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Elt. J. Jourbun

THE

CASE

OFTHE

BORROWERS

ONTHE

SOUTH-SEA LOANS,

STATED.

The Second Edition.

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THE

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BORROWERS

ONTHE

South-Sea Loans,

INCE the Parliament has thought it of service to the Publick, that the unhappy Sufferers by the South Sea should have Relief, and are at present considering how to give it them; I am persuaded, no one will think it either improper or unseasonable, that the Case of the Borrowers

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Borrowers on the Loans (who in my opinion are the most unhappy of them all) should be truly stated and made publick.

For my part, I will endeavour it, as far as I am able; with Justice to the Company who are their Creditors, and with no more Compassion to these unfortunate People, than their Circumstances honestly deserve: And I have this Satisfaction in what I undertake, that as I believe it is not the Intent of the Members of either of the Honourable Houses to administer Relief with Partiality, or to neglect any set of Men who really want it, should I so far succeed, as to shew that these Borrowers do, I can't but hope that they will be esteemed at least worthy their Care and Protection.

To what purpose these Loans were opened by the late Directors, I need not mention: Every one knows, that without them they could never have perfected their Scheme, as they used to term their Villainy. It was not enough for them to have raised their Stock to such a Price, as to have been only able to have discharged their Agreement with the Government; they had larger Views, they were to satisfy their own Avarice, and could not therefore give too great an imaginary Value to their Stock. These Managers (unhappily for us) set out with

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with the good Opinion of Mankind; they were esteemed too wise to be deceived themselves, and too honest to deceive their Friends. Thus qualified for Mischief, they foon began it; they foon intoxicated the Brains of all they talked with, gave them wild Notions of the rifing Value of their Stock, and persuaded them at any rate to put themselves in Fortune's way: Having with great Art and Industry gained a Credit to their Stock, they immediately upon et took in the first Subscriptions; but these Subscriptions having drawn a great Quantity of Money into their hands, they apprehended the rising Spirit of the Stock might soon be checked for want of Money, and their Project by it injured: For even then the Species of our Nation was not infinite, it was therefore necessary to contrive some Means to carry on quick Circulations of it; and the Means contrived was to issue Money on these Loans. The Success they had we all remember; the Price increased prodigiously, and, if I am not mistaken, above 100 l. per Cent. in a Day: And indeed this Success was very probable; for these Loans served two Ends at once of the greatest moment to their Scheme: While they furnished the unhappy Borrowers with Money to purchase Stock with.

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with, they gave fresh Credit to the Stock; and raised the Price: For when the Directors, who must be supposed to know what they were doing, had put so great a confidence in their Stock, as to lend fuch Sums upon the Security of that alone, others might with good reason take courage, and trust it too. And their Cunning upon this occasion was very extraordinary, for they were not contented with the Credit they gave to their Stock by this Act, which was a tacit Declaration that they knew it to be intrinsically worth as much or more than what they ventured to lend on it; but they were diligent in private Companies to confirm Men in such Opinion of it, by a constant Ridicule of the Bank for their pitiful and cautious Loan of 1001. per Cent. To this Step is greatly owing all our Misfortunes: The most Prudent now began to blame themselves for the unjust Suspicions they had entertain'd of so good a Project. A Man of moderate Fortune now seem'd poor by the vast Riches all about him had To fuddenly acquired. All grew impatient and uneasy, who were not in this Stock, the Managers were idolized, and only they were happy, who had Directors for their Friends. The Merchant, who thro' a long Diligence and great Variety of Hazard had gained

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gained a small Estate, grew mad to see so many idle Fellows enrich themselves within a day or two. The honest Country Gentlemen, who by good Management and wife Oeconomy had been an Age in paying off a Mortgage, or saving a few small Portions for his younger Children, could not bear the big Discourse and Insults of this New Race. Both laid aside their Prudence, and at last became unhappy Converts to South-Sea: Both were persuaded to use now their Diligence, and recover that time their Difbelief had lost them. The one despised his Trade, and fold his Effects at any rate, to try his Fortune: The other mortgaged what he could, or fold it for a little Stock or Third Subscription: And now both are undone, both Beggars. I should think Cafes of such Distress as these could not be reflected on without even Humanity itself becoming painful; and yet, whether it proceeds from fuch Cases being frequent and daily seen, or from an Hardness of Heart, which Providence for a Judgment has fuffered to fall on us, I know not; but such Cases are scarce pitied by us: Every one still pursues his own Interest, and seems to grudge the Expence even of a few Shillings, to fave thousands from Destruction.

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I believe it looks too like a Demonstration to be denied, that those have suffered most, who came the latest into this unlucky Scheme: And not only because they must be supposed to have paid the dearest for their Stock, but because they are generally the Men who are Borrowers on the Loans: For as it is natural, and indeed very reafonable to desire to continue in the same Class and Degree we are in, and to live as well as those about us; it is not to be wonder'd at, that these poor Gentlemen who came fo late in it, should endeavour, if posfibly they could, to fave their Distance, and aim at a Gain somewhat proportionable to that their Neighbours and Acquaintance had already got; but entring late the Point was extreamly difficult. Stock was then fo valuable, they could not have much of it, even for much Money: But the Directors being Men of publick Spirit, were desirous to fet them forward, and foon pointed out a wise Expedient: Stock, they assured them, would reach 1500 l. they advised them to enlarge their Capital, and then their Success would certainly, in proportion to the Increase of that Capital be much greater. Thus deluded, to enlarge their Capital, they borrowed on their Stock. It was to these the Managers did the favour

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first to lend them Money, and afterwards to sell them their own Stock. Let any one with common Charity confider the fad Circumstances of such poor People: Suppoling that they only gave at first 600 l. for for 100 1. Capital (tho' I am afraid most of them paid much dearer for it, as they came fo late) and that they laid out that Money borrowed in purchasing of other Stock; what cruel Bargains have they been drawn into? What have they loft? The little Stock they are now posses'd of stands them at least in 1200 l. per Cent. How little do these want of Ruin, if the Money should not be fued for? but if it should, how inevitable is it then? Surely such deserve Relief, or are they thought too far lost to be worth faving? And yet there are many still more unfortunate than these; for many have borrowed on that very Stock they bought with borrowed Money, and laid out that Money last borrowed in purchasing of other Stock: and many yet (if possible) are even under worse Circumstances than these, for many have paid away all they borrowed on their Stock for Differences to the Directors and their Abettors; for Differences on Bargains made with them at the Rates of 1000 l. and upwards for the Opening of the Books after Midsummer: And it

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is well known that the largest Loan of all was lent upon that very account. Those indeed have little to fear, for they have nothing left to lose; to sue these would be of not much more consequence to the Company, than in the common Case of suing Beggars. But I can't conceive so ill of these present Directors, as to believe they will think they have a Right to the Liberty of Mankind, because their Predecessors robbed them of their Property; tho at the same time I must own, in my own, that Liberty is by the Loss of Property become less valuable; for they are only truly dear, when they are joined together. I should believe, to an Englishman, whose Frame has generally been observed to have Goodnature moulded in it, these Arguments would be fufficient to persuade him to allow these Sufferers Relief, as well as others: But because some Men are extreamly fond of Justice, when they expect Advantage by it, for their fakes I will confider this Case in another light, and see how far in Justice and Equity these Borrowers would be obliged, were they able to refund (which not one in fifty of them is able now to do.)

When it was judged of service to the Company, or rather to the Managers, that Money should be lent, the only Security

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they asked or expected, was a Transfer of the Stock. They told the Borrowers they desir'd no Deseasances, nor other collateral Securities, for they knew the Value of their Stock, they knew it a good Security for all the Money lent, and that the Borrowers would always think the mortgaged Stock worth their redeeming: The Terms therefore, on which these borrowed, were, to transfer their Stock, and redeem it if they pleased. I remember Mir. Unight, their late Cashier, when examined before the Lords, confess'd as much, and the late Directors, all agreed to it. They said they knew the Stock sufficient, they requir'd no other Security, they trusted to the Stock, and to the Stock alone: Had the Terms been different, had other Securities been given or requir'd, People would then have known how far they were obliged. Many would not have borrowed, nay, many could not: None, I am perswaded, would have been so long amused with vain Hopes of feeing Stock again at 400 l. but would at least have sold it out whilst the Deficiencies were small, and they able to have answered them, they would not have waited till Stock was almost at par, as now it

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The Transfers on the Loans were all absolute to knight, made in the common Books, in the common Forms, Receipts were given for the Money in full of so much Stock; there was no Trust declared, no Writing executed in favour of the Borrowers, but the whole Transaction past in the same manner as in a common Sale: So that should Stock have rose to that Heighth they were persuaded to expect it, the Borrowers must have relied upon the Honour of this faithful unight; and what his Honour would have been upon a Rise, we may guess by what we have found it upon the Fall of Stock: It is known he bought and fold as much as any Stockjobber in the Alley, and therefore he could only diftinguish and let us know how he accepted the Stock transferr'd, whether as a Purchaser or as a Trustee for the Loans: But it is very plain they had a Design in taking the Transfers in this manner, they proposed to themselves a Trade for their own Advantage, which they could not so well have carried on, had the Transfers been in trust, they could not then have fold the mortgaged Stock, for they could only have accepted it in trust: And that this was their Defign I think we need not doubt, because it is so very consonant to o(13)

ther parts of this brave Scheme. And 'cis observable of them (I mean of the Managers, for of them all I cannot fay it) that they have scarce in any one Point behaved as Fools: Besides, such a Trade was actually carried on, Unight did accept this mortgaged Stock as a Purchaser, for he fold great Quantities of it out again. And this, among the many Breaches of Trust the Parliament has charg'd the late Directors with, is one. This Step is fo very notorious, and so great an Injustice to the Proprietors of the mortgaged Stock, that, I am told, a Lawyer of eminence in his Profession has given it as his Opinion, that they have just cause of action for it. But Stock being fold, and it being impossible to distinguish whose it was they fold, every one who has transferr'd on these Loans seems to have a fair Pretence to call it his: they have fold bis Stock.

In common Cases, it may, perhaps, be said, that there is a Credit given to the Person of the Borrower, as well as to the Security; and therefore, where the Security does sail, the Person should be liable to the Debt; but in this Case it was not so, in lending on these Loans the Man was never minded, the Directors, as they consess themselves, had regard only to the Stock,

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and that alone they trusted; every Proprietor of Stock, let his Circumstances be what they would, might have borrowed in proportion to the Stock he had: A little Pressing in the Crowd, or a small Gratuity to a Clerk, did always without Distinction

procure the Money.

But as a further Argument that the Stock was only trusted, that they defigned to trust no other, and depended entirely on Stock, it must be observ'd, that when they first began to lend this Money, the Directors gave out Forms of Notes, by which that very Stock so mortgaged might pass to Bearer; for as these Loans were the great Wheels to turn and raise their Scheme by, they were to be encourag'd as much as possible, and with some People the absolute Engagement of Stock, till the Mortgage should be discharged, might have been, perhaps, an Objection, and have prevented their borrowing; and therefore it was of great Consequence, to contrive some Method, by which this very Stock might in some measure, become assignable without a Transfer. These Notes did it effectually, for they were to be directed to Robert Knight, Esq; for him to deliver the Stock he held of theirs on these Loans, the Bearer paying the Mortgage and Intere/t

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terest due thereon. And this Stock being attended with an Incumbrance, came at a Price proportionably less than that which was free and disengag'd; but this could be done only where the Parties had some Confidence in each other; for there was room to have trickt and cheated: And indeed, had it been otherwise, they had disappointed another End, which the lending of Money greatly ferved, which was, to tye as much Stock down as they could conveniently, that less Quantity might come to Market; and by that means what did come should bear a better Price. However, this plainly shews that they did not care whom they had for Debtor, if they had but Stock; and as many have parted with their Stock in this method, and have thought themfelves discharged by giving such Notes, was there no other reason, I think this would be sufficient to prove the Impossibility of recovering the Money lent; for by this Method they affixt the Debt to the Stock; and therefore both Stock and Debt must attend the Note wheresoever it is. And as the Bearer could only claim in Equity, the mortgag'd Stock, so in Reason he only is liable to the Payment of the Mortgage on it.

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There was another Method taken by the late Directors, designed to be subservient to this, which demonstrates likewise, that they gave no Credit to the Person, but to the Stock, and to that only. What I mean, is, their changing the Names of the Original Borrowers (if I may call them so) the Names of those Proprietors who made the Transfers of their Stock, and borrowed on these Loans, have sometimes been struck out from being Debtors, and other Names put in. And in this Case who should be sued? would the Company sue them whom their Trustees have discharg'd, or those who never borrowed?

It happened fometimes too, that the Person who made the Transfer had no Advantage by the Loans, he received no Money on them, but some other Person borrowed; a Seller never minded to whom he made the Transfer, or who accepted? if he received his Money he agreed to sell for, he would as foon transfer his Stock to Unight as to any other; he by it subjected himself to no trust, for his Transfer, in this Case, was as absolute, and his Receipt as full as in any other. The Purchaser was to look after the Stock, when once transferr'd the Seller had no more to do with it; nor was it difficult to secure it, for he might

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might either take the Note or change the Name, and then he could have it again on demand. But the Method some took, was to put in a sort of trust, to enter a Memorandum in the Receipt of the Person's Name to whose Use the Stock was so transferr'd; and this Trust was enter'd either before or after the Receipt was sign'd, by the Purchaser himself, or any other Person. I think this too shews to what they trusted—if they had but Stock, they were satisfy'd, they look'd no further, they knew the Value of their Stock, and that

they trusted to.

And I don't think that they were fo very imprudent in putting this Confidence in their Stock; for fince they were to give a credit to it, they were to act in that manner which was likely to give it the greatest; and certainly the less Confidence they themselves put in it, the less others would too. If therefore they had lent less Sums of Money on Stock, or requir'd other collateral Securities, it would have discovered a distrust of it, which might have prejudic'd it with others: This, however, is evident, that by it they did gain very great Advantages to the Company in their Subscriptions; for the new Stock must have been fold at a Price proportionable to the (18)

old; and the higher the old was raised, the higher the new would sell at. And these Advantages might have been easily secured to the Company, had their Directors acted with any Skill or Integrity; and I may say, that in this respect the Company has

an Obligation to the Borrowers.

No one, I believe, will pretend to charge the Borrowers with any Fraud, they have comply'd with the Terms requir'd, and have transferr'd their Stock. They knew not even the Value of what they gave, they only knew that it was fo much Stock, and that had they fold it in the Market, they might have had twice the Sum they borrow'd on it. When 400 l. was lent upon 100 l. Capital, that 100 l. might generally have been fold for 800 1. or upwards; from whence this Inference is very fair, that all who have borrowed must be supposed to have laid the Money our again on South-Sea, at high Prices, or some other Bubbles; for he must have acted much like a Madman, who would borrow 400 1. of the Company on his Stock, and at an Interest only to have laid the Money up in his Chest, when he might have had twice as much in Market for it.

The Borrowers have, in what has already been observ'd, a good deal of reason to expect, (19)

pect, that the Company will accept the Stock they have transferr'd to them in full Satisfaction of their Debr, without giving them any further Trouble: But their reason seems to be much stronger, when they consider, that the Security they gave was at one time, very sufficient, and very able to have answer'd the Money lent them; and that this Security would have continued to have been such still, had not the late Managers betray'd their Trust, and the Company itself done several Acts whereby they have reduced and lessened the Value of it. There is no one, who is not extreamly ignorant of Figures, but will confess that Stock was once intrinsically worth much above 400 l. per Cent. I will not give myself the trouble to insert here the particular Calculations, to prove the exact Value of it, it is enough if Stock was really worth 400 l. only, because 400 l. is as much as was lent in publick on 100 l. Capital: 'Tis said, indeed, that in private larger Sums were lent. And that it would have been worth so much, I will venture to affirm, even upon Supposition that no future Payments had been made on the two last Subscriptions; and is it not evident why it is not worth so much at prefent? I will not fay any thing of the Directors (20)

rectors upon this Argument, because I think it does not want them (tho' in general it is confonant to reason, that a Company, as well as a private Person, should be liable even to the Mismanagement of those they empower to act for them.) But the Company cannot complain of the just Consequences of what they do themselves in general Courts; nor will they, I hope, think it hard that a Man should not pay a Debt they have discharg'd him from in

Equity and Reason.

When Credit first fell into the fad Diftress it continues under, it was thought, by the South Sea Company, to be for their Interest, that the Annuitants which had subscrib'd at 8001. should be reduc'd to 400 l. and the Subscribers in the two last Subscriptions at 1000 l. to the same. When they did this, it is not to be imagined that they had not in their Eye, those who had mortgaged their Stock to them: They could not but be sensible of the great Injury they did the Borrowers, in lessening so much the Value of that Security they held of theirs, unless they determined ar the same time to discharge their Debt. And therefore they must be supposed to have determined to discharge it, before they would have taken so great a Liberty

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with a Property they only had in trust, Could they have continued to this particular Stock its former Value, the Borrowers would have been no ways injured; but as the reducing one, did necessarily reduce the other, it is notorious they fuffer. This Step not being sufficient, but Credit still drooping daily, it was thought proper to give fresh Relief; and they afterwards resolved to remit all future Payment on every Subscription, and the Subscribers were actually discharged: By this last Reduction (the inconsiderable to the former) Stock is in value above 40 l. per Cent. less than it before was. By the Subscriptions the Subscribers became indebted to the Company for their future Payments, or for a Forfeiture of those Payments they had made: I would not feem to disapprove this Relief they gave them; no, my Opinion is far otherwise, I still think they are hardly used, and I still hope to see them have surther Redress. Nor do I deny that the Company has a Power to remit what Debts they please: But then certainly it cannot be just, that they should make other Debtors pay those Debts. It can never be equitable to relieve one at the Expence of another. If the Debtors by Subscriptions are discharg(22)

ed, why should not the Debtors on the Loans too? Have these poor People had fuch great Advantages, that they can be expected to take the Load of others on them, and in proportion to the decrease of Value these Reductions have occasion'd to their Stock, so far they may justly be faid to pay their Debts? Would it have been an Hardship to those Subscribers to have made their future Payments? And will it not be a greater on the Borrowers, to answer all Deficiencies which the remitrance of their other Debts have created? If the Demand of fo much Money from those Subscribers would have injured Credit, will it less injure it, if the Demand be made on these Borrowers? There can't be Equity in this, or common Reason.

Had the Borrowers been consenting to those Reductions, every one would have supposed they were consenting, because they thought themselves discharged; for it would have been Knight-Errantry, beyond what Spain ever furnish'd, for a Set of Men just ruined, who have scarce Bread less them, to sacrifice their last Remains of Fortune, to support those who (tho' very bad) are yet under better Circumstances than they themselves. But it is notorious that

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that they were not confenting to any one

Reduction.

The Transfers being absolute, the Borrowers, as soon as they had made them, were no longer esteemed Proprietors, the Stock was no longer looked upon as theirs, they had no Votes allowed them for it. It is certain, that no one can vote at any General Court, who has not Stock in his own Name; and that these Borrowers had parted with their Stock by those Transfers, can admit no doubt: How could they vote then? Nor is it sufficient to say, what one of the present Directors said lately in my Hearing, that their Consent might be prefumed, because those Resolutions were made nemine contradicente, and it must be taken for granted, that many Borrowers were prefent in the Court. This surely is not the way of thinking of them all; if it be, there seems to be great reason why the Parliament should interpose: Will either Law or Equity admit of such Presumptions? Had these Borrowers a Right of Opposition, could nine of them have made a Demand of Ballot, or any of them have voted at the Ballot? If they could not, had the Hall been full of Borrowers, not one of them, as fuch, was of the Court. I believe, at most General Courts there are great Numbers present, who neither

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neither have nor ever had a Farthing of the Stock: Are these esteemed part of those general Courts? Surely not; and yet they are as much so as any Borrower, in regard to mortgaged Stock: And that this Fact is true, not only appears from the Accounts themselves of those who borrowed, but from that very List the Company printed of the Proprietors for the last Election of of the Directors and other Officers, wherein no one who borrowed was allowed a Vote. And I dare affirm in the Name of all the Borrowers, that had they been allowed their Votes, they would have opposed these several Reductions, which tended so directly to their Ruin: I mean, fo far they would have opposed them, as to have infisted on Terms, and had their Debt discharged.

I believe in common Cases it would be thought very extraordinary, should any Person by an Act of his own injure and reduce the Value of a Security, which he accepted for Money lent. Should a Pawnbroker for his own Conveniency alter the Form of what he had in trust, or suffer it by downright Negligence to be so far damaged, that it is not worth half of what it was before when given, and by that means is become an insufficient Pledge: Should he complain in Chancery of this Desiciency he himself cre-

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ated, can it be imagined he would be heard? Suppose a Mortgagee in possession should suffer Houses to run to ruin, should cut down Timber or commit Waste, by which the Estate he had in Mortgage is so far impaired and injured, that it will not answer the Debt it was engaged for; will he in Equity find relief against the Mortgager, who is the Sufferer in this Case? What the Law is I know not, the Lawyers must determine that; however this I will venture to fay, that if by Law the Borrowers are obliged to answer these Desiciencies, and there can ever be a Cafe where the Rule of Summum jus summa injuria can take place, it certainly is in this, where the Law would compleat the Ruin of fo many thoufands, already most unfortunate.

Whatever is given in Trust, according to common Sense and Reason, ought to be returned in the same Circumstances, and the same Condition it was at first given; and should there accrue any particular Advantages to it, those Advantages are all subject to the Trust, and the Trustee is accountable for them: If the Stock therefore was transferred to the Company in Trust, that Stock ought certainly to be restored to the Proprietors in the same Condition and under the same Circumstances it was at first transferred.

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ferred. If there have been feveral Advantages and Profits accruing to it fince the Trust began, the Proprietors have a Right to them all, and the Company, who only held them in trust for the Proprietors, ought to account them to them. I don't speak of any imaginary Value which might feem to attend it, I mean only what was real and intrinfick. The feveral Dividends which have been voted fince the Trust, the Proprietors are entitled to; the Benefit of all Obligations and Agreements which have been made they are entitled to; they have a just Right to the Payments on the several Subscriptions; they have a just Right to a Performance of the Agreement with the Bank: And fince the Company have been so free, as without the Confent of these Proprietors to have discharged these Obligations and Agreements, they feem rather to have been guilty of a Breach of Trust themselves, than to have a Cause of Action against the Borrowers.

I am told that the Company has so far considered these Reasons, that they have already remitted Money borrowed on the two first Subscriptions. It was some time ago judged convenient for the Company to lend a Payment on each of them, and it has since been thought necessary to reduce

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the several Subscriptions immediately to Stock. I am affured that these Subscriptions are actually reduced to Stock, and the Proprietors allowed Stock for their Money paid in, without this Debt being demanded or insisted on. One would imagine, that if they discharge their Debtors from a Repayment of the Money borrowed on These Subscriptions, where the Security is still left fufficient, they would likewise discharge these from the Repayment of the Money borrowed on their Stock, where the Security has failed, and the Borrowers much greater Sufferers. But if the Discourse of the Town is to be regarded, these Gentlemen are not to expect such Favour, I might fay Justice: They are daily threatned with Suits on this account. How ferviceable fuch Suits would be to Credit, for my part, I can't see. If the Debt the Company owes the Government has been thought of so general a Consequence, that it already is refolved in Parliament to be remitted; if that only hanging over their Heads has fo much obstructed the Rise of Credit, I appeal to common Sense what the Effects will be of a Demand of a much greater Debt from private People, the Majority of whom are quite undone already, and the rest but little less. This Debt will be always fuch a Weight on Credit, D 2

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Credit, that till it be removed, in vain we struggle to raise it: This lies too heavy on it. It is not enough to improve the Value of the Stock, while Jealousies and Discontent disturb the Minds of Men, Credit will be low.

Credit is nothing more than that mutual Confidence, which one Man reposes in another, and till that Confidence be restored, Credit never can be; nor will that Confidence ever be restored, till each Man's Property is settled and ascertained. While Property is (as now it is) unsettled and uncertain; while no Man knows, what to call his own; while no Man can even trust himself, but lies under constant Agonies of Mind and Fears to morrow may bring his Ruin; who will trust him? The only Reafon I can give, why Credit seems always crampt under Princes of an Arbitrary Power, and never rifes to that height it does in these Governments of greater Liberty, is, because the Property of the Subject is precarious: When therefore Property becomes precarious in these Governments of Liberty, our Credit proves no better. Let the Prince be ever so good and gracious in himself, let the Happiness of his Subject be ever so much his Care; if his Neighbours should make frequent Inroads on 29)

his Country, and lay all before them waste; if Highwaymen and Robbers should scour it daily, and plunder every honest Man they meet with, what Credit would that Country enjoy? I am satisfied, but very little. It does not fignify to whom or what it is owing, whether Property is made precarious by the Prince or by the People, by Enemies abroad or Friends at home; but while it is precarious, the Confequence will always be the same, will always be Distress of Credit: Something must be therefore done to settle and ascertain Property, and to compose the Minds of the Unfortunate. And till this be done, I am afraid it is not the Confiscation of the Estates of all those who have brought this Ruin on us, it is not the most rigorous Justice, that will restore us.

The Unfortunate are too apt to believe that will happen, which they most fear; for Afflictions naturally produce a dark Credulity. We must therefore endeavour to persuade them, that the worst is over, shew them Prospects of better Days, and prevent their Apprehensions of fresh Ruin and Destruction. When Men are easy, Credit will revive.

I have endeavoured to give the Publick as full and as just a State of the Case, as from (30)

from the best Informations I am able, and I think it very plain, that these Borrowers are Men the most injured, the most trick'd and cheated by the late Managers, of all who can properly be called Sufferers. Of these, how few have they left any thing to, and to these few how small a matter is it that they have left? Are not their Missorrunes great enough already, who are thus reduced, who from Plenty now scarce have Bread? Or must they be improved? Must the last poor Morfel, which at most can only fave from starving, be wrested from those honest Hands, which perhaps are well nigh worn out with working for it? Why must these poor People expect such singular Treatment? Are all to have Relief but these? Are the Subscribers and the Annuitants to have fresh Ease, and are these to want Protection? I can't believe it: The Votes of both the Honourable Houses seem already to have determined otherwise: They have condemned the Securities the Managers lent the Money on, as infufficient: They have condemned those Managers as guilty of a Breach of Trust in lending on them; and these Managers they have charged with all the Lofs the Company shall suffer by it. The Borrowers they have not mentioned; they knew that they

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were innocent, and already sufficiently unfortunate. However since Actions are threatned daily, and by it Credit exceedingly opprest: It is but reasonable the Publick should know what equitable Circumstances attend their Case. The Borrowers depend on the fustice of their Case, and on the fustice of the Parliament: They hope, that when Relief is given to the Sufferers, they may not be rejected: That when the Property of others is ascertain'd, their Property may be ascertain'd too.

F I N I S.

