66-21

IHL.

PARLIAMENTS,

AND

PUBLICK FAITH,

VINDICATED;

In ANSWER to the

Crisis of Property,

And Address'd to the

ANNUITANTS.

By Sir JOHN MERES, F. R. S.

Multa renascentur que jam cecidere, cadentque Qua nunc sunt in Honore-

The Second Edition, Corrected.

L O N D O N:

Printed for CHR. CONINGSBY, at the Ink-Bottle against Clifford's-Inn Back-Gate, in Fetter-Lane, (Price Six-pence.) Fleet-Street. 1720.

The west for the college of the coll Complete State of the Alberta State of the Complete State of the C

 $\lfloor 3 \rfloor$



THE

EOUTI

OF

PARLIAMENTS, &c.



Acknowledge my self a
Person so retir'd, that
the late Pamphlet, Intitled, The Criss, though
it treats on the important Subject of Property,
might have escaped my
Perusal, if it had not

come to my Hand by the Penny-Post; perhaps, from some conscientious Senator, to check and reprove me for having early discoursed and concerned my self on this Subject of the Annuities, and for having promoted the Proposal of the South-Sea Company; I had heard such a Pamphlet was published by the Governour of the Company of Comedians, therefore (as I had also at that time no leist fure)

[4]

fure) I flighted the Pamphlet, and laid it aside, expecting no extraordinary Performance on a Subject of this Nature from a Person so employ d; but by Chance observing soon after the well-known Name of the Author, I im-

mediately read the Treatife.

This second Crises, in the beginning of it, falls something soul on the ingenious Mr. A. H. because of the Estimate that Gentleman published of the National Debt, and the Remarks which were subjoined to some Calculations made in April 1717. This ingenious Gentleman assiduously attends the Service of his Country in Parliament; and at this time, especially, when the publick Debts and Accounts lie on the Table, may probably not be at leisure to publish any Thing surther on this Subject, though his Words are quoted relating to the Funds; and his Thoughts and Reasoning thereon, openly Arraigned by our Author.

I SHALL however touch but lightly whatever respects the Calculation, and Arguments, grounded on the Topick of Profit and Loss; but shall keep to the more exalted Subject of Sir R—'s Treatise; a Subject sufficiently copious, (viz.) The Law of Equity! A Law that demands our highest Regard, and strictest Conformity! A Law Sacred, Eternal, and

Immutable!

To undertake what relates to the accompting Part, is indeed needless, after having been to well perform'd in the said celebrated Schemes

[5]

Schemes and Remarks; which have also been Revised, and in some Things amended by the accurate and elaborate Pen of Mr. Crooksbanks; but these Schemes relate only to the Exche-

quer and Parliamentary Funds

STR R- would instruct us in the more universal Dealings between Merchants, whether of the same or different Nations, and likewise between sovereign Powers, and their own Subjects, or the Subjects of other Princes. If I should presume to meddle in these Things, Mr. H- who is rightfully in Possession of this Part of the Subject in Question, may esteem me a Trespasser, and thus I should hazard being attacked by both these Champions; each skilful at his Pen! Each a Veteran of fuch Abilities, that I am very sensible they can do what they please with a Feather; a dangerous Weapon in some Hands! They Combat also both of them under the Buckler, the broad Shield of their Right of Session in the Senate House. I am a naked Man, a weak Opponent; a Shadow when compar'd with the Nestorian Race of the Iron-sides, now an Equestrian House; therefore, with due Submission, though without Fear or Despondency, I enter the Lists, relying on that Supream Power to which Sir R-has Appealed; EQUITY is my Guard, and if that cannot defend me, I am sure to be foil'd, and am already disarm'd.

SIR R— begins with a long Paragraph, which he mentions to be taken out of Mr.

Hutchin-

Hutchinson's Remarks; and wherein it is said, That if the Annuitants were to account in Chancery as Mortgagees at 6 per Cent. Interest, after the common Method of making up fuch Accounts, a large Sum will be due from the Lender to the Borrower, even to the amount of 30 per Cent, at that time above Principal and Interest, instead of receiving any Thing further from the Publick. But the Equity of doing this doth not appear to me to be either recommended or afferted by the Author of the Remarks; neither is the Re-purchasing of these Funds any otherwise mentioned, 'than as a Matter which had been first opened on the Occasion of a Scheme for Redemption of the Publick Funds, which was made Publick before Mr. Hpublish'd his Schemes. In this long Paragraph it is also mentioned, 'That there had been an Attempt the then last Session for obtaining an Act which should have reduced the National Interest to 4 per Cent. And in this Paragraph Mr. H- fays further, That if the Parliament should not be of Opinion to Re-purchase these Annuities, then there would be no need to mention them in any future State of the Publick Debts; but the Nation, in that case, must rest contented, until the Expiration of the long Term of Years for which these Annuities (now called the long Annuities) were granted. A melancholly Prospect for a Nation groaning under the Pressure of these Debts! [7]

But the Facts are fairly stated; and the Remarker only further mentions as his Thought, That if Interest is reduced to 4 per Cent. by Act of Parliament before these Annuities are Re-purchased, or an Agreement made by the "Publick for Re-purchasing them; in such Case, the Value of the Annuities will be in-" creased the further Sum of Three Millions and an Half more than they then were, and that the same would be worth about Seven Millions and an Half more than the Money originally advanced; which would raise the ' value of these Funds to the Sum of Twenty Millions and an Half. This must be what the Guardian of our Property in his Crisis terms Mr. H- his Opinion; and thereupon he affirms, That if the Majority of the Honourable House should be of the same Opinion, and act accordingly, we may bid Farewel to the Wealth and Honour of Great Britain.

To this, I answer, that if a few Weeks more should demonstrate, that contrary to our Author's Expectation, the Parliament are of Opinion with Mr. H-, and also are convinced, that this Matter can be effectually Remedied without Breach of Publick Faith, or Iniquity in the Legislature (as certainly it may) in fuch Cafe, I fay, I shall be inclinable to mistrust, that Sir R— has not well Reasoned, nor rightly Computed either with relation to these Schemes, or the Majority of Votes; and if thro' the forward Zeal, and Million go

now generous Proposal of the South-Sea Company, we should be so happy as to obtain by the Aid of Parliamentary Equity, the Redemption of the Nation from this, and other heavy Burthens of Publick Debt, such a Conjuncture might justly he stiled the Criss of Property (the Prospect whereof to our Comfort, appears not very remote) from fuch Proceedings, I shall conclude quite contrary to our Author, and from this ERA shall date a prodigious Encrease of our Trade, our Wealth, and our Strength; and in consequence it must follow, that Great Britain will appear in Credit, in Honour and Renown beyond all past Ages. And this Aggregate Fund of the South-Sea, will at length prove in earnest the Spunge of the State; it will suck up, and wipe out, and pay off, all the rest of our old Scores! But to proceed, Sir R in his 7th Page is furpriz'd that Mr. H— does feem to suppose, that the Borrower is Master of the Lender; and yet they who, have been accustomed to lend Monies, or have observed the Course of Business in Chancery, must have perceived, that the Borrower frequentlynfets the Lender at Defiance, and will neither. repay, nor perform Covenants until compell'd by the flow Methods of Equity; but in the Case before us, the difficulty probably will die on the contrary fide: The Lender, so much extoll'd for the good Friend of the Government, is in danger of appearing $\begin{bmatrix} 9 \end{bmatrix}$

appearing the wayward Party; what will Sir R— be able to fay on his behalf, if this forward and adventurous Subject for the Good of the State (as he calls him) shall be found so refty and obstinate, as neither to lead nor drive, and when left to his free Will and Pleasure to take his Choice, whether he will promote the publick Good, and his own Interest, by accepting a Sum of Money for his Annuity, which shall bring him in a better Income; or an exchange of his Annuity for another fort of Annuity, which shall bring him in Yearly a larger Sum, and be also readily Saleable for a greater Sum than his Annuity at the highest would have sold for; yet shall this applauded, good, and generous Subject refuse to do either; but being perfwaded that he is in the Right, and encourag'd in it, shall fullenly Hug his Property, though to the Prejudice both of bimfelf and the Publick!

Our Author is a Man of a quick penetrating and active Thought, therefore I shall avoid to swell this Discourse to a length, which is needless, and which my Affairs do not permit, but only to add some Hints which seem not to occur to Sir R—, and leave him to restect thereon at his Leisure.

Bur with his Permission, I shall first for a while address my Discourse directly to the Annuitants, and tell you, Gentlemen, that they who would have Equity, must do Equitably; I am not delivering a Subpæna to bring your B. Cause

IO

Cause into Chancery; but as I presume you are convinced, that the Determinations of that Court are Equitable, I would try your Pretensions on this Touch-stone of good Conscience, that you your selves, if you can be impartial, may perceive the too near Resemblance.

I SHALL say nothing of the Bristol Bargain, because in that Practice, the Principal was received in Parcels, together with Interest: But you, Gentlemen, after all the exorbitant Gain of some of you hitherto by the 9 per Cent. and 14 per Cent. &c. are intended and desired to receive Back your Principal, not only intire, but with as vast encrease thereof, as those who speak for you pretend now to infift on, (if they are steady to any Thing, and do not rife more and more in their Demands as Concessions are made;) therefore, I say, your Bargain is yet worse, (that is,) more Extortionous, much more destruclive to the Publick, the Borrower, than the Bristol Bargain, or than what the French call Le fond perdu, which Method was once attempted here, but our English Parliament did declare their dislike by rejecting that Offer.

Town you are not to be dealt with as Mortgagees, yet your Case differs not so much in Point of Conscience from some of theirs, as your Advocate would represent; for he that Lends on a Mortgage, runs the Hazard of the Title, and of Incumbrances, &c. as much or more than you; and since you are Lenders, consider

consider a little, I pray you, the Proceedings of the Court of Chancery, and what Relief is given against Contracts and Covenants that relate to Interest on Mortgages, and to Re-

demption.

A PERSON lends Money at 5 per Cent. when fix was not against Law, and might easily be had; the Borrower had also a Flaw in his Title, (but I shall wave that Matter.) The Borrower agrees to pay Interest Halfyearly, and Covenants, that if no part of the Interest of two Half-years together should be paid at the end of the Year, or within one Month after at the furthest, that then, and from thenceforth, fuch Year's Interest (whereof no part had been paid) should be deemed Principal, and from thenceforth should carry Interest: The Interest amounted to 400%. Half-yearly, yet no part of the Interest was paid within the first 13 Months; a second 13 Months incurr'd, yet not one Penny paid of the Interest: The Lender being now distatiffy'd, apply'd to Equity; a third Year incurr'd, during the Proceedings, and when the seventh Half-year was past, and not one Penny of the Interest paid, this Matter receiv'd a Determination, viz. that the Lender should be repaid his Principal, with three Years and a Half's Interest at 5 per Cent. without any Addition thereto.

SHOULD I suppose my self in this Case to have been the Lender, yet I would not complain; if I should use Invectives, the

B 2

Great

Great Man who gave this Determination, is, I believe, as well able to justify his Opinion now, as he was then to support his Authority.

ONE other Case you may permit me to tell you; the Borrower had contracted to pay 5 per Cent. Interest, but covenanted, that if at any time two Half-year's Interest together should be behind, and no part thereof paid within one Month after the end of the Year, that then, and in fuch Case, the Borrower would allow and pay after the Rate of 6 per Cent. Interest for such Year, (6 per Cent. being then legal Interest.) One Year and a Half passed, and no Interest was paid, nor could the Borrower be prevailed with to repay the principal Money with barely 5 per Cent. Interest; hereupon Equity was apply'd to, but after much Time and Money spent on this Matter, the Lender was allowed no more than barely his Principal with 5 per Cent. though this Matter was complicated with a Circumstance, which some eminent Practicers did agree, render'd it a bard Judgment. The Lender, in this last Case, was only an Assignee; the first Lender had the same Covenant for 6 per Cent, and the Interest in his time being ran far behind when the Mortgage was affigned, (which was done with the confent, and at the earnest Request of the Borrower,) this first Lender was actually paid after the Rate of 6 per Cent. (according to the Contract and Covenants) for two Years, which

[13]

were then behind, and due to him; yet (after a further two Years and an Half's forbearance, and much longer before this Matter receiv'd a Determination,) the Assignee was allowed only 5 per Cent. Interest; had this happen'd to me, it would certainly have inclined me to have placed for the future my little Cash entirely in the Funds; but it hath been my Fate to know also, that bad Titles are to be met with by Mortgagees; for these Reasons I gladly accept the same Interest on the Funds, as before on a Mortgage, and now I have Quiet, and can fully depend on receiving the Interest duly; however, your Advocate will have it, that YOU Annuitants have extraordinary Merits, and are not in the Condition of other Subjects; I shall therefore, without Exaggerating, tell you what I know of this Matter.

IT was once my good Luck to get Admittance at the Exchequer by Proxy, to subscribe for an Annuity, upon which Subscription, in little more than a Fortnight, I gained, at least, 8001. above Principal and Interest by the Sale thereof at the Price then Current, and which Price was daily advancing; this was done during the Winter; there was no Battle fought, nor any Treaty of Peace on Foot; and yet your Advocate doth affert such Gain to be Meritorious; but as most of you at this time may be only Assignees of the first Annuitants, and know little of the true Circumstants, and know little of the true Circumstances of these Transactions; I beseech you

HOI

[14]

not to be too far milled by the infinuating and plaufible Arguments, and the florid Difcourfes of your Advocate, but permit me, without offence, to represent your Case in a truer Light.

THE Views, and bewitching Prospect of excessive Gain, were such, when some Anmities were subscrib'd for, that they well deserve to be remembred on this Occasion; fometimes Books were laid open, wherein the Subscriptions were immediately fill'd up, before fufficient Authority was given for laying open fuch Books; and when the Parliament, and the Exchequer had given the Authority and necessary Directions for doing it, (if the ill Consequences of these Subfcriptions did not avert one's Mind from making sport with the Matter,) I should be apt to fay, Spectatum admissi risum teneatis? How many Wealthy Citizens with their Agents? How many decrepted Usurers were crowding by break of Day to get in formost on the first Opening? How many fat up all Night with their Bills and Notes in hand, or Luggage of Bags, brib'd the Door-keeper for Admission? And by this Means, some of these brave Warriors of the forlorn Hope, had opportunity of doing themselves the Honour within this Field of Battle, to lie all Night upon their Arms! These, and such like, as I have heard, were the true Circumstances attending some of these Subscriptions; and as for those whom 15

whom your Advocate calls good Citizens and Patriots; they and their Agents (a few excepted) cannot justly be supposed to have acted thus only out of their abundant Affection for the Good and Safety of the State; it may, I think, with much more Justice be suspected, that many of them deserved rather the Name of Parricides, feeking to gorge themselves with the Entrails of their Country, at that time requiring their more compassionate Assistance; the Oppression and Artifice at such times as these cruelly practised, might justly before now have deserved a Redress from Publick Equity, if the Publick were inclinable to exercise the Summum jus, which your Advocate pretends to fear. How excusable this would be in the present Parliament, if there were any Necessity for it, and they were disposed to act thus, will plainer appear, if you permit me the Liberty to affert, that fometimes there was in Fact fomewhat of Extortion, and want of Equity in many of those who lent their Money, and wrested these Annuities from the hands of those who would have managed better for the Publick, if they had been at Liberty to have acted for the best; but too many among the Law-makers, and others then in Power, imposed these Bargains on the Publick, and were upon the Matter too near a-kin, being many of them both the Lender and the Borrower; that my Assertion herein, may not be represented to

be groundless or partial, it is necessary to proceed a little farther in stating what I know relating to this Matter, to the Honour of a Worthy and indefatigable Servant of the State, in Matters of this Nature; I stept sometimes out of the Court of Chancery to discourse with this Gentleman, proud of the Liberty he gave me in being admitted to do so; after I had twice urged him with Arguments against granting Annuities, he feem'd to be displeased, as if I reproach'd him and others who influenced these Things as Persons managing ill for the Publick; whether Mr L—ds can recollect this Discourse, I know not, but Ivery well remember, that at length it was anfwer'd me with some Resentment; 'I don't want for Arguments to convince me that these Annuities are not the best Method of Raising the Supply; but what can we do? They will not be quiet without them! And by the Tendency of this Discourse, I conceiv'd, (as I do not doubt but that it was true in Fact) too many of the Parliament, the Officers of the Exchequer, and the great Corporations in London, were the chief Subscribers to these Annuities; and in short, either I mistook him, or this Gentleman's Words did imply, that, at this time, it was chiefly the Members of Parliament themselves that were bent upon Raising the Money this way.

But let us come yet closer in this Matter; for though I have not any Annuity in Possesfion, I must own, Gentlemen, nos inter nos, [17]

that I have some Reversions; and do think that this were better to be discoursed among our selves, than to be thus exposed and pub-

lish'd Abroad.

THE Members of this present Parliament will not easily be perswaded, that when your long Annuities were subscribed for, and purchased at very low Rates, the Government really was at that time in fuch imminent Danger as is pretended; or that there was any sudden Hazard, and probable Loss foreseen: In Times of Danger, the Thoughts of Men are apt to be most quick and cautious; and who that had realy feen fuch Dangers at Hand, would have made this Choice; (the Purchasers might then have had almost what they would;) and certainly upon imminent Danger, or visible Hazard, an exorbitant Interest for a short Term had been much better and fafer; and it will scarcely be believed, that where a Man can see that the Title is dangerous, he would, notwithstanding, make Choice of a Lease for so long a Term as Ninety-nine Years, and guard himself also against the Right of Redemption.

IF you, Gentlemen, are true Friends of the Government, and Lovers of your Country, you have now an opportunity of shewing it, and of serving your selves also, by assisting chearfully to set open the Gates of Redemption.

THE South-Sea Company's Proposal has raised your Annuities three or four Years pur-

1000

ĞI]

chase; if you like not to deal with them, it is probable, however, that so many Others will be defirous, as shall ferve during this Transaction, to keep up the Price of your Annuities; if you as a Scatter'd Body do fuspect hard Usage from a powerful Corporation, your Access to the House of Commons is as easy as theirs; but if you endeavour to urge Things too far, I wish you to look back to the Case I have cited, where the Borrower bimself allowed to the first Mortgagee, what the Court of Equity denied to his Affignee; yet I mistrust not the Favour of a British Parfiament towards you, while you feek not to oppose that great and good Work which they have encouraged over secretarions and assessment

In fetting a value on your Annuities, you'll consider that your to l. per Annum will be in your own Hands a fixed Sum, and dead Weight on the Government; but if subscribed into the South-Sea, or purchased by them, it will after Midsummer 1727; begin to move off briskly, and will then be to them, and to the Government but 81. per Annum; you'll consider also, that the Stock of the faid Company, may, and doth advance much faster, and higher in the Price, than your Annuities; and that their Dividend may be also greatly enlarged; but Yours as an Annuity with you will remain the same; these Things should chiefly incline you to fet a higher or lower Value on the one, and the other, according as your own Reason, or better Ad[19

vice shall direct you; but for you to apply to Parliament to fix a Price, (as some have discoursed, you do intend to do,) that you may be certain of Admission into the South-Sea Stock at that Price, this will be difficult to adjust, because of the greater Variation in the Price of their Stock; and if this were now fixed, the South-Sea Corporation would not be willing to be long tied down to fuch fixed Prices; nor can it be expected of them, while you remain still at Liberty to Sell, or not, and to fubscribe into them, or not, at your Pleasure ! But this is not my Business; you among your felves will find out the Ways and Means for fetling all Things to mutual Satisfaction; but what is part of my Business while I am Writing this, is to disfwade from fuch Thoughts and Attempts as may prove the Ruin of many of your felves, and Families; I would apply this, not only to the Annuitants, but to all such other Perfons as may be inclined, or drawn in to endeavour to run down the Price of South-Sea Stock; or under a Notion of setting a certain Price, or Value on this Stock, fuch a Price as is not in the least probable, (according to common Methods, and the Course of other Things,) it should exceed; and depending on fuch like Notions, are eager to fell this Stock at time for higher Prices, esteeming the Gain this way, as good as certain; or by taking large Premiums, or earnest Money, to deliver this Stock at three Months,

fix Months, or twelve Months after, at a fixed high Price; as suppose it be 150, 200, 250, &c. per Cent. Some also venture to fell this Stock when they have none; or do fell ten Times more than they have, or are able to make good upon a sudden Rise; fuch Notions and Practices, I fay, may be the Ruin of many Families, and it is chiefly to caution against, and to use my endeavour to prevent this approaching and Spreading Evil that I have taken Pen in Hand, and refolved to publish these Sheets; great Mischief hath often befallen those who have used these Ways in other Stocks, but certainly it will be found more dangerous and fatal in this Stock of the South-Sea Company. The shallow Waters are more proper for the Fry, and smaller sized Fish; Men of great Estates may bear with Losses this way, as well as by other ways of Gaming; but for a light Purfe, there is not any Game more Fatal.

THE Enlarging the South-Sea Capital, and the Consequences thereof, as to the Ministry and the State, is a Production worthy of the Genius of Great Britain; but as to Men of mean Estate, it is, Monstrum borrendum, informe ingens.—You Gentlemen may have heard of Scylla, and Charibdis; of Ætna, and Vesuvius; but here—depend on't—there are Mountains, and Rocks more stupendious; and by far more tremendous Gulphs! Beware then! Launch not out in Fly-boats beyond your Knowledge into this vast Abys of Southern

Seas :

[21]

Seas: I fear not a Chaos of Confusion, or a second DELUGE, but do fully expect that the next Age in speaking of this, will use the Words of Ovid—Omnia PONTUS erat!

BUT I am to ask Pardon of Sir R—, and expect it from his 10th Page, where he promises to have Patience; and to deserve this at his Hands, I shall proceed to give him those Hints I promised, viz. That in many Cases, Equity is exerted, where Persons out of Wilfulness do prevent their own Benefit, as well as the Publick Good.

THERE are Men that will not suffer their boggy Land to be drained; others, such Lovers of Liberty and the Commonwealth, that they will not suffer Wasts, Heaths, or commonable Grounds to be inclosed, though they might thereby become Owners of a Proportion in severalty; but in such Cases, Equity Over-rules; in time of Danger by Fire, Houses are pull'd down, or blown up, for the Publick Good, though against the Will of the Owners; also to preserve the Town, the Suburbs are frequently burnt or demolish'd; even the Town is destroy'd to preserve the Citadel. A Person in Danger of immerging through the Weight, or Force of another, may even destroy the other to preserve himself; and a Thousand such like Instances might be given.

As to our Author's 14th Page towards the latter part, and in the beginning of the 21st Page, I am willing to suppose some Error of

[22]

the Press; especially where it is said, that the Borrower ought not to intermeddle with what is Lent, but by the Command or Application of the Lender; this, I suppose, should have been the Security for what is Lent, which the Borrower is not to meddle with; (because this moves from the Borrower, and passeth to the Lender) for if it were meerly the Thing lent, (as suppose it to be Money lent, which the Borrower is not to intermeddle with,) in fuch Case, if our Author will be so Equitable towards me, as to permit me for a while to intermeddle with, and borrow some of his Expressions, and to use, and apply them only for the present, as I think proper, in fuch Case, I would fay, that this seems something like what he calls a Chimera, or Crudity; for at this Rate, his Lender would really be an Oppressor, and his Borrower a Bubble; and thus these Terms might be Synonimous, if not convertible; and our Author would have proved what he is not willing to own, (viz.) that his Lender not only bad, but still bath too much Command over the Borrower.

AFTER the like manner, this Treatife may prove, that the Nation, the Parliament, and in Confequence their Assignee the South-Sea Company (if they prevail) will become Bankrupt by paying their Debts at 20 s. in the Pound; if so, the higher their Composition shall be, the greater (our Author may say) is the Bankruptcy, and thus, indeed, our Case will

23

will be very desperate; for its more than probable, that such of the long Annuities as shall come-in timely, may receive by the South-Sea Stock from 200 to 300 per Cent. for what they Originaly paid; but while nothing worse than this is intended towards them, if there should be sufficient Occasion given, summo fure agere, and that a little of the duritia furiv should be necessary, so help to bring in, and to open the Eyes of such who shall blindly mistake their own Interest, and wilfully oppose the Publick Good,) what loud Complaints will Sir R— make?

As the Annuitants are Tax-free, and the Proprietors have already been told, that they are exempt from any NEW Direction, they may also be told, that they are Optimo June Pradia, a new fort of Freehold; and thus, those especially who have Annuities for Life, or Lives, may be animated, and induced to think themselves sufficiently Entitled to a Right of Voting at Elections for Members of Parliament, and if they would be thus hardy, who should be their Representative?

But I must neither advance too far into Sir R—'s Province, nor quite forget our Author,— it is he that will dictate in the Senate; if he does this after the manner he has promis'd us in his 28th Page, were it not better that he would for bear it? I shall not presume to propose any Thing to that August Assembly, and if I take the Liberty of incerting

ing here my Thoughts; it will be very obliging if they escape the Descants as well as the Railery of Sir R-, who, perhaps, for the present, is too much exasperated; but I must expect the Cavils and various Resections of the many-minded Multitude, the incertum Vulgus, of whom there is scarce any Thing certain, but this, Quod scindet in contraria; I use Latin, that they may not know what I mean, for they censure, and condemn what comes within their Knowledge, but are apt to admire what they do not understand; however, I shall freely expose my self to their Mercy, in Hopes that from my Thought improv'd, somewhat may arise which may tend to the Advantage and Service of the Publick.

WE have not, God be thanked, at this time, any urgent Motives that should prevail with us to buy Foreign Gold too dear; and to let other Nations into that great Gain they propose to make by the Rise of the South-Sea Stock, upon the Enlargement of their Capital; for which they are watching, and as it is faid, are already preparing to catch the Opportunity fo foon as a Bill in Parliament shall be ready to pass; or, perhaps, only brought into the House for this purpose; if, therefore, at once, and as it were in an Instant, (before it can be known Abroad, and Commissions fent hither,) the Stock of the prevailing Company should be advanced to near that Price which it ought to have, and may reafonably bear, the Annuitants hereby would

[25]

be filenc'd, or Petition for Admittance; much of the Chicane, and Juggle of our Quincampois will be avoided, and the Publick, may obstruct, and very much prevent that Gain, which other Kingdoms, and States propose to make (to our Loss) on this Occasion; the French Nation are now too late strugling with many Difficulties for want of timely Management, with regard hereunto; yet this, it is likely, has not arisen so much from any Over-fight, or Defect in the Schemes of that enterprizing Genius, who hath the chief Direction, or of others with whom he must Concert; but thro' an over-ruling Self-Interest, on account of the vast Gain to be privately made by the many Turns and Vibrations his Projects would admit of; which it should not be supposed that he did not foresee, or failed to concert his Measures accordingly; a Profit, and Gain capable of being so Immense, that, whatever the French Nation in general may suffer thereby, if the private Gain hath really been fuch, and fo great as it may reasonably be imagined, the Effects thereof may too foon be such, as may prevent it's remaining long a Secret to the rest of Europe; but my Pen hath already let fall too much Ink on this Subject; and, I fear, that what I have here only touched, may rather be taken for a Blot, than accepted as it is intended by me.

This, however, may be repeated, that it would be greatly to our Advantage, by some timely,

timely, and proper Means to prevent other Countries from Sharing too much, and carrying away the Profit of that Advance of our Publick Securities, which feems to be at Hand; and the due Precaution herein, is more absolutely necessary, because our bappy Constitution does not admit a Reliance on such Artisices, and After-Games, as in France are easy to be concerted, and may as suddenly be put in Practice.

In stating, and arguing the Case of the Annuitants, there appears so little Occasion for introducing the Silesia Loan, and so much less for mentioning the Equivalent allowed to Scotland, and also the English Grants; that some take Umbrage, and sancy there was not any good Reason for picking out these

Instances. But if the Question is to turn upon the Equity, and Power of Parliaments, it will be answer'd by only stating the Question rightly; the Nation by a long and expensive War, is highly incumbred, and grievously Opprefsed with many heavy Debts; the greatest, the most encienting, the longest continuing, and the most obnoxious Debt is the Annuities; in fhort, the way thro' these Annuities is the only Right, and ready Road throw which the Government must pass to ease the Nation of the Burthen of all the rest of these Debts; Now, whether you will have the Government to Travel by Land, or by Water, it will be the fame; if the Highway is

[27]

fuch as is dangerous to Travellers, and cannot otherwise be amended, there must be an Ast of Rarliament; and (giving Satisfaction to the Queners,) whatever is needful in such Cases musto be done; Gates, Bars, Hedges, and all Obstructions may be removed; and new Gates, new Bars, and Turnpikes, erected; and none may pass to buy, or sell, for the future, but by this new Road, and according to new Directions; also Penalties, Levies, and Tolls may be appointed for maintaining this new Highway; and, in like manner, for the Publick Benefit, Rivers are made Navigable; any Man's Lands are cur through, though against the Will of the Omner; and Goats, Sluices, Hatches, and Flood-Gates are erected; and must be maintained by the Owners of fuch Lands.

But let us suppose that many should take Offence, and in Opposition to these necessary, profitable, and publick Works, would act as Rioters, or Lunaticks; and that such a Number of Persons should act thus, that no other Power but Parliament would undertake to meddle with them; would their Number, or the fear of their Resentment, awe the Senate, and prevent them from being used like other Lunaticks, who would mischief either themselves, or others? But, here, as to the Annuitants, it is said, the Senate hath promised not to interpose, or use their Authority; and hath Enacted, that the Annuitants shall not be in the same Condition as other Subjects,

 \mathbf{D}^{2}

T 28 7

but during Ninety-nine Years shall be exempt from any new Direction; in this Case, if there were any Court of Equity above the Power of Parliament, there would naturally lie an Appeal to such higher Power; but there being none fuch, is the reason why the Parliament wherein this was Enacted, is liable to be controul'd, and over-ruled by the Power of a future Parliament; for in the Nature, and Constitution of the British Legislature, there is a tacit and indefezible Equity reserved, by Virtue whereof (as the Occasion of private, or publick Good shall require it) Acts of Parliament are, and will be explained, or amended; continued, or suffered to expire; repealed, revived, revoked, or annulled: As I may appeal from the Judgment of Sir R— the last Month, to the Judgment of Sir R-better advised this Month!

BUT in his 12th and 13th Pages, our Author mentions the Infurance of Ships as a parallel Case to this of the Annuitants; and defies any Man breathing to shew a juster Comparison; hereon he throws down his Gauntlet; and who shall dare to take it up? Sir R— is not a Man of Straw; No! no! His Legs, his Arms, and his Sides are of Iron; his Countenance is terrible in Battle; though he can demolish a strong Fortress with a Goose Quill, yet the Staff of his Spear is like a Weaver's Beam; the Head thereof is of polish'd Steel, well pointed, and the Weight fix Hundred Shekels.

[29]

In this Matter I shall only have Recourse to A. B. C. and least this Goliab of the Philistines should be offended, and think this to be only flinging of Stones at him, I refer it to the Gentlemen of the Inner-Temple, whether these are not lawful Weapons in puting of Cases; others have much more Art in the Use of them; but I went for some Years to School in their Society, and very often to the Grande Sale d' Armes in the Parish of St Margaret's, near the Collegiate-Church of St. Peter's of Westminster, where I learned from those expert Masters, the Lord S-Sir N-W-, the Lord C-, the Lord H-, and Earl C-, all right well skilled in the

High and Honourable Science. To state this Case of Insurance plainly, we must suppose, that Sir R--'s Ship or Vessel was a very large first Rate; A HUGE one indeed! Almost as big as any Island in Europe; not quite so big as Great Britain, but about the fize of the Kingdom of England. A. is the Master, or Captain of this Ship, B. represents the Lieutenant, the Chaplain, the Purser, the Cockson, the Master-Gunner, the Boatsivain, the Cook, the Mates, and all the Midshipmen; C. represents the common Sailors, the Swabbers, the rest of the Ship's Crew, and all the Passengers; a prodigious Number! This huge Ship has not only all these Men on Board her, but also has a Cargo equal to the Goods and Effects of all [30]

the People of England. A. was himself on Board, and had large Effects of his own. B. was on Board with all his Effects, and the like of C; We are also to note, that C. represents almost all those who were themfelves to be insured. Now, is it reasonable to suppose, that B. and C. would agree to give a very high Premium for Infuring this Volu fel to any who had themselves a large share in the Cargo, and were themselves on Board, and to go the same Voyage, unless there was fomething Extraordinary in the Matter? Which some, I say, did think, was this, that B. and C. who were to fix and fettle the Rate of the Insurance, were sometimes willing the same should be very much to the Advantage of the Infurers; and having themselves the Liberty of writing first, they at those times subscribed very liberally, and afterwards parcelled out to the generality, on worser Terms, the greatest Part of their Subscriptions; more Words need not be bestowed on this Matter; 'tis plain enough how unlike it is to the common Case of In-Surance.

I confess, that as to Publick Credit and Parliamentary Faith relating to Property, (if it were really in Question,) it would be very dangerous to make any Alteration without Consent of Parties; but is not Consent implied in whatever is Enacted? And if the Terms were to be abated, or any way altered, must

[31]

must not this be done by the Wisdom of the Nation on a Rehearing upon the Equity referved ? And shall it be gain-sayed, that it is for the Publick Good, or that it hath the Confent of Parties? I shall always acknowledge That to be Lawfid and Right, which Parliament shall do; for, I well hope that they never will do any Thing but because it is Lawful and Right! But Sir R-, who hath a Right to Debate this within Doors, hath more Fealousies than others, and in six Pages more hath lost his Temper, and forgets that the Question will turn upon this, whether what is now doing, is Evil, or Not. If the Parliament should do it, it is an Estoppel to me to fay that it is Evil; I submit my Notions to what is done by the Legislature, and believe it will be for the Publick Good, and do affert Salus Populi suprema Lex! But Appealing from the Senate to the People, is pre-judging the Cause, and censuring the Proceedings; why then hath Sir R-Recourse from the Wisdom of the Senate, to the Passions and Ignorance of the People, unless he could support by just and unanswerable Arguments, that, Vox Populi oft Vox Dei. If the Matter should require a Decision in the Senate, (which there appears not yet any fufficient Occasion for 3) why must we admit, that the Annuitants either were, or will be Overpower'd? If there were much Danger when they Lent, the less Power the then Parliament had over them; for in Times of Pub[32]

lick Danger, the Power is in the Purse; the Soldier owns this Power when he tells us. Point d'argent, point de suise; and if that High, and Sacred Order might be mentioned, who exert their Power beyond the reach of the Sword, or the Bounds of this World, I would use only this English Adage, No Penny, no Paternoster; but certainly in this nice Affair, there is nothing of Force, or Power intended to be used, or any Terms to be imposed; but the Honourable House may find Ways and Means to preserve Property, that are not to be found in Tully, Pliny, Livy, or Plutarch, or in any of Sir R-'s School-Fellows; though I have lately been affured, that in the Matter of Accounts (especially such as should be rendered to the People,) there is not now remaining in any Kingdom in Europe, any Method to compare with what was in use among the Romans while they preserv'd their Liberty; and refer Sir R- to Mr. T-W-, F. R. S. for further Satisfaction in this Matter, who hath promis'd to oblige the World with a Treatise on this Subject, and from his Collections out of old Roman Authors, to teach us a better. Method of Accounting.

I SHOULD have as little Temper as any Man, if it did appear, that any Wrong would be done to the Annuitants! I will even admit, that Annuities are necessary, and the only Estate proper for some Persons; but such Persons may sell to the South-Sea Company at a high Price, and

L 33 _

buy again much cheaper of the York Building's Company; and with them, the Anmities will be secured on the Lands they have, and shall Purchase. I grant also, that fome few of the long Annuities were subfcribed at times of Danger, and that fuch of these as remain still in the Hands of the Subscribers, or have never been Sold, do deserve a particular Regard: But still, I fay, that our Author's Arguments, when strip'd of pompous Words, are bare Affertions, and are mostly so ill-grounded, as can neither convince me, nor any other, (who in earnest does wish the National Debt fairly, and foon discharg'd,) that the Annuitants in general do merit his Encomiums, though he pleads for them with the Firmness of Mutius; if they were really such Lovers of, and Champions for their Country, where among them are the Decii ? Who is now the Curtius? If it be true, that our consummate General hath left them; I mean, the British Hero always Victorious; but Sir Rmeets with such noble Examples in Roman History, that by his 28th Page it is plain, that 'tis a very hard Matter for any Man, while in the Ministry, to please him. When I once complained as he does, I was told, that even Churchmen, were Men; Statesmen, were only Men emminent in the State; Parliament Men, but Men in the Parliament; and that the best of Men, were but Men at best!

E

HAVING

L 34 J

HAVING received much Delight, and Satisfaction from several of Sir R—'s Performances, I will say nothing to the Virulency, and Investives in the close of his Pamphlet, only this, that I wish they were not to be found in it; when I read them, I was surprized to find a Person so versed in Scholastick Authors, practice so contrary to the Notions we imbibe from them in our Youth.

Adde quodingenuas dedicisse sideliter artes Emollet Mores, nec sinet esse Feros,

This manner of swelling Pamphlets with Investives, and Complaints, brings to my Remembrance what I heard from the late Speaker Sir T. Littleton; he happen'd to have in his Coach some Ladies, whereof One at every Shock of the Perch, or unequitable Motion of a Wheel, was ready to scream, and squeal aloud; Sir Thomas grew very uneasy, lest the Lady should fright her self into Fits, but her Neice said, Don't be concern'd Sir Thomas, my Aunt is not more afraid than others; she commonly does thus; she hath an agreeable Voice, and thinks this squealing becomes her!

WHEN some of these Annuities were granted, (if the Facts were as herein beforementioned,) I should be apt to think, (though I will never say it,) that, the Terms of, and in such Annuities, were voted, not Virtute, but colore Officii! Had there been such Instances

stances under a French Government, where Quod principi placuit Legis habet vigorem, we should long ago have heard their ultima Ratio, and the Equity of their last Resort---

-Tel est Nostre Plaisir.

BUT while these Realms are Bles'd with such a King, and we have such a Ministry, I shall not mistrust, that this Nation will either do, or suffer any publick Wrong.

5th of February, 1719-20.

FIN IS.

