives fallen in by Deaths	12,750
By Annuities granted on single Lives, 1745, 1746, and 1747, D ^o .	109,243 15
By Loans on Salt paid off	365,500
By Exchequer Bills on Sweets paid off	38,087 6 9

525,581 1 9

131,044,923 13 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

An Account of what is the annual Amount of the redeemable Annuities, and Annuities for Lives and long Terms, now payable on the Capital of the Debt arisen from the Year 1755 to 1762, both included.

	Redeemable Annuities, including Charges of Management.		Annuities for Lives and long Terms, with Charges of Management.		Totals.	
	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
On 900,000 l. in Lottery Annuities, granted Anno 1755 - - - }	27,506	5			27,506	5
2,000,000 in Annuities, granted Anno 1756 - - - }	68,625				68,625	
3,000,000 in redeemable Annuities, and Annuities on Lives, granted Anno 1757 - - - }	91,687	10	33,750		125,437	10
5,000,000 in Annuities, granted Anno 1758 - - - }	175,312	10			175,312	10
7,590,000 l. in Annuities, granted Anno 1759 - - - }	231,969	7 6			231,969	7 6
8,240,000 l. granted in Annuities, Anno 1760 - - - }	334,235				334,235	
12,000,000 redeemable, and Annuities for 99 Years, Anno 1761 - - - }	366,750		130,053	10 3	496,803	10 3
12,000,000 D°. and Annuities for 98 Years, Anno 1762 - - - }	486,750		121,637	10	608,437	10
<hr/> 50,730,000	<hr/> 1,782,835	<hr/> 12 6 1	<hr/> 285,491	<hr/> 0 3 1	<hr/> 2,068,326	<hr/> 12 9

Having thus laid before you the State of our increased Debt by Loan, during these Eight last Years; as likewise the annual Amount of the redeemable Annuities, Annuities for Lives and long Terms, now payable on the Capital of that Debt, from 1755 to 1762, both inclusively; it will be equally necessary to know what Sums were granted for the Service of the present Year 1763, with the Ways and Means agreed on to raise them.

Services granted for the Year 1763.

	l.	s.	d.
4 l. per Man per Month for 30,000 Men (including 4287 Marines) for } Sea Service	1,560,000		
Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-Pay, &c.	380,661	3	11
For completing <i>Plymouth</i> Hospital	3,000		
Out-Pensioners of <i>Greenwich</i> Hospital	10,000		
For Buildings, Rebuildings, and Repairs of Ships	100,000		
Towards paying off Navy, Victualling, and Transport Bills	3,075,316	0	3
Total Charge of the Navy for the Year 1763	5,128,977	4	2
	l.	s.	d.
For Ordnance Land Service	204,329		
To pay off Ordnance Debentures	595,423	2	5
	<u>799,752</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
56,360 Men for Guards, Garrisons, &c. 121 Days to 24th } <i>April, 1763</i>	485,317	2	10
17,536 Men for Guards, Garrisons, &c. 244 Days from d ^o . } to 24th <i>Dec. 1763</i>	408,372	13	4
Plantations, <i>Gibraltar</i> , &c. for 121 Days to 24th <i>April, 1763</i>	278,893	11	
Plantations, <i>Minorca</i> , &c. for 244 Days from d ^o . to 24th } <i>Dec. 1763</i>	281,781	5	6
Extraordinary Expence of Land Forces incurred to 31st <i>Oct.</i> } 1762	1,588,756	15	5
Extraordinary Expence of d ^o . from 31st <i>Oct.</i> 1762 to 19th } <i>Feb. 1763</i>	951,249	0	6
4 Regiments of Foot in the <i>East Indies</i>	71,381	16	8
2 Regiments of Horse, and 4 Regiments of Foot, 121 Days } to 24th <i>April, 1763</i>	16,438	7	
General and Staff Officers in <i>Great Britain, Anno 1763</i>	11,291	8	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Chelsea</i> Out-Pensioners	51,708	13	4
Pensions to Widows	1,742		
Half-Pay Officers	33,351	17	6
For reduced Officers already disbanded	88,704	3	4
Horse Guards reduced	2,910	1	8
	<u>4,271,898</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
Pay and Subsidy for 12,020 <i>Hessians</i> 90 Days to 24th of <i>Mar. 1763</i>	85,158	14	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pay of 6,992 additional <i>Hessians</i> 328 Days from 1st <i>Jan.</i> to } 24th <i>Nov. 1763</i>	87,690	18	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pay of 3,392 d ^o . 335 Days from 25 <i>Dec. 1762</i> to d ^o . } <i>Hesse Cassel</i>	45,420	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	50,000		
Pay and Subsidy to the Duke of <i>Brunswick</i> for 3,774 Men for } 86 Days from 25th <i>Dec. 1762</i> to 20th <i>March 1763</i>	49,308	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
To make good the Deficiency in the Sum granted 1762, for } the said Troops	4,328	8	5
	<u>321,906</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>37$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
For paving the Streets in <i>Westminster</i> , &c.	5,000		
To pay off the like Sum raised for the Service of 1762, charged on Aids 1763.	1,000,000		
To pay off Exchequer Bills for Navy Debt, &c. 1762, on Aids 1763	1,500,000		
For Pay and Cloathing the Militia, <i>Anno 1763</i>	150,000		
<i>African</i> Forts	13,000		
<i>North American</i> Colonies	133,333	6	8
Deficiency of Grants 1762	7,151	9	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
D ^o . of Half Subsidy	49,558	1	6
D ^o . of Annuity Fund 1758	48,891	14	11
D ^o . of Annuity Fund 1761	26,710		
Foundling Hospital	40,050		
Expences of <i>Nova Scotia</i> 1760	4,589	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
D ^o . — — — — — 1763	5,674	1	10
Civil Establishment of <i>Georgia</i>	4,136		
To replace to the Civil List so much paid Mr. <i>Dyson</i>	3,000		
D ^o . for the Deficiency of the Fund for the Judges	3,410	5	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Deficiency of Land Tax and Malt Duties 1761, about	278,819	17	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<u>13,787,859</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>

Ways and Means, 1763.

Malt Duty	750,000		
Land Tax	2,000,000		
Navy Debt Annuities	3,075,316	0	3
Ordnance Debentures	595,423	2	5
4 <i>l.</i> per Cent. Annuities and Lottery	3,500,000		
Sinking Fund	2,000,000		
Surplus of Fund for Annuities 1761	47,120	9	6
Militia Money	20,000		
Exchequer Bills on Aids 1763	1,800,000		
		<hr/>	
	13,787,859	12	2

Such, my Lord, is the Situation of our public Affairs. In this Crisis, what would you have advised an Administration to do? Doubtless, to obtain the Money necessary to be borrowed for the Year 1763, on the best and cheapest terms that it could possibly be had. You are a fair Enemy, my Lord, and willing to hear whatever they can allege justly in their own Behalf.

They affirm then, that this was their fixed Determination: And they add, with the same Assurance, that they had resolved, in the first Place, to dispose of the great Debt not yet provided for, in such a manner as *to make the Loan for the present Year as small as possible.* Let us give even the Devil his Due, and hear them on.

To do this effectually, they charged, for the present, the Navy and Ordnance Debentures on the sinking Fund, before they made any Bargain for this Loan, that the Public might be fully apprised how small a Sum would come to Market, and consequently the Stocks be raised by it.

They resolved, in the second Place, to defer making the Bargain for this Loan, 'till after the Definitive Treaty should be signed: 'till every Event had happened, that might contribute towards the Rise of Stocks. How these things must operate, every Dabbler in Exchange Alley knows. It would therefore be impertinent to detain, one Moment longer, a Person of your consummate Skill in the Matters transacted there, by offering at any Proof of it.

They say farther, whether by way of Excuse for themselves or others I know not, that the Treasury had infinite Difficulties to encounter, before this Matter could be finally adjusted; and was obliged to a Management of the strictest and severest Economy: This, I believe, must be allowed, if we consider the vast Demands which were left upon them, as the unavoidable Consequences of a War that had been so widely diffused, and so beyond all Example expensive. It is true, that we conquered North America through Germany; but if the Reader will cast his Eye back on the State of our Debt, *only by Loan*, he will see in one View how much that *Mode* of Conquering has cost him, and his remotest Posterity. This Matter however, difficult as it appears to be, they pretend to have adjusted; and they carried the Plan into Execution. I am here, my Lord, only acting the Part of a plain Historian, not of their Apologist. If any Palliations are necessary, if any false Colouring is to be laid, for their Vindication, they cannot be expected, and I am sure they shall not be found in this fair Deduction of Facts; by which alone the Credit of every Ministry ought to stand or fall. But to proceed:

The whole Amount, say they, of the Navy and Ordnance Debentures was first disposed of; the Definitive Treaty too was signed on the Tenth of February: But the Bargain for the Loan was not made 'till many Days after that great Event had been universally known in London; that is, 'till the Twenty-Second of the same Month.

Then, as they assert, it appeared much more adviseable to pay a *larger* Interest for the Money, provided it was redeemable, rather than a *smaller*, with a considerable *Bonus*, as it is termed in the Cant-Phrase of the Alley. They determined therefore to borrow the Money at Four per Cent. redeemable.

It was universally allowed, that the Four per Cents. might be redeemed or reduced, in the Course of two Years. They were consequently worth but Two per Cent more than Three per Cent. Annuities. These Three per Cent. Annuities were sold on the 22d of February, the Day on which the Bargain was made, at 93; and Four per Cent. redeemable was therefore worth no more than 95.

The Government, however, determined to give no more than this for each Hundred Pounds: which, upon the whole Sum of Three Mil-
lions

lions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, was a Saving to the Public of *One Hundred and Seventy Five Thousand Pounds.*

But, to make up this Deficiency of Five per Cent. to the Subscribers, they were allowed two Lotteries; that is, two Tickets for each Hundred Pounds; selling the two at Five per Cent. Premium, which makes each Ticket worth Twelve Pounds Ten Shillings. Here they triumph, my Lord; and assert, without any Apprehension of being fairly contradicted, for to mere Cavilling there can be no Reply — *That this was the cheapest Bargain ever made for the Public.*

It is full Four per Cent. cheaper, they say, than that of the Year Seventeen Hundred and Sixty-Two. Government then, for each Hundred Pounds, paid a Hundred Pounds Principal in Annuities bearing Four per Cent. for *Nineteen* Years. Now, compare this with Four per Cent. for *Two* Years, and the Difference will be One per Cent. for Seventeen Years; which is worth

Government gave also as a <i>Bonus</i> in Sixty-Two, One per Cent. Annuity for <i>Ninety-Eight</i> Years, worth	£. 11
	30
	Total 41

This Difference, they pretend, must, to every impartial Eye, appear astonishing; especially when it is considered, that the Amount of the Supplies for the *present* Year rises to more than two Thirds of the Supplies voted for the *last*: But the *Loan* of *this* Year is more than two Fifths cheaper than the *Loan* of *that*. They go on to assert, that the Advantage of the present Loan to the Public was so evident, nay so startling, to the Gentlemen with whom the Bargain was afterwards made, that of the *Twelve* who were present only *One* would at first consent to it. The rest thought it so very hard a Bargain for the Subscribers, that they were with great Difficulty, and after much Deliberation, induced to come into it.

But here, my Lord, may we not overthrow all they build on this Fact, true and uncontrovertible as they pretend it to be, by another Fact equally true, and not denied: --- The surprizing Advantage to the Subscribers from this Bargain; which has exceeded the most sanguine Expectations even of the Persons immediately concerned. Shall we lay the Blame on the Ministry, as I am heartily inclined to do, and affirm

roundly that there is some Snake in the Grass, though we have not yet discovered it? Or shall we ascribe it to *these* two Causes, which are both apparent and probable? The *first* is, that universal and incorrigible Rage of Gaming diffused through the whole Mass of our People. Will not those that have Money already, who are no small Number; will not those whom Avarice, or Want, or Luxury, tempts to acquire this *Sovereign Good*, who are Nineteen Parts in Twenty of all the rest, put themselves, as they phrase it, in Fortune's Way? But might not another Operation have been found, such as would have produced the same good Effect to the Public, without the same Inconveniencies? I assure your Lordship, that whenever I am possessed of such a Secret, it shall be laid before the Public and you: And then we may hope to see those Lotteries, to which *all former Administrations have likewise had Recourse*: for ever proscribed and abolished. But secondly, the Peace of Germany happened to be made just then; an Event that had a great and immediate Effect upon our People, and upon our Funds; as it afforded Reason to conclude that there would be no new Loan in any other Part of Europe, and brought consequently to ours all the Money that was ready to be lent, by the Wealthy in Holland, and the neighbouring Countries. This Peace was certainly not foreseen by our Friends, my Lord, though our Enemies continue to assert, that it was the sure Consequence of a Resolution they had before taken, and steadily adhered to, in despite of what they are pleased to call violent Opposition, in one Place, and virulent Clamour every where else; the Resolution I mean of not renewing the Subsidy-Treaty with Prussia, and of recalling our Army from Germany. --- And in Truth, if the Good of this exhausted, depopulated Country, and the Happiness of all Europe besides, had been the real Motive of their Conduct on this Occasion; the same Event would have happened, I believe, that has happened. But to return to the Affair of the Loan:

If we assert, that the Four per Cents. redeemable, that is to say, the Navy and Ordnance Debentures, which were to be reduced into a Stock of that kind, sold about the time of making this Loan, at *not one half* per Cent. under Par; they reply upon us, that, after the Agreement was made, *they* were sold at *two*, and *two and a half* under Par. That on the Day of the Debate in the House of Commons, and even at this time, Navy and Ordnance Debentures, convertible into Four per Cents. were then, and are now, at One and a Half per Cent. Discount.

Another

Another Objection, and it is the last I am able at present to furnish, is--- that Government ought to have borrowed the whole Sum of Seven Millions, by way of Loan, instead of charging the sinking Fund with the Interest of the Navy and Ordnance Debt: And that they might, in such Case, have borrowed it, on the same Terms, if not cheaper, than the Price given for the new Loan.

I am impartial enough to repeat their Answer: Let your Lordship and the Nation pronounce whether it is true and satisfactory. They say then, that if Government had made this Attempt, it is the sincere Opinion of all those, who are best able to judge of the Matter, that they must have paid at least Five *per Cent.* Advance, either in Capital, Interest, or Douceurs: So that, by the Proceedings of the Treasury, which they stile equally judicious and frugal, the Public saved *Nine Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds*, which must otherwise have been an Increase upon the Capital of the National Debt. Now, whether near a Million saved is, in this Case, near a Million got, I leave the Landed Interest of Britain to consider. What was thrown out on the Occasion by a Person, whose Name will be long memorable in this Island, is remarkable: *Majores vestros & posteris cogitate!* A strange Saying, surely, in the Mouth of a modern Minister of State! If he thought thus in earnest, if he pretended to manage the Affairs of such a Nation as ours by Maxims so exploded and impracticable, his raising to himself so many Enemies is nothing wonderful. The Wonder, indeed, would have been, if the Case had happened otherwise.

Having done with the Loan, let us proceed, my Lord, to examine into the Merits of the new Tax that has been imposed for paying the Interest of it. And here, if I had in my Composition more of that Milkiness of Blood which constitutes Good Nature, a Quality for which your Lordship is most amiably remarkable, I could compassionate any Minister obliged to raise a new Tax, or to heighten a Tax that is already laid, however important may be the Occasion, or indispensable the Necessity for either. The Sound and the Thing are odious to our Ears and Imaginations. Whoever engages to bring on us this unavoidable Grievance, exposes his Reputation for Virtue or Ability, or both, to the warmest Attacks of his avowed Enemies, and to the more dangerous, because more secret, Machinations of his timid or false Friends.

Should

Should this happen too at some very critical Conjunction, at the Ending of a bloody and expensive War, for Instance, by which Thousands, who thrive and fatten on the Calamities of their Fellow Creatures, find their detestable Expectations of more Rapine destroyed; or upon the Conclusion of a Peace, acknowledged to be great and glorious, nay, absolutely necessary to the Well-being of the Nation, but concluded against the romantic Notions of some, and against the incurable Appetite for Wealth or Power in others, every Man of whom had said to himself, *Nequeo si superos Acheronta movebo*; what has a Minister in such Circumstances to expect? Just what you and I, my Lord, have seen; and what one of us has seen too with Triumph and Exultation. How I have been drawn into this Digression is not worth enquiring; for I am sure it will not be of the smallest Service to our Enemies.--- Private Interest and personal Resentment, in one Scale, have ever inclined the general Sense of Mankind against Truth and Equity in the other.

Even Trifles, light as Air, are, to such Reasoners, *Confirmations strong as Proofs of Holy Writ*. But to return: Let us hear what our Enemies have to allege for themselves on a Subject, which our Friends have rendered, by all the secret and all the avowed Arts of Party, so generally unpopular. And, on this Occasion, they shall not have the least Reason to complain that any one Argument in their Favor is held back from the Reader's View. On the contrary, they shall be produced as nearly as possible in their own Words; at least, according to their own Sense of the Matter. There are certain Periods, my Lord, when we may fortunately allow our Antagonists to have Truth, and Justice, and good Meaning on their Side, without their being able to derive the smallest possible Advantage from all or any of them. Such a rare and happy Crisis I take the present Moment to be, and upon which I heartily congratulate this most enlightened Age, which sees its own Interests so clearly, and pursues them, prompted and directed by us, with so steady an Uniformity. Thus, then, the Persons I am here exposing argue in Defence of the new Tax on Cyder and Perry; two Words, however, which I would advise their Successors in Power to banish, by Act of Parliament, for ever out of the English Language.

Their Scheme then was to lay a Tax upon all Cyder, as there is already a Tax upon all Malt Liquor. And if such a Tax be necessary, unavoidably so, for the Service of the whole Community, which is not denied,

denied, why must some Part of that Community be exempted from bearing a proportional Share of it?

Every one knows, that no Malt Liquor can be used, either by the Maker or Buyer, without paying to some Tax.

But it is equally true, that Cyder, if used by the Maker, or by any one buying it of him, was subject to no Tax at all: and yet, in several Counties, Cyder did then and will still supply the Place of Malt Liquor, as their common Drink.

What good Reason, they ask, can be assigned, why so manifest and so partial an Inequality should subsist?

But we have not pretended, that such a Tax is in itself unreasonable. We know and admit the Proposition. The Mode of Collection is what we have objected to, and hung upon with a Tenaciousness that would have become the truest Patriots on the most important Occasion.

Our Enemies, however, go on to say, that the Mode of collecting the Tax is as unexceptionable as the Tax itself was necessary; and for these plain Reasons:

The former Duties on Cyder are all raised by Excise-Laws.

Was it not then most natural to collect the additional Duty on this same Liquor in the same Manner?

Nothing more was intended; nor is there the smallest Indication from this of a Wish, of a Thought, to extend the Excise-Laws at large.

The very Reverse, they say, is the Truth; for, when an additional Description of the Persons to be taxed became necessary, a Clause was proposed, by which those Persons, on paying a very moderate Composition, were exempted from what they reckon their greatest Grievance, the Visitation of an Officer.

But the Right of Entry to the Officer is, by the late Bill, confined to the Day-time; and does not, as in other Cases, extend to the Dwelling-House.

House. It is restricted to those Places in which Cyder is made or kept, of which the Officer must have due Notice.

- Neither is the Power of coming, even into those Places, to be by a forcible Entry.

The Officer is only to request Admittion, in such a Manner as to subject the Person refusing to a Penalty.

No Entry by Force can be made, but under a Warrant from Two Justices, upon Information on Oath.

But, notwithstanding these restrictive Clauses, notwithstanding too their having lowered the Rate, by adjusting it to the most inferior Sort of Cyder, that the Tax might be fairly proportionable; yet still, my Lord, it is a slight Extension of the Excise-Laws. Here we triumph. The Alarm was first sounded among the Tribunes of Guildhall, and from them echoed over the Kingdom, that nothing less was in Transaction than a Design to bring a great and free People under immediate and perpetual Slavery. This was fortunate: It served our great and sole Purpose of removing evil Counsellors from about the King. He must be ours, or He must not reign. I call it our sole Purpose: For is there a Man of Figure and Consequence among us, who, for these last Twenty Years, has not said, wherever he thought himself safe, that
 A GENERAL EXCISE IS THE ONLY SALUTARY MEASURE FOR THIS NATION.

But, what is beyond our Hopes, nay beyond Belief, though our great Orator, in due Contempt of Popularity, termed it THE SALVATION OF the People; though our whole Party spoke explicitly in favor of a GENERAL EXCISE, voting only against the particular Mode of the Tax; yet are we universally admired and applauded from Dan to Beersheba. While the Ministry, or rather the Minister, as I think he stood almost single, who publicly declared his Aversion from a Measure so abhorred by the People, is, to that very People, an Object of Terror and Dislike.

And now, my Lord, whatever Force there may be in all their Reasoning, it shall not draw from me one Word by way of Reply. In truth,
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the Task would be absolutely superfluous; for as *Hobbes*, an Author in much Esteem for his religious and moral Principles with one *Gentleman* of your intimate Acquaintance, has well observed---Wherever Reason is against the Makers of Cyder, those People will be against Reason.

I have now done with Measures, and shall only add a Word or two concerning Men; or rather, for that is most to our Purpose, concerning one Man only. Among a great many Facts, the few following will be sufficient to fix his Character with the present Age, and with Posterity. I could indeed produce a great many more; but, as they are *all* of a piece with *these*, I will spare your Lordship and myself the ungrateful Detail of them.

First then, he is a *Favorite*; that is, *one*, who, by corrupting all the good, and inflaming all the bad, Inclinations of a young unexperienced Prince, has bred him up in a perfect Aversion from the Constitution of this free Nation; in a thorough Contempt of, or Indifference to, the Religion by Law established; to every Duty of public and private Morality; and has taught him more particularly, that the unbounded Indulgence of irregular Appetites and Passions is what chiefly distinguishes a Sovereign from his Subjects. Now all this being undeniably true of his present Majesty, and of the noble Lord who put the finishing Hand to his Education; having already declared myself a professed Enemy to all Apologies and Palliations, I leave this whole Matter as I find it.

He is, in the second Place, accused of having brought certain Tories, as we very sensibly chuse still to call the Persons I intend, into some Places of Honor at Court; for I have heard but of one who has any Place of Business or Trust: And this, forsooth, because they were cured of those Prejudices which had rendered the good Sense and other good Qualities of their Ancestors hurtful or useless to the Nation. He has thus sacrilegiously broken down the Partition Wall betwixt those Gentiles and the Throne. Whereas we, my Lord, have insisted, and do still insist, that every true British Minister should stand in the Place of his Maker, "Visiting the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children to the Third and Fourth Generation." But, if this obnoxious Minister, by taking off the Pro-

scription from many Country-Gentlemen; willing to serve their King on the Principles of the Constitution, and ready, as they pretend, to stand by him in the present Defection of those who owe to him all the Consideration and Distinction they possess: If, by a Measure so unprecedented and unwarrantable, he has attempted to make George the Third King of all his People, not the mere Instrument of our Party, who, as we are ready to make Oath, did at first, exclusively of all others, place, and have ever since maintained, his Family on the Throne; such a Measure will for ever render that Man's Name odious to us, and all our genuine Descendants. Should we not therefore, *viis et modis*; whether by Dining and Drinking; by spreading Reports true or false, probable or improbable; by new Confederacies, however strange and unnatural; use our utmost Efforts to render such a Scheme from henceforth hateful and impracticable? Our private Interest, with which that of the Nation is inseparably connected, renders *these Ways and Means* necessary. And do not our Enemies justify the Peace they have made for us, the Loan, and the Tax we have been examining, on the same Principle of Necessity.

Thirdly, I have heard it strongly asserted, as heartily laughed at, and denied by no Man living---That he brought with him into a Court, and into the Management of public Business, some antiquated Notions of Truth, and Justice, and Honour, with a most anti-ministerial Adherence to all his Promises: That, instead of granting Favours only to repeated Importunity, or personal Ill-usage, he bestowed them wherever he thought it was right, in that manner which heightens and endears the Obligation: That is, like a Man who knows nothing at all of a World in which he pretends to be useful. Let his Friends and his Enemies make the most of this Concession. But, if so incredible a Charge be true, how dares any Man, in these Days, set up his own exploded Notions, against the universal Practice of a Thousand other Men? Or, by a Series of Actions, all flowing from Principles like these, make the whole Tenor of his Administration a continued Satire upon that of other Ministers, born long before him, and grown grey in a Management directly the Reverse of all this? I am not, however, without strong Hopes, my Lord, that we shall not see any more such monstrous Schemes again attempted. The Age, you can now speak
upon

upon Knowledge, is too discerning to justify, and too wise to adopt them.

There is another Fact, which he himself dares not deny; because it can be proved against him by the Minister and the whole Parish where he resides. Not content with being, as Sir Edward Seymour said, in his own Defence, *for the Church*, this Man is, most unfashionably, *of it*: And has been frequently seen, with his Wife and Family, assisting at the public Prayers, nay, at the Sacrament. With what Fits of Laughter will some, with what cool Contempt will others, among our Friends, receive this Account of one, who, pretending to be a Minister of State, could thus lose One whole Day in Seven? But his Master too, as I am informed, has some religious and moral Prejudices about him, which will not be soon nor easily eradicated: For, though his Temper be infinitely gentle, it is, they say, equally firm and persevering.

Yet farther: The late Minister's Friends have founded high, not only the Rectitude of his Intentions, but his disinterested Conduct through all the Employments he has held. This last Assertion I am able fairly to disprove by the most authentic Vouchers. His Salary, as first Commissioner of the Treasury, after the usual Deductions made, amounts to no less than Twelve Hundred Pounds a Year. It is true, that his Predecessor in the same Office received from it Five Thousand Pounds annually: But that generous Nobleman, your present Associate in Politics and Feasting, was never accused, as his very Enemies own, of hoarding up a Penny of his own or any other Man's Money. *Item*, the Minister has procured for his eldest Son the *Reversion*---not of a *Teller's* Place, which was lately worth but about Seven Thousand Pounds a Year---not that of the *Auditor* of the Exchequer, barely worth, at the same Date, four times as much: The Place, I mean, is no other than that of an Auditor of the Imprest. This, then, is the disinterested and virtuous Minister!---this his boasted **OEconomy**!---But I mention this last Word with Fear and Trembling; since a certain Writer, who never had his Equal in any other Age or Country, has forbid all Men, at their Peril, to meddle with it. I dare not even name the unparalleled Paper, in which this Challenge is given, 'till I know more certainly what future Connections the Two Esquires, John Ketch and John Wilkes, may possibly

sibly have together; an Event which, ever since Saturday last, has kept our whole political World at a Gaze: Our Friends, my Lord, and our Enemies, have their Thoughts equally fixed on it; anxious to know whether the Scene will terminate on an open Theatre at Charing-Cross; in Great George-street, at the Cart's Tail; or in a third Place, more celebrated than either, within less than a Mile of Hyde-Park Corner! I should, indeed, prefer the last, for his own Sake, as I think he will make rather a more agreeable Figure there, in a Cap drawn close over his Eyes, than with those Eyes open, and turned, it is impossible to say how, on his Spectators any where else.

But lastly, and to finish, by a proper Gradation, the Minister is accused, and convicted too, of being undeniably a SCOTCHMAN. I own my Weakness, that I was at first a little startled at this Charge; as it seemed to me to carry in it some Sort of Reflection, rather on his Maker than on himself: For I could never learn, that he was *originally* consenting to this Guilt, transcendent and indelible as it is. But after considering, that so slight a Matter, as what poor-spirited Fellows term Blasphemy, would not stop his Accusers one Moment in their Patriot-Career, I became less squeamish, and am now perfectly reconciled to this *Mode* of taxing him. *The Scot!* that dead-doing Monosyllable, has been, like a poisoned Dart, shot at him a hundred times over; and with so sharp an Energy, which some plain simple People mistake for extreme Malice, or extreme Madness, that I wonder by what Armour he repels it! Is it Conscience? Is it Magnanimity? I think I have formerly met with these two Words in some old Book; and, I believe, it is not quite half a Century since they became obsolete. But,

That we may be just to every *Creature*, it must be acknowledged, that, whatever Wit or Sarcasm is couched under this Appellation, *it is not the Author's own*. He borrowed, an Enemy would say he stole it, from a *Parrot*, my Lord. That little Animal, you know, besides a happy Knack at aping the human Voice, is much given to biting Men behind, and calling them Names, with a Profusion of rascally Epithets. To an Orator of this Species, then, is our Friend indebted for much the keenest Arrow in his satirical Quiver; as your Lordship will find by the following Quotation from one

one of Mr. Addison's Whig-Examiners, with which I shall conclude your Trouble and my own :

“ *National Injuries* are not to be put up, but when the Offender is below Resentment. This puts me in mind of an *honest Scotchman*, who, as he was walking in the Streets of London, heard ONE calling out after him, SCOT, SCOT ; and casting forth, in a *clamorous Manner*, a great deal of *opprobrious Language* against that antient Nation. Sawney, drawing his Sword, turned about in a great Passion ; and finding, to his Surprise, that the Person who abused him was a saucy Parrot, that hung up not far from him in a Cage, told him, that if he were a Man, as he was a green Goose, he would run him through the Womb.”

F I N I S.

