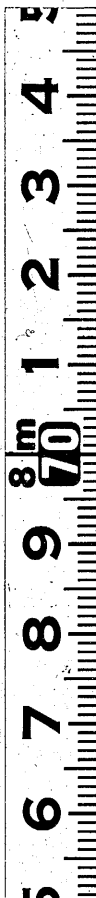


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REFLECTIONS

ON THE
EXPEDIENCY of a LAW

FOR THE
NATURALIZATION

OF
FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In TWO PARTS.

P A R T I.

Containing HISTORICAL REMARKS on the
Disposition and Behaviour of the Natives of
this Island, in regard to Foreigners; occasioned
by the Rejection of the late NATURALIZATION
BILL.

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AND

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THE

P R E F A C E.

*A*S the Author of the following Treatise has already appeared in Publick on a Subject of Commerce,* and undergone some Censures for engaging in Enquiries, seemingly beside his Profession; he begs Leave to offer some Reasons for his interfering in these Matters, and, at the same Time, to vindicate himself from the Supposition of having deserved the ill Treatment he has met with. If it shall appear then, that he has not been wanting in his Endeavours to discharge his Clerical Duties punctually, as he hopes it would appear, if Enquiry were made in his Parish (in which, though large and populous, he performs all the Offices of his Function himself, according to the best of his Abilities;) If, in this Particular, he is not found neglectful, and these Enquiries, which he prosecutes at his leisure Hours, are not, in their Tendency, inconsistent with Piety to God, and good Offices to Man,—he flatters himself, that as long as he follows these Studies, without neglecting his other Engagements, and delivers his Opinion in an inoffensive Manner, he shall be excused in the Judgment of all candid

A 2 Persons

* *A brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain with regard to Trade: With some Proposals for removing the principal Disadvantages of Great Britain, in a new Method. The Second Edition, corrected, with large Additions. London, printed for T. Trye, in Holborn, 1759.*

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Persons, tho' the Warmth of Party Zeal, or the Resentment of those, whose Interest clashes with that of the Publick, may excite them to vilify and insult him. It hath been thought excusable for a Clergyman to write on Subjects of Amusement, or on curious Points of Learning; and therefore, it may not be reckoned absurd in a Clergyman, to form a Judgment (and deliver it modestly) on Subjects, by which, not only national Wealth and Prosperity, and the external Blessings of Life are encreased; but, by which, Industry, Frugality, and Sobriety are promoted,—and promoted too, by protecting persecuted and conscientious Christians.

INDEED, it might be observed, that every Plan, by which the Practice of social Duties is advanced, which contributes to make Men more Sober, Just, and Frugal, (which is the Fund of Charity) is not foreign to, but intimately connected with the Clerical Character. And to deter the Clergy from such Enquiries, is to confine, in a great Degree, their Abilities of doing Good. Or again, To propose any Expedient, by which the Encrease of wilful and corrupt Perjury may be prevented, is not unbecoming a Minister of that God, who will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain. Yet this would be prevented, in the two GREAT SOURCES of it, by avoiding the Oaths now taken at Custom-Houses, and those by Freemen of Towns. A Scheme was humbly offered by the Author of these Sheets, in an Essay on Trade, to avoid the former; and his present Attempt is, to point out the true Causes and Origin of the latter; together with such Remedies for these Evils, as appear to him the most effectual. And, though he may be mistaken in the Means proposed, yet he is persuaded, that all serious Christians will join with him,

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him, in wishing, that the Oaths of Freedom were altered, from what they are at present; and so constituted, as not to reduce Men to the sad Necessity of destroying their Commerce, or preserving it by a CONTINUAL* Profanation of the sacred Name of God. UPON the Whole, though interfering with temporal Things immoderately is derogatory to the Clerical Character; yet as Commerce multiplies the Relations of Men, and creates a Variety of Moral Obligations, it will not be thought unbecoming that Order, who are to serve to the Glory of God, and the Edification of Men, to remove Temptations, and propose tempo-
ral

* Part of a Freeman's Oath, in the City of London, is, "Ye shall know no Foreigner to buy or sell any Merchandise with any other Foreigner within this City, or Franchise thereof, but ye shall warn the Chamberlain thereof, or some Minister of the Chamber. Ye shall take no Apprentice,—the Child of any Alien."

Part of a Freeman's Oath, in the City of Bristol, is as follows: "You shall not know any Foreigner, or Stranger, to buy and sell with another Foreigner, within the Precincts of this City, but you shall give Knowledge thereof unto the Chamberlain, or his Deputy, without Delay. You shall not take any Apprentice,—except he be born under the King's Obedience."

This national Antipathy against Foreigners, was the Stock on which the Burgeses and Freemen grafted their narrow exclusive Schemes of Commerce, and Plans of Monopoly. For the Tenor of the Oaths of Freedom is much the same in other Towns and Cities, as in London and Bristol. And, in the Language of these incorporated Places, the Word Foreigner denotes not only an Alien, or one born out of the King's Obedience, but every Englishman, not free of their Corporation. And even Lodgers, In-tenants, House-keepers, Free-holders, Book-keepers, Clerks, Agents, Factors, Mariners, Merchants, &c. though residing in such Places, are not allowed, by their Bye-Laws, to buy and sell, of and to each other, if they are not free themselves. And all the Freemen are obliged, by the express Terms of their Oath, to give Information of such Sales and Contracts, as soon as they come to their Knowledge. And yet, —But I forbear: The Reader will supply the rest.

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ral Rewards to Virtue;— especially, if these Schemes of national Reformation should be attended with an Increase of Commerce, and national Honour, with the Security of Liberty, and its known Attendants, Learning, and true Religion. At least, if the Author may be proved to have erred, he will gladly retire from these Studies; which he has hitherto followed upon Motives of this Kind only.

W I T H regard to the Naturalization of foreign Protestants, if any such Bill should hereafter be laid before the Houses of Parliament, he is inclined to wish, with the greatest Deference to the Opinion of better Judges, that two Restrictions might be inserted in it, more to obviate the imaginary Danger, which prejudiced People apprehend from passing of it, than any real ill Consequences from either Source.

F I R S T, That naturalized Foreigners should gain no Parish Settlement; that they should neither become a Burthen to the Natives of this Country, nor have any Tax levied on them to maintain our Poor. This is equitable on both Sides, and may be necessary to prevent popular Clamours:—Though the Author can venture to assert (which he would not presume to do without good Authority) that the Foreigners, who have settled in this Kingdom for seventy Years past, have paid, at least, a POUND STERLING towards the Support of the English Poor, for every Penny that has been levied upon the English to maintain poor Foreigners. And if those Gentlemen, who opposed the Introduction of foreign Protestants, under the Apprehension that it would encrease the Poor-Tax (a Burthen too great already) would but give themselves the Trouble to make Enquiries in London, Bristol, Southampton, Canterbury, or any other Place, where any Number of Foreigners have resided, they would

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would entertain very different Notions of this Affair; and find Cause to trust no longer to general Invectives, popular Cries, and national Prejudices; by which the best disposed People are often misled, and sometimes induced to join in Measures, not only destructive to the Good of their Country, but subversive of the Dictates of Humanity, and the clearest Precepts of the Gospel.

A G A I N, That no Foreigner should be capable of a Place of Trust or Power by a general Naturalization. The Wisdom of the Legislature might, by an express Act, qualify a particular Person of extraordinary Merit: And an open Admission of all naturalized Persons, would be made a Topick for popular, though groundless Declamation.

O N E more Observation is humbly offered on this Subject, viz. That however prudent and expedient it may be, to admit foreign Protestants to be naturalized Subjects, yet unless there were the highest Probability of bringing the Point to bear, to attempt it and fail, would confirm the common People in their Prejudices; and strengthen the Credit of those, who, thro' Disaffection, or a private Interest, incompatible with the publick Good, have opposed this Measure. This will impower them to spread strange Reports, to impose on the Credulity of the lower Sort of People, and to infuse into them Suspicions of the pernicious Views of those Men, who proposed this destructive Project;—which, co-inciding with the national Prejudice against Foreigners, would be greedily received. And when, by the Bill's not passing, these Rumours are not confuted by Experience, how shall we convince a Mob, who act by Passion, not by Reflection; who are to be gained by sinister and mean Arts, and therefore are not generally influenced by the wisest, or best of Men.



Shortly will be Published,

[With a Preface, setting forth the avowed Doctrine, and constant Practice of the Church of Rome, concerning the Persecution of PROTESTANTS.]

P A R T II.

Containing important Queries relating to the Improvement and Extension of Commerce: — Materials for Employing the Poor, and the Causes of the Want of Employment: — The Encrease of Inhabitants, the Riches of a Country; the Landed and National Interest:— Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax:— The Birth-right and Privileges of *Englishmen*, and the real Interest of Tradesmen:— The most efficacious, as well as the gentlest Methods for the Reformation of a People's Morals:— A Regard to the Constitutions both in Church and State:— The Duties of Humanity, and the Principles of the Christian Religion. To which will be added, by Way of *Appendix*, A calm Address to all Parties in Religion, concerning Disaffection towards the present Government; first Published during the late Rebellion, and now to be republished with material Additions.



P A R T I.

CONTAINING, *Historical Remarks on the Disposition and Behaviour of the Natives of this Island towards Foreigners; occasioned by the Rejection of the late Naturalization Bill.*



It is observable, that every Nation hath some peculiar Bias, of a virtuous and a vicious Tendency, which constitutes the distinguishing Characteristic of that People: And even New-Comers acquire, in a short Time, the same Dispositions and Manners. The present *French* and *Spaniards* seem to inherit both the good and bad Qualities of the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaul* and *Spain*. And the modern *English*, though

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 though a People but of Yesterday, in Comparison with the Pretensions of other Nations to Antiquity, are as much averse to Foreigners, as ever were the antient Britons. These three Nations, the French, Spaniards, and English, however different in their present Dispositions, sprung originally from the same Country, and were noted for an Uniformity of Customs, Laws, and Manners.

IT would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace the Causes of this Difference in the Tempers of Mankind, removed to different Situations. But some Time may be usefully employed in examining, whether due Care hath been taken to cultivate, regulate, and improve the good Qualities of any People, and to restrain the bad ones by wholesome Laws and Discipline. The Subject I am now upon leads me to this Enquiry, as far as relates to the Reception which Foreigners, even Merchants, Tradesmen, and Manufacturers, have usually met with in this Kingdom.

FROM the Conquest, till upwards of two hundred Years afterwards, it doth not appear, that Strangers were permitted to reside in England, on Account of Commerce, beyond a limited Time, but by a special Warrant. For they were considered only as Sojourners, coming to a Fair or Market, and were obliged to employ

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employ their Landlords as Brokers, to buy and sell their Commodities. And we find, that one Stranger was often arrested for the Debt, or punished for the Misdemeanor of another: as if all Strangers were to be looked upon as a People with whom the English were in a State of perpetual War; and therefore, might make Reprisals on the first they could lay Hands on. This is so glaring an Injustice, and a Treatment so impolitic, as well as cruel to fair Dealers, that it would seem incredible, if there were not such authentic Vouchers for it in the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera*, in Lord Coke's *Second Institute*, Page 204. and in the Statute-Book itself:—As will farther appear in the Course of this Narrative.

BUT the Merchants of the *Low Countries*, of *Florence* and *Sienna*, having at different Times lent considerable Sums to the Kings of *England*, and the great Men of the Kingdom, the Prelates and Barons; they were at last permitted to hire Houses of their own, and to dispose of their Goods themselves to the best Advantage. This mighty Privilege was first obtained about the Year 1284. and the 12th of *Edward I.* But great were the Clamours raised on that Occasion. And *Fabian* (as quoted in the *Memoirs of Wool*, Page 17. Vol. I.) who places this Affair two Years later, viz. in

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1286. positively tells us, that this Concession
 "was to the greate Hurt of the hole Realm
 "of *England*." And *Rapin* observes, "That
 "the Commons granted the King a Subsidy of
 "the Fiftieth Part of their Moveables, to ex-
 "pel the Kingdom all such Foreigners, as
 "were a Burden to the Nation." The Bur-
 den was, as explained by *Fabian*, That these
 Strangers, by becoming settled Inhabitants,
 had greater Opportunities of adulterating their
 Wares, and using false Weights and Measures:
 So easy is it to find a Pretence, when we have
 an Inclination to do it. As if these People had
 no Opportunity of adulterating their Wares in
 their own Country, or that the *English* Land-
 lord would not have connived at the Fraud,
 provided He might share in the Profit; or, as
 if there was greater Security for their Honesty,
 when they were only Lodgers and transient
 Guests, than after they became settled in
 known Abodes. However, these Clamours
 prevailed, and their Privileges were taken from
 them, under a Colour that they were detected
 in such base Practices. And this was judged
 a sufficient Reason for levying a large Fine
 upon them, after they had suffered "by a Sea-
 "son barde, and vyle Prysonement."

BUT in a very few Years, the King, and
 the great Men, so sensibly felt the evil Conse-
 quences of expelling the Merchants Strangers,
 that

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that they thought it necessary to recal * them:
 And then the City of *London* began their Com-
 plaints; but met with an absolute Repulse:
 For Experience had taught the King and the
 Parliament to distinguish between the general
 Interests and Welfare of the Kingdom, and
 the monopolizing Views of Individuals. This
 Prince proceeded farther; and in the thirty first
 Year of his Reign, granted a Charter † of Pro-
 tection to Merchants Strangers, which con-
 tained considerable Privileges, when compared
 to the Difficulties they had formerly laboured
 under.

BUT the greatest Hardships still remained
 unredressed; particularly, that a Foreigner
 was liable to be arrested for the Debt of ano-
 ther, or to be punished for his Misdemeanor.
 It seems likewise very probable, that the Con-
 tents

* *Coke's Second Institute*, Page 741. "In the 18th
 "Year of *Edward I.* (that is about five Years after the
 "Merchants Strangers had been fined and imprisoned,
 "as above related) in the Parliament Roll it is contained
 "thus, *Cives London. petunt, quod Aliigenæ Mercatores*
 "*expellantur à Civitate, quia ditantur ad Depaupera-*
 "*tionem Civium, &c.*

"Responso, *Rex intendit quod Mercatores extranei*
 "*sunt idonei & utiles magnatibus, &c. & non habet*
 "*Consilium eos expellendi.*"

† THIS Charter is not to be found among the Public
 Acts of *Edward I.* but among those of *Edward III.*
 where it is recited at large, and confirmed anew. See
Rym. Vol. IV. Page 361.

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tents of this Charter were but little observed in the Reign of his Successor, *Edward II.* For this indolent Prince regarded nothing but to please his Favourite *Gasqueton*, and to spend all the Money he could bring together, in Diversions and Entertainments. In the mean Time, the Citizens of *London*, and the Inhabitants of other Towns and Boroughs, were at liberty to molest the Foreigners as much as they pleased. And indeed, the Broils which ensued between the King and his Barons, were another Cause which must have discouraged Strangers from settling here.

Now, as it is observable, that during the Times under our present Consideration, the whole Trade of these Parts of the World centred in *Flanders*, it may be worth while to enquire, whether the same Policy prevailed there, or what other Measures were taken in relation to Commerce. And nothing can set this in a clearer Light, than the Answer of *Robert*, Earl of *Flanders*, to the Request sent him by our King *Edward II.* to cut off all Intercourse with the *Scotish* Nation, whose King, *Robert Bruce*, was, as he alledged, in Rebellion against him, and excommunicated by the Pope. To this, the Earl returns a most respectful Answer, but adds, * " We must

* " UNDE vestram Magnificentiam volumus non latere, quod Terra nostra *Flandria* UNIVERSIS CUJUSCUM-
" QUE

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" not conceal it from your Majesty, that our
" Country of *Flanders* is COMMON TO ALL
" THE WORLD, where every Person finds a
" FREE ADMISSION: Nor can we take away
" this Privilege from Persons concerned in
" Commerce, without bringing *Ruin and De-*
" *solation on our Country.* If the *Scotch* come
" to our Ports, and our Subjects go to theirs,
" it is neither the Intention of Ourselves, nor
" our Subjects, to encourage them in their
" Error, or to be Partakers of their Crime;
" but only to carry on our Traffic, without
" taking Part with them."

It was the Opinion of this wise Prince, that his Country could not have too many People in it, though it was already the most populous in *Europe*:—Neither was he afraid, that the Subjects of other Powers would steal away the Secrets and Mysteries of Trade, though *Flanders* was known to be the Rendezvous of the most expert and ingenious Artisans;—Nor yet was
" QUE REGIONIS COMMUNIS EST, & cuiq; liber in
" eadem patet Ingressus. Nec possumus Mercatoribus,
" suas exercentibus Mercaturas, Ingressum, prout hac-
" tenus consueverunt, denegare, quin ista cederent in
" Desolationem nostræ Terræ & Ruinam. Et si *Scoti*
" ad nostros Portus declinant, & nostri Homines ad
" *Scotiæ* Portus declinaverint, Intentionis nostræ, &
" nostrorum, non est eos propter hoc in Errore fovere,
" nec in Crimine cum eis participiendò comitare, sed
" solum Mercaturas exercendo Partem minimè facien-
" tes." *Rym. Fœd. Tom. III. Page 771.*

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was he apprehensive, that such a general Naturalization would tempt the Beggars and the Lazy of other Countries, to come in Swarms to eat up the Riches of his own, though his Situation on the *Continent*, had this been a probable Consequence, might have given him much more Cause to fear it, than ours can give us, who live in an Island:—Lastly, he very justly distinguished between holding an Intercourse with People for the Benefits of Commerce, and embracing their Principles, or partaking of their Crimes.

BUT his Maxims were too large and noble to be understood by an ignorant, or relished by a prejudiced People. And we do not find, that Strangers were able to obtain any reasonable Settlement in *England*, or just Protection, till *Edward III.* came to the Throne. This great and wise Prince, in the second Year of his Reign, renewed the Charter of Protection, which his Grandfather, *Edward I.* had given to Strangers. And finding that this was not Encouragement enough, he caused a Law to be made seven Years after, for their better Security, and greater Inducement to settle here. This Statute was made in a Parliament held at *York*, 1335. some Parts of which justly deserve to be particularly cited. In the Preamble it is observed, “That grievous Damage
“ have been done to the King and his People,
“ by some People of *Cities, Boroughs, Ports*
“ of

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“ of the Sea, and other Places of the said
“ Realm, which *in long Time past have not*
“ *suffered*, nor yet will suffer Merchants
“ Strangers, nor others, which do carry and
“ bring in, by Sea or Land, Wines, Avoirdupoize, and other Livings and Victuals,
“ with divers other Things to be sold, necessary and profitable, to sell or deliver such
“ Wines, Livings, Victuals, nor other Things,
“ to any other than to themselves: By reason
“ whereof, such Stuff aforesaid, is sold to the
“ King, and to his People, in the Hands of
“ the said Citizens, Burgeses, and other People Denizens, *more dear* than they should
“ be, if such Merchants Strangers, and others,
“ which bring such Things into the Realm,
“ might freely sell them to whom they
“ would:” It was therefore enacted, that these Merchants Strangers should be at liberty to trade, buy, and sell, according as they pleased, without Disturbance or Interruption.

Now this Prince always bore the Character of being one of the most sagacious, that ever sat on the *English* Throne. And Historians have observed, that there were more good Laws made in his Reign, than in the Times of all his Predecessors. His Maxim was to prefer the general Welfare of the Kingdom, to the Interest of any particular Society. Let us therefore judge of this Law by its Effects.—

C

I. THERE-

I. THEREFORE in two Years after the passing of it, we find an Act made to prevent the Exportation of Wool;—Another against wearing outlandish Cloth;—Another against bringing of strange Cloth into the Realm;—And another to invite foreign Cloth-makers into the King's Dominions. “And to the Intent,” saith the Act, “the said Cloth-workers shall have the greater Will to come and dwell here, our Sovereign Lord the King will grant them Franchises, as many, and such as may suffice them.” This Statute of Naturalization caused great Commotions in some of the principal Cities: For the *English* would have rather chose to have seen their Wool exported unmanufactured, as usual, than be taught by Foreigners to make it into Cloth. But the King was determined, that the Purposes of so excellent a Law should not be defeated for want of Execution. And therefore, when the Mayor and Magistrates of *Bristol* endeavoured to prevent the introducing of Weavers, and other Manufacturers, by extorting large Sums of Money from the Undertakers, and by other Acts of Oppression and Violence, he sent them a very severe Reprimand, and gave them to understand, that it was in vain to contend against a Law which he had resolved should be obeyed. And when the Citizens of *London* proceeded to greater Outrages, he sent them likewise the same kind of

of expostulatory and threatenng Letter. These two Mandates are such evident Proofs of the narrow Spirit and Perverseness of our Forefathers (whom too many among Us, even at this Day, are weak enough to copy after) that I have inserted them below * for the Reader's Satisfaction.

II. In

* THE first Mandate, viz. That to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Bristol*, is dated the 15th of *November*, 1339. that is, about two Years after passing the Naturalization Act, and runs in these Words;

“ REX, Majori & Ballivis Villæ suæ *Bristolliæ*,
“ salutem:

“ CUM nuper de assensu Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum, ac aliorum, in Parlamento nostro apud *Westmonasterium* tunc convocato existentium, ordinatum fuisset & concordatum, quod *Lanæ infra Regnum nostrum in Pannos operarentur*; & quod omnes illi qui Pannos hujusmodi operari & facere vellent, eos in singulis locis ejusdem Regni operari & facere possent absq; Impedimento qualicumq; Jamq; ex parte *Thomæ Blauket*, & quorundam aliorum Burgensium Villæ prædictæ, acceperimus, quod cum ipsi prætextu Concordiæ & Ordinationis prædictarum, ac Proclamationis ibidem, ut dicitur, ex parte nostrâ inde factæ, diversa instrumenta pro Pannis hujusmodi textendis & faciendis in domibus suis propriis fieri, & taxatores ac alios operarios ex hac causâ conduci fecerint; vos ad præmissâ considerationem non habentes, diversas Pecuniæ Summas ab iisdem *Thomâ* & aliis occasione confectionis & levationis instrumentorum prædictorum, exigitis, & ipsos eâ occasione multipliciter inquietatis & gravatis, ut asserunt, minus justè, in ipsorum *Thomæ* & aliorum dispendium non modicum;

C 2

“ &

II. IN the following Parliaments many Regulations were made for the true and just making and measuring of Cloth, as also for the good Government of other Artificers; which is a strong presumptive Proof, that Trade and Commerce were considerably extended.

III. This

“ & contra formam ordinationis, concordiae, & proclamationis praedictarum: Super qua supplicarunt sibi
 “ per nos de congruo remedio in hac parte provideri:
 “ Nos advertentes ordinationem, concordiam, & proclamationem praedictas, si in Regno nostro teneantur
 “ & observentur, ad nostram & totius populi nostri ejusdem Regni utilitatem cedere posse; volentesq; praefatos
 “ Thomam & alios qui Pannos hujusmodi operari & facere voluerint, ac ipsos operarios eo praetextu ab injuriis & exactionibus indebitis protegi & tueri, Vobis
 “ MANDAMUS, &c.” See *Rymer's Fæd.* Vol. V. Page 137.

THE other Mandate bears date the 12th of October, 1344. viz.

“ REX, Majori & Vicecomitibus *Londoniæ*, salutem:

“ CUM in Parlamento nostro, apud *Westmonasterium*,
 “ anno Regni nostri *Angliæ* undecimo, tento inter cætera, pro communi utilitate dicti Regni, concordatum fuisset, quod omnes operarii Pannorum de partibus extraneis, de quacumque terrâ fuerint, qui infra dictum Regnum nostrum, aut terras nostras *Hiberniæ*, & *Walliæ*, venire, & ibidem morari vellent, in iidem Regno & terris salvè & securè sub protectione & salvo conductu nostris venirent, & ubi in dictis Regno & terris vellent, morarentur, & quod nos eisdem operariis, ut libentius ibidem venirent, tot & tales libertates, quod eis sufficerent, concederemus, quam quidem

III. THIS famous Statute, made in the ninth Year of his Reign, is often confirmed by subsequent Parliaments, and sometimes with ample Additions. And the very Words of the several Confirmations plainly imply, That the Mayors and Societies of the respective Cities and Boroughs, were extremely averse to obey this useful Law. But the Confirmations of it, passed in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign, *Stat. IV. c. 2.* and the twenty seventh, *Stat. II. c. 2.* put it out of their Power to molest foreign Merchants and Artificers for the future, in any other Way, than by arresting one Foreigner for the Debt of another. This barbarous Custom had long prevailed, and was sometimes made an Engine of Oppression

“ dem concordiam in Civitate praedictâ, & in singulis
 “ Comitatibus dicti Regni nostri, fecimus proclamari,
 “ ac jam intellexerimus, quod quidem Malefactores de
 “ Civitate praedictâ, diversis hujusmodi operariis Pannorum, qui juxta proclamationem praedictam, sub protectione nostrâ, jamdiu est, venerunt, & in dicta Civitate, per tempus non modicum, mesteras suas exercendo, sunt morati, diversa dampna & gravamina intulerunt, & in dies inferunt, ipsiq; de VITA & MEMBRIS in tantum COMMINANTUR, quod ibidem ulterius morari non audent, nisi eis per nos subveniatur in hac parte; nos, volentes omnes & singulos hujusmodi operarios, de partibus exteris, in Regnum nostrum praedictum, ex causâ praedictâ venientes, & ibidem morantes, a violentiis & injuriis, quibuscumq; preservari, Vobis MANDAMUS, &c.” See *Rymer's Fæd.* Vol. V. Page 429.

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Oppression in the Hands of the Freemen of one City or Town, against those of another. For the Members of these little Societies are so selfish and narrow-minded, as to consider every Person as a Foreigner, that doth not belong to their Community. But though we learn from Lord Coke, in his *Second Institute*, Chap. 23. that the *English* themselves were apt enough to commit these Outrages on each other, and sometimes did so; yet as every Corporation could retaliate the Wrong done to its own Member, upon the Member of another Corporation, when he was found within its Precincts, this became, in some Degree, a reciprocal Check upon them. Whereas the poor Alien had no Protection or Redress, All being united against him, as their common Enemy. And if this Custom had continued, the Inhabitants of the Cities and Boroughs would have rendered this Country so unsafe for Foreigners, that they must all have left it, notwithstanding the King and the Parliament had encouraged them to settle here.

WHEREFORE, IV. To stop the Progress of these iniquitous Proceedings, a Law was made to abolish such a Custom for ever: Every Word of which is so expressive of national Justice, good Faith, and public Utility, that I am persuaded I shall do my Readers a Pleasure to recite it at large.

Anno

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 15

Anno 27mo *Edwardi* III. Anno Dom. 1353.
Stat. II. c. 17.

“ A MERCHANT Stranger shall not be impeached for another's Debt, but upon a good Cause. Merchants of Enemies Countries shall sell their Goods in convenient Time, and depart.

“ ITEM, That no Merchant Stranger be impeached for another's Trespass, or for another's Debt, whereof he is not Debtor, Pledge, nor Mainpignor. Provided always, that if our liege People, Merchants, or others, be indamaged by any Lords of strange Lands, or their Subjects, and the said Lords (duly required) fail of Right to our said Subjects, we shall have the Law of Marque, and of taking them again, as hath been used in Times passed, without Fraud or Deceit. And in case that Debate do rise (which God defend) betwixt Us and any Lords of strange Lands, We will not that the People and Merchants of the said Lands be suddenly subdued in our said Realm and Lands, because of such Debate; but that they be warned, and Proclamation thereof published, that they shall void the said Realm and Lands with their Goods freely, within forty Days after the Warning and Proclamation so made: And that in the
“ mean

16 HISTORICAL REMARKS on the

“ mean Time, they be not impeached, nor
“ let of their Passage, or of making their Pro-
“ fit of the same Merchandizes, if they will
“ sell them. And in case that for default of
“ Wind, or of Ship, or for Sickness, or for
“ other evident Cause, they cannot avoid our
“ said Realm and Lands within so short a
“ Time, then they shall have other forty Days,
“ or more, if need be, within which they
“ may pass conveniently, with selling their
“ Merchandize as aforesaid.”

LASTLY, The prodigious Increase of na-
tional Commerce, in Consequence of these
Proceedings, is an Argument, above all others,
in favour of their Utility. For a late Writer
hath observed,* “ That in the twenty eighth
“ Year of *Edward III.* that is, in the Year 1354.
“ [remarkable for being the Year after the
“ above Law was enacted] we have a Record
“ in the Exchequer, shewing the Exports
“ and Imports, by which it appears, that the
“ Ballance of our Trade produced 255,214*l.*
“ 13*s.* 8*d.* which, considering the Difference
“ of Money then and now, is about 737,021*l.*
“ 16*s.* 11*d.* as we reckon it at present [I be-
“ lieve it could be made appear to be a
“ much greater Sum] And yet there is no
“ Notice taken in this Account, either of Tin
“ or Lead, or of other staple Commodities,
“ which

* *The Preceptor*, Voll. II, *Trade and Commerce*, Chap.
iii. Page 414.

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“ which we certainly exported: And yet, all
“ Things considered, this must appear a most
“ amazing Proof of the early Profits of our
“ Commerce.” The Remarks of this Au-
thor are very just: But he seems to be at a Loss,
how to account for such a prodigious Balance
in our Favour in these early Times: Yet I am
persuaded, if he had considered the Affair in
the Light in which it now appears, he would
have found no Difficulty in accounting for it.

UPON the whole therefore, notwithstanding
some *Mistakes* in Commerce, which indeed are
not to be wondred at, considering these early
Times, and the Contests for the Crown of
France, which the *English* Nation impolitically
supported, this great Prince mightily increased
the Trade of *England*; by which Means he
was enabled to bear the Expences of a long
consuming War, and to leave his Kingdom
much richer than he found it. He laid the
Foundation for great Things: But the unhap-
py Bias of the *English* was always working
against Foreigners.

THEREFORE towards the End of his long
Reign, when the Historians describe him, as
having deviated very much from his wonted
good Conduct, the Mayor and Citizens of
London renewed their Solicitations at this Junc-
ture, and set forth most amply the Grievances
supposed to be occasioned by the Admission of
Foreigners.

18 HISTORICAL REMARKS on the
 Foreigners. These are summed up in their
 own Words, as follows, * “ And whereas, at
 “ the last Parliament, holden at *Westminster*,
 “ it was answered to them [the Mayor, Alder-
 “ men, and Commonalty of the City of *Lon-*
 “ *don*] that they should declare their Griev-
 “ ances *pecially*, and that they should have
 “ good Remedy: Of which Grievances, a-
 “ mongst divers others, these be, That any
 “ Stranger might dwell in the said City, and
 “ keep an House, and be a Broker, and sell
 “ and buy all Manner of Merchandises by Re-
 “ tail; and one Stranger to sell unto another,
 “ to sell again; to the great enhancing of the
 “ Prices of Merchandises, and a *Cause to make*
 “ *them remain there more than forty Days:*
 “ Whereas, in Times past, no Merchants
 “ Strangers might do any such Thing, con-
 “ trary to the Franchises of the said City, be-
 “ fore these Times had and used; by which
 “ Grievances, the Merchants of the said City
 “ are greatly impoverished, and the Navy im-
 “ paired, and the Secrets of the Land, by the
 “ said Strangers, discovered to our Enemies,
 “ by Spies, and other Strangers, into these
 “ Houses received. May it therefore please
 “ your Majesty and Council, in this present
 “ Parliament, to ordain, That the said Mer-
 “ chants Strangers may be restrained in the
 “ Points aforesaid; and that the said Mayor,
 “ Aldermen, and Commonalty of your said
 “ City
 * *Seymour's Survey of London, Vol. II, Page 314.*

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“ City may enjoy the said Franchises, any
 “ Law or Custom, heretofore made unto the
 “ contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstand-
 “ ing.”

BUT the King was not so much altered
 from himself, as not to see through these Pre-
 tentences; and therefore gave the Petitioners lit-
 tle more than kind Words in redress of their
 Grievances. For he still persevered in his
 former Sentiments, that he was as good a
 Judge of what was for the general Advantage
 of the Kingdom, the Increase of the Navy,
 and the Preservation of the State, as they were,
 and had it as much at Heart: And all that he
 did for them, was to make some inconsiderable
 Concessions, conditionally, or rather indeter-
 minately expressed, while he denied the main
 Part of their Suit. This Affair happened in
 the fiftieth Year of his Reign, and the last but
 one of his Life.

BUT so soon as the old King was dead,
 the Mayor and Citizens of *London* addressed his
 Grandson and Successor, *Richard II.* and met
 with better Success. For in the very first Year
 of his Reign, he deprived the Foreigners of
 the Liberty of buying and selling of, or to any
 other Foreigner, within the Precincts of the City
 of *London*: This was confirmed by an Act of
 Parliament, made in the same Year, as *Seymour*
 relates; but is not to be found in the Statute

D 2 Book.

20 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*
 Book. However it is plain, that the Inhabitants of the Cities and Boroughs began to triumph, in Consequence of a Victory over Foreigners, and practised the same Outrages and Insults against them, which they had formerly done. To put a Stop to which, two Laws were enacted, one in the second, and the other in the eleventh Year of his Reign, which explain and confirm the several Statutes made by his Grandfather, *Edward III.* in favour of Foreigners.

BUT as we are not to expect mighty Matters for the Public Good from a Prince of the Character of *Richard II.* so we find in the Year 1392. the very Year in which he received ten thousand Pounds, and two gold Crowns from the City of *London*, by way of Redemption Money for their Charter, that he was so mollified with this Sum, opportunely coming in to answer his extravagant Expences, as to pass a Law to repeal the principal Advantages granted by his Grandfather and himself to Strangers. After having recited the Act of *Edward III.* with the several Additions, it proceeds, "Nevertheless, forasmuch as it seemeth to our Lord the King, that the said Statutes, if they shall be *fully bolden and executed*, shall extend to the great Hindrance and Damage of the *City of London*, as of other Cities, Boroughs, and Towns of this Realm, it is ordained, &c." There needs no Comment upon this Part of the Statute; the

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 the very Words declare, at whose Instigation the Law was made, and whose [*supposed*] Interests it was designed to serve. This Statute deprived Merchants Strangers of the Benefit of selling to another Merchant Stranger, who was to sell again. It was likewise ordained, that no Merchant Stranger should sell by Retail, but only in Gross: Nay, Merchants Strangers were not allowed to *put*, that is, to expose to Sale any Manner of Wares or Merchandises, except Livings and Victuals.

BUT still there was a Shadow of Liberty remaining; particularly Merchants Strangers were allowed the Benefit of residing in *England* as long as they pleased, and of dwelling in Houses of their own, and being their own Brokers in the Disposal of their Effects. Therefore a Law was obtained the fifth of *Henry IV.* A. D. 1403. c. 9. which ordained, "That all Merchants Aliens, and Strangers, SHALL SELL their Merchandises, brought into this Realm, *within a Quarter of a Year* next after their coming into the same; and also that the Money which shall be delivered by Exchange in *England*, be employed upon the Commodities of the Realm, within the said Realm, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same Money; and that no Merchant Alien, nor Stranger, sell *any Manner* of Merchandise to any other Merchant Alien, or Stranger, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same Merchandise."

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“dise. And also, it is ordained and establish-
 “ed, that in every City, Town, and Port
 “of the Sea, in *England*, where the said
 “Merchants Aliens, or Strangers be, or shall
 “be repairing, sufficient Hosts shall be *assigned*
 “to the said Merchants by the Mayor, She-
 “riffs, or Bailiffs;—and that the said Mer-
 “chants Aliens, and Strangers, shall dwell in
 “*no other* Place, but with their said Hosts so
 “to be assigned; and that the said Hosts, so
 “to be assigned, shall take for their Travel in
 “the Manner as was accustomed in old Time.”

By the Tenor of this Law, a Merchant Stranger was not only deprived of the Benefit of selling to another Merchant Stranger, who was to sell again within the Realm, according to the Statute of *Richard II.* mentioned above; but also he was restrained from selling *at all* to Merchants Strangers, though for the Purposes of *Exportation*: So that it became a Crime, by the Laws of the Land, to attempt to make this Country the Centre of Trade, and a Magazine for other Nations. And yet, this unhappy *national* Bias, joined with the narrow, selfish Views of Individuals, prevailed so strongly, that this very absurd Clause was confirmed again by a Statute made the next Year, the sixth of *Henry IV.* c. 4. There was indeed a Repeal of the Obligation laid upon Foreigners to sell their Merchandises within a Quarter of a Year after Importation: But particular Care was taken to add, “Saving always, the Fran-
 “chises

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“chises and Liberties of the City of *London*:
 “And further, Provided always, that the said
 “Merchants Aliens, and Strangers, shall not
 “carry, or *cause to be carried*, out of the
 “Realm, any Merchandises *brought within*
 “the Realm by the Merchants Aliens and
 “Strangers aforesaid.” This was strengthen-
 ing the Evil; so that even our own Shipping were not to be employed in carrying the Goods of Foreigners from one Country to another.—
 We shall presently see what Use the Citizens of *London* made of these Statutes.

Now as these Laws were made in the Reign of *Henry IV.* it may be reasonably asked, How a Prince so politic and attached to his Interest, could be induced to pass them? For it was impossible to avoid perceiving, that the Duties and Customs would be greatly diminished by such Exclusions and Monopolies. And yet perhaps he acted wholly upon the Principles of Self-Interest and State Policy in this Affair. For he found it necessary to stand well with the Citizens of *London*, and to gain the Affections of the People at any Rate. Great Discontents then prevailed, on account of his Behaviour to, and supposed Murder of the deposed King. A Conspiracy and a dangerous Insurrection were actually then on foot. Besides, he had a favourite Point to be gained; no less than the intailing of the Realms of *England* and *France* on his four Sons, which was
 proposed

24 HISTORICAL REMARKS on the
proposed and carried the Beginning of the next
Sessions of Parliament. But as soon as this
Point was obtained, his Complaisance grew
less; and a Law was passed the very same Ses-
sions, to restrain the Encroachments of the Ci-
tizens of *London*, viz. Anno 7mo *Hen. IV.*
A. D. 1405. c. 9. “ *Item*, Whereas at the
“ grievous Complaint made by the Commons
“ in the said Parliament, it is shewed, how
“ that in old Time it was used and accustomed,
“ that as well the Cloth-makers and Drapers
“ of whatsoever Place of the Realm, repairing
“ and having Recourse to the City of *London*,
“ as other Merchants with divers Merchan-
“ dises, as Wine, Iron, Oil, and Wax, and
“ other Things pertaining to Merchandise, ex-
“ ercising, repairing, and having Recourse to
“ the said City, have bought and sold in *Gross*,
“ as well with *Aliens* as with *Denizens*, of
“ the Cloths and other Merchandizes afore-
“ said, at their Will and Pleasure, paying in
“ this Behalf only, the Customs and other De-
“ voirs thereof, reasonably due: And never,
“ in all the said Time, were disturbed, or in
“ any Manner hindered, to sell or buy in
“ *Gross* with Merchants, Aliens or Denizens,
“ of such Cloths and Merchandises at their
“ Will and Pleasure, but *only to Retail*: And
“ now of late, as well the same Cloth-mak-
“ ers, as other the Merchants aforesaid, by
“ the Mayor, Sherifs, Aldermen, Drapers,
“ and Merchants of *London*, be daily disturbed
“ and

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“ and let to sell and buy in the Manner afore-
“ said, as well in *Gross* as in *Retail*, and griev-
“ ously and continually *constrained* to sell their
“ said Cloths and Merchandises *only* to the
“ Merchants and Inhabitants of the said City,
“ to the singular Profit and Advantage of them
“ of *London*, and also to the Damage and Loss
“ of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
“ the Commons of this Realm, as of the said
“ Cloth-makers and Merchants so grieved, and
“ a plain Ensample and Occasion to such
“ Cloth-makers and Merchants so grieved, to
“ withdraw themselves from the said City from
“ henceforth, if Remedy be not rather pro-
“ vided in this Behalf: It is ordained and
“ established, that as well the Drapers and
“ Cloth-sellers, as other Merchants, with
“ their sundry Merchandises, shall be free to
“ sell in *Gross* their Cloths, Iron, Oil, and
“ Wax, and other their Merchandises, as well
“ to all the King's liege People, as to the Ci-
“ tizens of *London*, notwithstanding any Fran-
“ chise or Liberty granted to the contrary.”

It may be greatly questioned, whether
the City of *London* ever had any Franchise or
Privilege of this Sort. But the Citizens as-
sumed to themselves such a Prerogative, by
construing the Statutes made against Aliens and
Foreigners, as extending also to exclude Na-
tives of the Realm, if *not free* of their City.
For they have ever considered all others, tho'
E the

the King's natural born Subjects, in the Light of Foreigners; and give them this very Appellation in their City-Laws.

BUT if this Act seemed to open a Door for Foreigners to enter in again, effectual Care was taken, by Statutes made in the following Reigns, to shut it up. One of these Acts proceeded so far as to ordain, "That no *English-man* shall within this Realm sell, or cause to be sold hereafter, to any Merchant Alien, any Manner of Merchandises, but only for ready Payment in hand, or else in Merchandises for Merchandises, to be paid and contented in hand, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same." This Law was made, A. D. 1429. and the Eighth of *Henry VI.* c. 24. but being of a Nature too absurd and extravagant to be put in Practice, was repealed the following Sessions.

IT is a Matter of no small Astonishment, that any Foreigners should remain, or come into the Kingdom, after such incessant Pains to drive and keep them out. But, as if Providence had decreed we should be a TRADING Nation, in spite of all Endeavours to the contrary, they rather encreased than diminished by these Oppressions;—if the Accounts given in the Preamble of the famous Statute of *Richard III.* are to be credited. This bloody Tyrant had rendered himself extremely odious by his Usurpation

Usurpation and Barbarities. But as he well understood the *Foible* of the *English*, he sought their Reconciliation by passing a very popular Act against Foreigners. This Statute was made in the first Parliament after his Accession, principally to gratify the Citizens of *London*; and sets forth, "That our Sovereign Lord the King, upon Petition made to him, in his said Parliament, by the Commons of *England*, hath conceived and understood, That whereas Merchants Strangers, of the Nation of *Italy*, as *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Apulians*, *Cicilians*, *Lucaners*, *Catilians*, and other of the same Nation, in great Number do inhabit and keep Houses, as well in the City of *London*, as in other Cities and Boroughs within this his Realm, and do take Warehouses and Cellars, and therein put their Wares and Merchandises, which they bring into this said Realm; and them, in the said Cellars and Warehouses, deceitfully do pack, mingle, and keep the same, till such Time the Prices thereof be greatly enhanced, for their great Lucre; and the same Merchandises and Wares they then sell to all Manner of People, as well within the Ports where they bring the said Wares and Merchandises, as to other divers and many Places within this Realm; as well by Retail as otherwise: And also do buy in the said Ports and other Places, at their own Liberty, the Commodities of this Realm, and sell the

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“ same again at their Pleasure, within the
 “ same, as commonly and freely as any of the
 “ King’s liege People doth, and do not em-
 “ ploy a great Part of the Money, coming
 “ thereof, upon the Commodities of this
 “ Realm; but make it over the Sea by Ex-
 “ change to divers Countries, to the King’s
 “ great Damage in Loss of his Customs, and
 “ to the great Impoverishing of his said Sub-
 “ jects, of whom they should buy the Com-
 “ modities of this Realm.

“ II. AND the same Merchants of *Italy*,
 “ and other Merchants Strangers, be *Hosts*,
 “ and take to them People of other Nations,
 “ and be with them daily; and do buy, sell,
 “ and make privy and secret Contracts and
 “ Bargains with the same People, to their
 “ great Increase and Profit, and to the impor-
 “ tune Damage of the King’s said Subjects,
 “ and contrary to divers Statutes in this Case
 “ provided and ordained.

“ III. ALSO, the said Merchants of *Italy*
 “ do buy, in divers Places within this Realm,
 “ a great Quantity of Wool, and *Woollen Cloth*,
 “ and other Merchandises, of the King’s Sub-
 “ jects; and Part thereof they sell again to the
 “ said Subjects, and other within this Realm,
 “ to their great Advantage; and much of the
 “ said Wools they do *deliver to Cloth-makers*,
 “ thereof to *make Cloth* at their Pleasure.

“ IV. MORE-

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“ IV. MOREOVER, a great Number of Ar-
 “ tificers, and other Strangers, not born un-
 “ der the King’s Obedience, do daily resort
 “ and repair to the City of *London*, and to
 “ other Cities, Boroughs, and Towns of the
 “ said Realm, and much more than they were
 “ wont to do in Times past; and inhabit by
 “ themselves, in the said Realm, with their
 “ Wives, Children, and Household, and will
 “ not take upon them any laborious Occupa-
 “ tion, as going to Plow and Cart, and other
 “ like Business, but use the making of Cloth,
 “ and other handicraft and easy Occupations;
 “ and bring and convey, from the Parts be-
 “ yond the Sea, great Substance of Wares and
 “ Merchandises to Fairs and Markets, and all
 “ other Places of this Realm, at their Plea-
 “ sure, and there sell the same, as well by Re-
 “ tail as otherwise, as freely as any of the
 “ King’s Subjects used to do, to the great Da-
 “ mage and Impoverishment of the King’s
 “ said Subjects; and will in no wise suffer nor
 “ take any of the King’s said Subjects to work
 “ with them, but they take only, into their
 “ Service, People born in their own Country;
 “ whereby the King’s said Subjects, *for Lack*
 “ *of Occupation, fall into Idleness, and be-*
 “ *Thieves, Beggars, Vagabonds, and People of*
 “ *vicious Living*, to the great Perturbance both
 “ of the King, and all his Realm. And when
 “ the Merchants, Artificers, and Strangers,
 “ before

30 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*

“ before rehearfed, have gained within this
 “ Realm, by Buying and Selling; and by fuch
 “ eafy Occupations and Handicrafts, great
 “ Subftance of Goods: With the fame Sub-
 “ ftance they go out of the faid Realm, to
 “ fuch Parts beyond the Sea as them liketh
 “ beft, and there fend the fame Goods often-
 “ times among the King’s Adverfaries and
 “ Enemies, to the great Damage of our So-
 “ vereign Lord the King and his Subjects, and
 “ Impoverifhment of this Realm, and the
 “ Commons of the fame: And fo by the
 “ Occafion of the Premifes, the Subftance of
 “ the Inhabitants in the faid Cities, Boroughs
 “ and Towns, now of late hath fallen, and
 “ daily doth fall into great Poverty and De-
 “ cay, to their great undoing, unlefs the King’s
 “ gracious Aid be to them in this Behalf
 “ fhewed.”

THE absurd Suggeltions in this Preamble,
 That a free Trade caufes a Monopoly, and
 that the Buying our own Wool, and manu-
 facturing it into Cloth at Home, tends to im-
 poverifh a Country, feem naturally to point
 out this Inference,—That if the Force of Pre-
 judice in our Anceftors was fo ftrong, as to
 make them believe Propofitions, not only con-
 tradictory to common Senfe, but alfo fo pal-
 pably againft their own Intereft, We fhould be
 the more cautious that our Judgments be not
 biaffed by any popular Cry, nor by any Re-
 mains

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mains of this national Foible, whenever Quef-
 tions relating to the Naturalization of Foreign-
 ers come upon the Carpet. Befides, Suppofe
 we allow it to be true, that the Merchants
 Strangers did leave the Kingdom, after they
 had acquired Riches in it,—Whom were the
English to blame, but themfelves, as they had
 taken fuch uncommon Pains to render this
 Country an unfafe and difagreeable Place for
 Strangers to refide in? And was it not natu-
 ral for Foreigners to affociate together, while
 they ftaid here, as they were fo hated and
 ill-used by the Natives?

HOWEVER, a Law was made to redrefs thefe
 imaginary Grievances: A Stranger was never
 to fell by Retail, nor to be an Hofe or Land-
 lord to any other, but to a Fellow-Country-
 man: Aliens were to fell their Merchandifes
 within *eight* Months after their Arrival, and to
 lay out the Money, fo received, in buying the
 Commodities of the Country;—yet they were
 not allowed to buy or fell Wool, or Woollen
 Cloth, nor to *make Wool into Cloth*, nor deliver
 Wool to others for that Purpose; nor were even
 the King’s natural born Subjects to make Cloth
 for Aliens, under Pain of Forfeiture of the
 faid Cloth: Aliens were to take no Apprentices
 or Servants, but the King’s natural born Sub-
 jects; and if any Alien Artificers, or Handi-
 craftsmen, fhould come into the Realm, after
 a limited Time, they were to return into their
 own

32 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*
 own Country, or submit to become Servants
 to the *English* of the like Occupation.
 YET as Necessity is always ingenious, the
 Strangers found Means to elude a great Part of
 these Penalties, by getting themselves made
 Denizens by Virtue of the King's Prerogative.
 Therefore in the Beginning of the next Reign,
 (*Henry VII.*) as this was looked upon a fa-
 vourable Juncture, Application was made,
 and a Bill obtained, That if Strangers were
 made Denizens, they were to reap no Privi-
 leges from that Grant.

AND now, one would think, the *English*
 had gained a complete Victory over Foreign-
 ers. Let us see therefore, What were the
 mighty Consequences? All the trading Parts
 of the Kingdom had joined with the Citizens
 of *London* against the *common Enemy*. But
 when he was subdued, did Trade raise its droop-
 ing Head? Did Wealth and Plenty, the na-
 tural Consequences of Commerce, follow on
 this Expulsion of those, who were before re-
 presented as taking the Bread out of *the Mouths*
of the Natives? No, the Event verified what
 plain, unbiaffed common Sense would have fore-
 told, that an Encrease of Trade neither would,
 nor could follow such an Expulsion. For the
 same narrow, selfish way of Thinking, that
 then prevailed in *London*, the greatest trading
 City in the Kingdom, against Foreigners buy-
 ing

ing even our own manufactured Commodities,
 as naturally, and upon the same Principles, in-
 duced them to engross the whole Trade of the
 Kingdom to themselves; as all greater Bodies
 will do, where Trade is not free. And then
 the same Pretences were alledged against the
 Out-Ports, as the Inhabitants of the Out-Ports,
 duped by the Artifice and Example of the *Lon-*
doners, had formerly alledged against Foreign-
 ers. They then began to be sensible of an
 Evil, which they would not feel before.
 Therefore they petitioned the Parliament for
 Redress; and indeed it was high Time they
 should do so, since no Merchant of the Out-
 Ports was permitted to trade to *Spain, Portu-*
gal, France, Ireland, Venice, Dantzick, Flan-
ders, Holland, and the Sea Coasts of *Germany*,
 unless he paid 20*l.* sterling to the Fellowship
 and Merchants of *London*: A great Sum in
 those Days, especially to a Beginner! All this,
 we may suppose, was done with a Pretence to
 keep up the Credit of our Commodities in fo-
 reign Markets, and to supply them with pro-
 per Sortments of Goods; the usual, though a
 very senseless Plea, for all Monopolies: But the
 real Consequence was, as is set forth in the
 Preamble to the Statute, expressly made to
 prevent this Encroachment, 19 *Hen. VII. c. 6.*
 " That all Merchants, not being of the same
 " Fellowship and Confederacy, withdraw
 " themselves from the said Marts [of *Spain,*
 " *Portugal, France, &c.*] whereby the Wool-
 F " len

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 “ len Cloth of this Realm, *which is one of the*
 “ *greatest Commodities of the same*, by making
 “ whereof the King’s true Subjects be put in
 “ Occupation, *and the poor People have most*
 “ *universally their Living*, and also other di-
 “ vers Commodities of divers and several Parts
 “ of this same Realm, is not sold nor uttered,
 “ as it hath been in Times past: But for *lack*
 “ *of Utterance* for the same in divers Parts,
 “ where such Cloths be made, they be *con-*
 “ *veyed to London*, where they be sold for un-
 “ der the Price they be worth, and that they
 “ cost the Makers of the same; and at other
 “ Times, they be lent to long Days, and the
 “ Money thereof, at divers Times never paid.
 “ And over that, the Commodities and Mer-
 “ chandises of those Parts, which the said Fel-
 “ lowship Merchants of *London*, and other
 “ their Confederates, bring into this Land, is
 “ sold to your said Complainants, and others,
 “ the King’s true Subjects, at so DEAR AND
 “ HIGH EXCEEDING *Price*, that the Buyer of
 “ the same cannot live thereupon: By reason
 “ whereof, *all the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs*
 “ of this Realm, in effect be *fallen into great*
 “ *Poverty, Ruin, and Decay.*”

HERE is a very different Account given of
 the Causes of depopulating the Cities, Towns,
 and Villages, from that set forth before by the
Londoners: And the Reader is to judge, which
 hath the Probability of being the *true one*. The
 Foreigners

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Foreigners were now driven out: Here is no
 Complaint brought against *them*; and yet the
 Evil was every Day encreasing. Nay, from
 the first Time Foreigners were put under
 such Restraints and Discouragements, the Coun-
 try became apparently thinner of Inhabitants.
 And the Diminution of Inhabitants, much a-
 bout this Juncture, is a Circumstance taken
 notice of by all Historians, and even by the
 Statute Book. For Laws were made from
 Time to Time, with an Intent to people the
 Country again. It was ordained, that all an-
 tient dwelling Houses, and Houses of Hus-
 bandry, should be kept in good Repair: No
 Arable Land was permitted to be converted into
 Pasture: The Number of Farms, which any
 Person was suffered to hold, was limited, as
 was also the Number of Sheep he was allowed
 to keep: Upon which last Article, I remember
 to have read somewhere in Bishop *Latimer*,
 that the Sheep, tho’ mild Animals, had de-
 voured more Men in *England*, than the most
 ravenous Beasts of Prey. — He meant, that
 Agriculture was neglected, the Towns and
 Villages forsaken, and nothing to be seen, but
 a few Shepherds with large Flocks of Sheep.

IT is easy to perceive, that these Laws did
 not reach the Root of the Evil, and could have
 very little Effect in removing the real Cause
 of Complaint. But the *English* were resolved
 to try all Expedients, rather than admit the
 F 2 Persons,

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Persons, against whom the national Prejudice was raised so high. Nay, in the very midst of the Calamities of the Kingdom, the Citizens of *London* gave a new Specimen of their hereditary Hatred against the few Foreigners that remained, and obtained a severe Decree in the Star-Chamber, the twenty first of *Henry VIII.* to put all the penal Laws in Force against them. They took Care to exaggerate every Circumstance, and represented the Realm to be overrun with foreign Manufacturers; which, if true, must have contradicted all that had been said before, concerning the general Decay of Trade, the Depopulation of the Towns and Villages, and the running into Decay of the Farm Houses. But the Truth is, they longed to recover the Monopoly they had lost by the nineteenth of *Henry VII. c. 6.* and therefore began, as usual, with making their first Attack upon Foreigners or Aliens; in which they were sure to do an acceptable Thing to the rest of the Kingdom. Their Views will best appear, by producing some of the Articles of their *lamentable Bill of Complaint* (these are their very Words) *viz.* "That Aliens, not born within the King's Obedience, exported Bacon, Cheese, Powdered Beef, Mutton, and other Commodities of this Realm;— and that by the continual Recourse of Strangers Handicraftsmen, great Portions of Corn and Victual, grown and bred within the Realm, were consumed." To which, and the

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the like *destructive* Causes, they imputed many tragical Events; such as that "the *English* Artificers, for lack of Occupation, be constrained to live in Idleness, by Occasion whereof they do continually fall to Theft, Murder, and other great Offences, and consequently, in great Numbers be put to Death by the Laws." And with equal Justice, the great Numbers condemned at present in every Sessions at the *Old Bailey*, may ascribe their Deaths to the same Cause:—And probably would have done it, if the Opponents of the late Naturalization Bill had been so happy as to have suggested the Thought to them.

THUS Things went on, from bad to worse, till there were scarce any *Remains* of the Clothing Trade left in *England*. Foreigners being expelled, and no Recruits suffered to come in, the native *English* soon commenced Monopolists, and rose the Price of their Manufactures upon their Fellow Subjects, which was attended with three very fatal Consequences, *viz.* 1. The Cloth, imported from abroad, could be had at a cheaper Rate than what was made at home; and whosoever sells cheapest, be he Foreigner or Native, will always have the Preference at Market. 2. The *English* Journeymen, and lower Manufacturers, who had been the most noisy in their Clamours against Foreigners, being now destitute of Work at home, were glad to retire to Foreign Countries,

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tries to seek for Employment. They then found to their Cost, that the *Expulsion* of Foreigners was the Cause of taking the *Bread out of their Mouths*, not the *Admission* of them.

3. The Consumption of Provisions growing less every Day on these Accounts, there was no Encouragement to the Farmers and the landed Gentlemen to raise any Thing, but numerous Flocks of Sheep, which they were sure would turn to good Account by the Demand for Wool in *Flanders*.

AND so great was the Decay of the Woollen, and all other Manufactures, that the very Remembrance seems to have been lost among us. For most Persons usually suppose, that these Arts had gained little or no Footing in *England*, till the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; whereas, in fact, she was only the *Reviver* of them, by pursuing, or rather by *not opposing* the Plan laid down so long before, by *Edward III*. And it hath been fully shewn, in the Course of this Narrative, that many Years before her Reign, the Woollen Manufacture had been considered as the *staple* Commodity of the Kingdom, which employed vast Numbers of People in the several Branches of it.

BUT having brought Matters to this Period, I must here observe, that we owed the Revival of our Mercantile Knowledge, and that we ought to ascribe the great Progress which hath

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hath been made in the Arts of Commerce, more to the Persecution by the Duke *D'Alva*, who acted upon Principles, in all respects opposite to the former Counts of *Flanders*, than to any sound Policy of the *English* Nation. For though *Queen Elizabeth*, and before her, *King Edward VI*. did really receive the Refugees in an hospitable Manner, yet it doth not appear, that the Majority of the Kingdom were in a right Disposition to have invited them over, as *foreign* Workmen and Artificers. Indeed, an Increase of Trade was the *Consequence* of their coming, but that did not seem to be the *National* End aimed at in receiving them. The Reformation was then in its Infancy, and its Friends were desirous of having their Hands strengthened by the Accession of foreign Protestants; many of whom were Men of Letters, and greatly serviceable in carrying on the Work of the Reformation. The Government likewise had every Thing to fear, both from the Murmurs and Counsels of the Papists at home, and the Power of the Pope abroad; and was glad of this Opportunity of encreasing the Number of Subjects, whose Principles and Interest were thoroughly connected with it. The long Wars, and bloody Persecutions in the *Netherlands*, drove the People to seek for Shelter in *England*, a Country they would hardly have thought of retiring to (as knowing the inherent Antipathy of the Natives against Strangers, especially Artisans, Merchants,

40 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*
 chants, and Manufacturers) if they could have
 made another Choice. But *Germany* and
France were, at that Juncture, much in the
 same Circumstances with themselves; so that
 this Island was the only sure Place of Refuge,
 and near at hand. Therefore many thousands
 of Families came over during this long Reign,
 many of whose Descendants are, at this Day,
 as strongly leavened with an Aversion to Fo-
 reigners, as the *English* were against their Fore-
 fathers. But it is very observable, that not
 one general Naturalization Bill past during
 this whole Reign, and not many private ones;
 which must seem very extraordinary, consider-
 ing the severe Laws then in being, against Alien
 Merchants and Mechanicks: And I cannot
 otherwise account for such a Conduct, than
 by supposing, that this politick Princess found
 an happy Expedient to admit Foreigners, with-
 out disgusting the People by a general Natu-
 ralization. Whether this was done by mak-
 ing the famous Law against Informers, — or by
 giving Orders to the Judges not to receive In-
 formations (a Thing practised in some Cases in
 those Times) — or by permitting the Free-
 men and Burgeses of their respective Cities and
 Towns, to make Laws for the cramping and
 confining of Trade, in order to keep them in
 good Humour (of which Laws many very
 absurd ones were made in her Reign) — or
 by Letters of Denization, — or by what
 other Method it was brought about, I know
 not.

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 not. However, one Thing is clear, that the
 Citizens of *London* either found no Encourage-
 ment to renew their Complaints, or, if they
 ventured to renew them, they were not re-
 garded. For there is no publick Instance upon
 Record, of any Steps taken to molest foreign
 Artificers during this long Reign.

BUT after *James I.* came to the Throne,
 the Citizens of *London*, who never lost Sight
 of this Point, renewed their Petitions with
 much Earnestness. The King says,* in the fe-
 veral Commissions granted for enquiring into
 the Affair, “That he had been OFTEN solicited
 “with MUCH Importunity by his good and
 “loving Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, to
 “take the Laws and Statutes, enacted against
 “Foreigners, into his Princely Consideration.”
 Which, by the Way, is a strong Intimation,
 that the Execution of them had been suspended
 before. The Rules and Orders, made in Con-
 sequence of these Solicitations, were, as might
 be expected, quite opposite to the Nature of
 a free, open, and extensive Trade. But I be-
 lieve they did not fully answer the Hopes of
 the Petitioners; and there were some unlucky
 Observations made upon the Matter, which
 might have proved fatal to their Schemes, had
 the Business of Commerce been rightly under-
 stood, or duly attended to. In the Commission,
 dated the 5th of *June*, 1622. His Majesty saith,
 G “He

* *Rymer's Fœd.* Vol. XVII. Page 318, 372, 437.

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" He would endeavour to keep such a due
 " Temperament between the Interests of the
 " Complainants, and that of Foreigners, that
 " the latter should have no Cause to fear be-
 " ing disturbed in their *industrious* and *sedulous*
 " Courses, whereof he wished *his own People*
 " would take *Example*." But this seeming
 Indulgence ends in real Oppression, as may be
 seen by the two succeeding Clauses, Page 374,
 and 375. " And farther, Our Will and Plea-
 " sure is, that every such Stranger born, De-
 " nizen or not Denizen; or others born of Pa-
 " rents Strangers, not having served their Ap-
 " prenticehoods, as aforesaid, who either use
 " any manual or handicraft Trade, or the buy-
 " ing or selling of the home Commodities of
 " our Kingdom, shall pay to our Use, as a
 " *thankful Acknowledgment* of our Royal Fa-
 " vour, such Rates and Payments, out of their
 " Earnings or Gains, to be distributed and
 " disposed of for the Ease and Comfort of our
 " own People, as We shall *think fit*, as shall
 " be directed by a Schedule, to be subscribed
 " by our own Hand; or, in Default thereof,
 " such *Rates or Payments*, as our said Com-
 " missioners, under their Hands, or under the
 " Hands of Three of them, shall set down:
 " Whereby, our natural born Subjects may
 " discern, that We put a proportionable Dif-
 " ference between them and the Strangers,
 " if their own *Want of Industry; or honest*
 " *Workmanship*, be not the *Impediment*.

" NEVER-

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" NEVERTHELESS, our Pleasure and Com-
 " mand is, that this Favour, which We shall
 " thus vouchsafe to extend to such Strangers,
 " who have settled themselves and their Fa-
 " milies in this our Realm already; or to such,
 " who by their Service, according to our Laws,
 " shall hereafter deserve the like Favour, shall
 " not draw hither, or continue here, any en-
 " creasing Number of Masterless Men of han-
 " dicraft Trades, to the extreme Hurt both
 " of the *English* and Strangers; but that such
 " either *speedily return* into their own Coun-
 " tries, or put themselves to work as *hired Ser-*
 " *vants*, according to the true Meaning of
 " our Laws, or else shall undergo the *Severity*
 " of our *Laws*, provided, and in *force* against
 " them."

THEN comes a third, in relation to the per-
 secuted *French* Protestants, which is too cu-
 rious to be omitted; and the Reader will not
 pass it over, without making his own Remarks
 upon it.

" NOTWITHSTANDING, our Will and Plea-
 " sure is, that unto such of the *French* Na-
 " tion, who by reason of the late Troubles in
 " that Kingdom [when there was a League on
 " Foot to extirpate all the Protestants] have
 " had their Refuge hither, there shall be shew-
 " ed such Favour, beyond the Proportion of
 " other

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“ other Strangers, as our Commissioners shall
 “ *think fit*, if, within a convenient Time, af-
 “ ter these Troubles shall be over-blown, they
 “ *shall return into their own Country again.*”

THUS stood the Matter in the Reign of King *James I.* — The deep-rooted national Prejudice, joined to a *grasping* Desire of Monopoly, spurred on the *English*, especially the Citizens of *London*, to seek the Expulsion of all Foreigners concerned in Commerce, and to bar up the Way against their entering in for the future. The Power likewise of granting Monopolies, as well as the Payments made for such exclusive Privileges, suited the Taste, and the Circumstances of that Court, fond of Prerogative, and in Want of Money.

BUT it deserves the highest Attention, that hitherto *not one Word* was suggested, that the Church of *England*, by Law established, would be *endangered* by the Admission of foreign Protestants. This was a NEW TOPICK, never heard of till * Archbishop *Laud* began to gain Ascendency in the *English* Councils.

IT is somewhat strange, that from the Beginning of the Reign of King *Edward VI.* to this Period, not one Friend could be found, not one faithful Bishop, Pastor, or true Son of the Church, to apprise her of the Danger thus hanging

* See *Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud.*

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hanging over her for the Space of near one hundred Years. But the Truth is, the foreign Protestants were never considered in the Light of *Enemies* to our Church, till his Time. The Church of *England* herself had been formed upon the Plan of the Confession of *Augsbourg*; some of the Articles and Homilies being, in a Manner, *literal Translations* from this Confession, and the other Writings of that great Divine *Melancthon*. The Bishops and Martyrs, *Hooper* and *Latimer*, took whole Passages out of his Works. Archbishop *Cranmer* often importuned him to come into *England*, to help forward the good Work of the Reformation. And indeed, most of the Books published at that Time, were *Translations* from the *German* Divines. *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* were the two Persons pitched upon by the Archbishop himself, the Father of the *English* Reformation, to be the King's Professors of Divinity in the two Universities. And when it was proposed to make some Alterations in the Common Prayer Book of King *Edward VI.* *Bucer* was principally consulted; in relation to which Affair, Bishop *Burnett* observes, * “ That the most material Things, “ which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected;” So great a Deference was paid to his Judgment; and we may plainly perceive, by comparing the present, with the former Book of Common Prayer, that our excellent Liturgy owes

* Vol. II. 4th Edit. Page 147.

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owes much of its present Perfection to his Counsels. Much about the same Time, he wrote a Book for the young King's own Use, entitled, * *Concerning the Kingdom of Christ*; which principally treated of Ecclesiastical Discipline, the good Government and external Polity of the Church. About a Year afterwards, *Bucer* died; † “ In whom *Cranmer* “ lost a Friend, on whose Assistance he had “ depended much, in what remained yet to “ be done. He was, by Order of *Cranmer* “ and Sir *John Cheek*, buried with the highest “ Solemnities that could be devised, to express “ the Value the University had for him. The “ Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates; “ and the Mayor, and all the Town, accompanied his Funeral to *St Mary's*, where, after Prayers, *Haddon*, the University Orator, “ made such a Speech concerning him, and “ pronounced it with that Affection, that almost the whole Assembly shed Tears. — “ Next, ‡ *Dr Parker*, that had been his “ most intimate Friend, made an *English* Sermon in his Praise, and concerning the Sorrowing for our departed Friends. And the “ Day following, *Dr Redmayn*, then Master “ of *Trinity College*, made another Sermon “ concerning Death; and in it, gave a full “ Account of *Bucer's* Life and Death. He “ particularly

* *Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. Page 148. † Page 155. ‡ The same, I suppose, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

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“ particularly commended the great Sweetness “ of his Temper to all, but remarkably to “ those who differed from him.—All the “ University that were eminent either in *Greek* “ or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with “ Epitaphs, in which they expressed a very “ extraordinary Sense of their Loss.”

MOREOVER, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Bishop *Jewel*,* the Champion of the Church of *England*, and the Bishops *Horn*, *Grindall*, and *Parkhurst*, together with many of our principal Clergy, consulted frequently with *Bullenger* and *Gualter*, eminent Divines of the Church of *Switzerland*, concerning the Affairs of the *English* Church, and requested their Advice and Direction in the most pressing Difficulties.

AND to mention only one Instance more §, King *James I.* preferred the elder *Casaubon*, a Name which doth Honour to the Church of *England*, to Ecclesiastical Dignities in the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*. This elder *Casaubon* had also a Pension of 300 *l.* a Year assigned him, by a special Warrant from the King: The Tenor of which is so much to our present Purpose, that I shall beg Leave to insert the following Passage.

James,

* *Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. III. Collection of Records. § *Rymer's Fœd.* Tom. XVI. Page 710.

“ James, by the Grace of God, &c.

“ As our Progenitors have heretofore been
 “ careful to call into their Realm Persons of
 “ eminent Learning, agreeing in Profession of
 “ Religion with the Church of England, and
 “ here to make Use of them for the Further-
 “ ance of Religion and Learning among their
 “ People; as namely, *Paulus Fagius, Martin*
 “ *Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others*; so have We,
 “ in regard of the singular Learning of *Isaac*
 “ *Casaubon*, and of his Concurrence with Us,
 “ and the Church of England, in Profession of
 “ Religion, invited him out of France into
 “ this our Realm, here to make his Abode,
 “ and to be used by Us, as We shall see Cause
 “ for the Service of the Church.”

UPON the whole, therefore, let the impar-
 tial Reader judge concerning the Merits of this
 Cause. The three Princes *Edward VI. Queen*
Elizabeth, and King *James I.* the Archbishops
 and Bishops *Cranmer, Holgat, Ridley, Latimer,*
Hooper, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Har-
ley, Bird, Bush, Ferrar, Barlow, Parker, Jew-
el, Horn, Grindal, Parkhurst, &c. — likewise
 the Heads of the two Universities, with a
 Multitude of the Dignitaries and principal
 Clergy of the Church of *England*, unanimously
 shewed in all their Proceedings, That they
 looked upon the foreign Protestant Churches

as

as concurring in Profession of Religion with the
 Church of England. — Can we imagine, that
 those eminent Guardians and Fathers of our
 Church, many of them Confessors and Martyrs
 for its sake, were defective in Zeal; — or did
 not know, what were the Doctrines and
 Constitution of a Church, which, under Christ,
 they themselves had founded? — Much more
 might be said: — But I am sorry there is a
 Necessity of saying so much.

AFTER the Revolution, the Principles of
 Commerce and Government were better under-
 stood, than in former Times. The Writings
 of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Sir *William Petty*, Sir
William Temple, Sir *Josiah Child*, *Algernon*
Sidney Esq; and other great Men, had con-
 tributed much to cure the Nation of their old
 Aversion to Foreigners, especially to the most
 useful Part of them, *Merchants and Mecha-*
nicks. And the Dangers of *Popery*, with
 which Men were threatned in the preceding
 Reign, had disposed them to think more fa-
 vourably of their Protestant Brethren abroad.
 But another Evil sprung up to counterbalance
 this Good. For the *disaffected* Party, who
 wanted to subvert the Revolution, could vent
 their Poison with Impunity, by declaiming
 against Foreigners: — In which they were sure
 of being acceptable to the *English* Populace;
 of whose Prejudices upon this Point they failed
 not to make the utmost Advantage, and upon

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all

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 all Occasions took great Pains to render this popular Clamour subservient to the pernicious Design of destroying the Protestant Establishment. The Prince on the Throne, though descended from the Blood Royal of *England*, was a Foreigner by Birth. And the Acclamations he at first received from Men of all Ranks and Conditions, for saving the Nation from Popery and arbitrary Power, were soon turned by many into Libels and Invectives. Even in the Senate House, a * Person was found, who had the Decency to propose to *kick all the Foreigners out of the Nation*. This polite Expression hath been, *of late*, quoted with such Applause by Persons of the *same Stamp*, and echoed throughout the Kingdom in such a Manner, as if he deserved to have a Statue erected to his Memory, for the Service he had done his Country.——He was the Representative of the City of *Bristol*: I shall therefore take the Liberty to give an Instance of his great Capacity as a Legislator, and Knowledge in Commerce as a Merchant;—and will leave his *private* Character to his Friends to record, if they think it will be of Advantage to his Memory, or their own Cause, to do it.

MOST of the Lands in *Somersetshire*, and the lower Parts of *Gloucestershire*, are fitted by Nature for feeding great Numbers of Cattle, during

* Sir John Knight, Member for *Bristol* in several Parliaments.

during the Summer Season. And long Experience had proved the Utility of importing lean Cattle from *Ireland*, early in the Spring, for the Benefit of the Summer Feeding. But this warm Patriot, whose Zeal against Foreigners was truly *English*, took it into his wise Head to think, that this beneficial Branch of Commerce ought to be entirely put an End to; his Reason was, Because the IRISH received Advantage by it;—though the Advantage to *England* was much more extensive and considerable. For, by the Way, it must be observed, that tho' three Parts in four of the Gentlemen of *Landed Estates* in *Ireland*, are really the *Descendants* of the *English*, settled in that Kingdom; yet we assume to ourselves the Prerogative of stiling them *Irish*, treating them as Foreigners, and a People whose Interests are *not connected* with ours; nay, as if *our Welfare depended on their Depression and Impoverishment*. Therefore in the Warmth of his noisy Zeal, this able Patriot got one Bill to pass into a Law, and then another, to prohibit the Importation of *Irish* lean Cattle; and at last succeeded in his hopeful Project.——The *Irish* could no longer bring them into *England*; but what were they to do with them? Why, truly, either to knock them on the Head, lean as they were, or to fatten them for the Slaughter House. They chose the latter; and then the *whole Stream* of the Victualling Trade was turned into another Channel: The Con-

sequence of which was, that the City of *Bristol* (in which before center'd all the Profits arising from the Hides, Leather, Tallow, the Curing, Consumption, and Exportation of Provisions, Freight, Rent of Lands, &c. &c.) could no longer even victual the Ships sailing from its own Port, so cheap as could be done at *Cork*. Thus did this doughty Champion for *England*, this Hero against Foreigners, to use his own decent Phrase, intend a Blow at the *Irish*, but so miserably took his Aim, that he kill'd his own Constituents. Men of wiser and cooler Heads oppos'd this rash Attempt,* and foretold the Consequence, both to the City of *Bristol*, and the neighbouring Counties. But it is the Characteristick of Persons of his Turn, to rush Headlong into Things they least understand, and to think, that if they can but obtain a Law upon their own narrow Views, it must be obeyed by all the World. For how dare *Foreigners* to think of making Reprisals against an *English* Law? The intelligent Reader will readily forgive my not entering into more Particulars of this famous Oration;—lately reprinted, only to prove, that the Prejudices and Folly of some People are not to be removed by Experience itself.

As
* If the present Contagion among the Cattle should spread into the West of *England*, the Inhabitants would be in the most deplorable Condition, as they cannot repair their Loss by the Importation of Cattle from *Ireland*: This would have been the most commodious Resource; but this is prohibited.

As to the Topick of PARTY AND DISAFFECTION, the † little Tract, hereunto annexed, will best shew the Sentiments and Reasonings of the Author upon that Matter. This Piece was first published during the Height of the late Rebellion; and I am willing to leave it to the impartial and thinking Part of Mankind, for whose Use it was then written, to determine concerning it.

IN the Reign of Queen *Ann*, there seem'd to have been a Mixture of four distinct Principles in the Opposition made to the Naturalizing of foreign Protestants, *viz.* The *inbred* National Aversion—The narrow Monopolizing Views of *short Sighted* Tradesmen—*Superstitious* Fears about the Danger of the Church—And the latent Schemes of the *disaffected* Party; each of which had their respective Influences, and dispos'd different Persons to unite in one common Point.

BUT even this Coalition of Biasses and Prepossessions would hardly have succeeded, had there not been some *further Art* made use of.—The Gentlemen of *Landed Estates* were taught to believe, that their Interest was distinct from, and even opposite to the Commercial Interests of the Kingdom. And the little, low, unmeaning Jealousy, sometimes subsisting between the Country Gentleman and the Merchant,

† Annexed to Part II.

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 Merchant, to the Prejudice and Dishonour of
 both, was now blown up into open Hostilities.
 Schemes were set on foot to *lessen* the National
 Commerce, which the Country Gentlemen
 unhappily considered as a worthy Project, cal-
 culated to support their Grandeur and Distinc-
 tion, and to humble the saucy Merchant. The
 Trade to *Portugal* was treated with *Disdain*;
 tho' it is the Means of giving Bread to so many
 Hundred thousands of our People,—of vend-
 ing such vast Quantities of all Sorts of Manu-
 factures,—of consuming the Produce of our
 Lands, and consequently, of paying to the
 Landed Gentleman his Rents;—tho' it is also
 the chief Support of our Fisheries,—the Nur-
 fery of our Sailors,—and the principal Source
 of the Riches of this Kingdom. Nay, the
 Memory of that able and honest Minister, who
 had the Address to persuade the Court of *Por-
 tugal* to ratify these Advantages by Treaty,
 was vilified and insulted for the Service he had
 done his Country. Mr *Metbuen*, it seems,*
 “ committed a Robbery, equal to the worst
 “ of Treasons, for which he deserved to have
 “ lost his Head, in making that Treaty.—It
 “ was an Infringement upon the undoubted
 “ Privilege of the *British* Parliament, and de-
 “ structive of the very Being of the *British*
 “ Liberty. It would therefore be worse than
 “ Felony

* The *Mercator*, N^o XXXIX. and N^o CXIII. as
 quoted by the *British Merchant*, Vol. III. Pages 3, 4,
 and 31. Edit. 1721.

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“ Felony to enforce the keeping of it.”——
 Posterity will be amazed at reading these
 Words, if they should reach to their Time,—
 as possibly they may, because the *British*
Merchant hath recorded them; a * Book
 wrote on purpose to expel the Poison of this
venal Writer; and which will be remembered,
 as long as any regard for Commerce, and Love
 for our Country shall remain.

ON the contrary, the Trade to *France*,
 which hath ever been found to be destructive
 to these Kingdoms, was actually attempted
 to be thrown open; and the Country Gentle-
 men were persuaded to believe, that great Ad-
 vantages would redound to themselves by the
 opening

* Mr *King* says, in the Preface to the 1st Vol. Page
 17. “ My Lord *Halifax* was the Support, and very
 “ Spirit of the Paper called *The British Merchant*. He
 “ encouraged the Gentlemen concerned to meet, heard
 “ and assisted their Debates, and, being zealous above
 “ all Things that the Trade of *Great Britain* should
 “ flourish, he not only continued his Influence and Ad-
 “ vice to the last; but, out of his usual and unbounded
 “ Liberality, contributed very largely to this Work; a
 “ considerable Sum being raised to carry it on.”—I will
 add, that the present noble and worthy Representative
 of that Great Man, inherits all his Virtues, as well as
 his Titles and Honours:—The same Love of his Coun-
 try,—Zeal for its Welfare,—and Knowledge of the most
efficacious Methods to promote it. Therefore the Super-
 intendency of our Commercial Affairs is most deservedly
 committed to his Care and Vigilance; who has joined to
 the Sense of Honour, belonging to his Birth, the Senti-
 ments and Affection of a *true Patriot*, so hereditary in
 his Family. And we may assure ourselves from Experi-
 ence, that his Endeavours will never be wanting, to ren-
 der

56 HISTORICAL REMARKS on the opening of it. Claret, Burgundy, and Champagne, and all the Wines of the Growth of France, might be bought much the cheaper; and as to any Disadvantages and Distresses in Trade, they had no Concerns in them;—These Things would be to the Merchant's Loss, not theirs.

UNDER such unhappy Prejudices, and fatal Mistakes, it is no Wonder that the Landed Gentlemen should unite in opposing a Bill for naturalizing foreign Protestants; which the very Patrons of it recommended, as advantageous to Manufactures, Trade, and Commerce. This alone was a Circumstance to set them against it. And one of the greatest Wits of the Age, who was the applauded weekly Lecturer to his Party, had taught them what to think and say, both of the Bill, and the Advisers of it. "These Men, saith he,* take it into their Imaginations, that Trade can never flourish, unless the Country becomes a common Receptacle for all Nations, Religions, and Languages: A System only proper for small popular States, but altogether unworthy, and below the Dignity of an Imperial Crown. —These Men come with the Spirit of Shopkeepers, to frame Rules for the Administration of Great Britain the GENERAL CENTER of Trade, and a MAGAZINE for other Nations.

* The Examiner, Numb. XXI. written December 28. 1710. to prepare the Way for the Repeal of the Naturalization Bill. See an excellent and judicious Answer given to it in the Spectator, Numb. 200.

"tion of Kingdoms; or as if they thought
"the whole Art of Government consisted in
"the Importation of Nutmegs, and the Curing
"of Herrings.—This Pedantry of Republican
"Politicks hath done infinite Mischief among
"Us."

A GREAT Wit hath the Privilege of saying any Thing: But such kind of Reasoning from a plain Man, of uncouth Language, would be judged unsufferable. What Harm doth it do the City of London, that there are different Languages spoken on the Change every Day, and even different Walks assigned for the Merchants of divers Countries?—If it were not for fear of the Imputation of having the Spirit of a Shop-keeper, and of being a Pedant in Republican Politicks, I could wish, that different Languages were spoken daily on the Changes of Bristol and Liverpool, and in all the trading Places of the Kingdom.

As to Religion, I hope I may be allowed in my Turn to say, that when any Thing is proposed for the Importation of Nutmegs, or the Curing of Herrings, it is very strange, that some People should immediately take it into their Heads to raise an Outcry, that the CHURCH IS IN DANGER. I really think, the Church of England comes the nearest to Perfection, of any since the Apostles Days; and under that Persuasion, I confess it appears to

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58 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*
me a most injurious Treatment, to be always
 representing Her to be in a *crazy, tottering*
 Condition, ready to fall, and never out of
 Danger. The Church of Christ is described
 by our Lord Himself, as founded upon a Rock;
 and nothing, I am persuaded, will be able to
 shake the Foundation of the Church of *Eng-*
land, but the unworthy and *unchristian* Be-
 haviour of its own Members. These alone
 are able to prevail against Her. Half a Dozen
 Incendiaries, and half a Dozen Schemes, such
 as were set on foot by the Friends of this Au-
 thor (to deprive Dissenting Parents of the Right
 of educating their own Children) would at any
 Time fill the Kingdom with Dissenters.

BUT with regard to the reformed Churches a-
 broad, the true Matter of Fact is this: When *Lu-*
therans or *Calvinists* arrive in this Kingdom, they
 generally prefer the Church of *England* to any
 other; and there are few Instances to be given,
 in all the Foreigners that have come over, of
 their making a Separation, — notwithstanding the
 Provocation given them by the Ill-Treatment
 and Reproaches of some of those, who are
 pleased to call themselves High-Church Men.
 Differences of Opinion they have among them-
 selves, but not greater than those that subsist
 between the Members of the established
 Church among Us. Dr *South*, and Bishop *At-*
terbury, tho' both High-Church Clergymen,
 were as opposite in their Sentiments concerning
 certain

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certain Points, as any *Lutherans* and *Calvin-*
ists. And it is further observable, that one of
 our publick Religious Societies, consisting of
 a great Number of the Right Reverend the Bish-
 ops, the principal Clergy, and other distinguish-
 ed Members of the Church of *England*, *The*
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge,
 openly patronized and supported the *Lutheran*
 Missionaries in the *East Indies*, in the very Year
 in which this Author wrote, viz. 1710. This
 Circumstance alone is an incontestible Proof,
 that the *Lutheran* Church, in the Opinion of
 the best and ablest Defenders of the Church
 of *England*, is neither Heretical nor Schisma-
 tical. But the Society went farther, and in a
 few Years afterwards, opened two new Missi-
 ons of their own, at the *English* Settlements of
Madras and *Cudulore*, and appointed no other
 than *Danish* [*Lutheran*] Missionaries, to carry
 on that good Work. * See the Society's Print-
 ed Account, at the End of this Year's Sermon,
 Page 7.

As

* ——— “ The Society undertook, in the Year 1710.
 “ the Management of such Charities as were, or
 “ should be put into their Hands for the Support and
 “ Enlargement of the PROTESTANT [*Lutheran*] MIS-
 “ SION, then maintained by the King of *Denmark*, at
 “ *Tranquebar*, in the *East Indies*, for the Conversion
 “ of the Heathen in those Parts. Accordingly they,
 “ from Time to Time, assisted the Missionaries there
 “ with Money, a Printing-Press, Paper, and other Ne-
 “ cessaries (as they were enabled) till the Year 1728.
 “ When, upon a Proposal made by the Rev. Mr *Schultze*,

As to the Flings of this Author, about *small popular States*, and the *Spirit of Shop-keeping*, I have only this to say, that other Powers, besides the *States General*, to whom he designed this Complement, have encreased the Number of their Subjects by the Admission of Foreigners. Antient *Rome* naturalized whole Kingdoms at a Time, for the Sake of increasing its Military Strength. And since the Power of *France* hath the Force and Riches of almost *twenty Millions* of People UNITED against us, I leave the World to judge, whether we are able to withstand them with only *ten Millions*,—and those *never well united*. *France* also itself hath, for some Time past, naturalized foreign

“ one of the *Danish* Missionaries, to remove to *Fort St George*, and there begin a new Mission, for the Conversion of the *Heathen* at *Madras*, the Society engaged for the Support of the same, tho' at an Expence that did then far exceed their Ability; trusting to the Goodness and Blessing of Almighty GOD: Which Expence has been since greatly encreased by an Addition of Missionaries, as well as the Enlargement of the Mission to *Cudalore*, near *Fort St David*, another *English* Settlement. However, the Society cheerfully rely upon the same wise and gracious Providence, which has hitherto wonderfully prospered this, and all other their Undertakings, to raise up such a true Christian Spirit, as will abundantly supply all their Wants; such a Spirit, as shews itself in Mr Professor *Franke* of *Hall*, in *Saxony*, whose Remittances towards carrying on this pious and glorious Design, have been large and constant.” See also N^o IV, Page 58. for a further Account,

foreign Catholicks, especially the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*; thereby draining us of People, to encrease its own Subjects. * Even the bigoted *Spaniards* have now a Project on Foot for naturalizing TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND foreign Catholicks. Also the King of *Prussia* is covering his Wastes, Forests, and Marshes, with Farms and Villages, enlarging his Towns and Cities, and replenishing his Manufactures with additional Hands, drawn from all Countries: By these Means he is, to a great Degree, enabled to maintain, in constant Pay, one of the greatest Armies, and the best appointed, that was ever seen in *Europe*. These are neither small, nor popular States; nor are their ruling Powers ashamed of inspiring a Spirit of Trade and Shop-keeping into their People. But if the hopeful Schemes of this Author and his Party had taken Place, the *English*, by this Time, would have had very few Shops to keep.—Nay, the very House of *Austria* begins now, not to think it *below the Dignity of an Imperial Crown*, to encourage Trade and Commerce in its Dominions. And foreign Merchants and Mechanicks are invited to settle in all the Hereditary Countries, with a Promise made them of many ample Privileges and Exemptions.

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* See *The Theory and Practice of Commerce*, Chap. 14. Written by *Don Geronimo Ustaris*, one of the Lords of Trade to His Catholick Majesty.

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IT is not therefore so bad, or so *dishonourable* a Thing to make our Country a Receptacle and an Asylum for the Virtuous and Industrious of other Nations: And one would think the *English* would be the last to object to such a Proceedure, who arrived to their present Greatness by these very Means, and are themselves a Collection of all the Nations, and their very Language a Mixture of every Tongue in *Europe*. But whatever they were at their first coming, their Descendants soon become so thorough *Englishmen*, as to contract the Epidemical Disorder of the Country, an Aversion to Foreigners.—And, at the Juncture now under Consideration, the poor *Palatines* were the Objects against whom this Aversion was strongly vented.

IT would have been very easy for the then Ministry, to have found Employment for these unhappy Sufferers, who had their Country burnt up, Towns pillaged, and Lands laid waste, for no other Reason, but because they were engaged in a War, on our Side, against the *Common Enemy*. And many Schemes were set on foot for the Employment of them; particularly the dividing of the *New Forest* into Lots and Shares: This would have suited best the Genius of the People, as they mostly consisted of Husbandmen and Labourers, and were desirous of not being dispersed far from each

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each other. But the Ministry had other Views than these:—For if the *Palatines* had been fixed in regular Settlements, they would soon have become an useful People, and have stopped the Clamours raised against them. Whereas the Views of the Ministry were not to *silence*, but to *encrease* these Clamours, by continuing the *Palatines* both *useless* to themselves, and a *Burden* to the Publick, that the popular *Odi-um* against Foreigners might rebound, and fall the heavier upon the Authors of the late Naturalization Bill, the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* Ministry;—who had likewise the Guilt of beating the *French*, and keeping out the Pretender: And the unfortunate Circumstance of the Dearness of Corn, then almost *Ten Shillings* a Bushel, together with the Ferment raised by *Dr Sacheverel*, gave too much Success to their *Machiavelian* Schemes.

AFTER * the Nation had been thus taught to hate and despise a People, whom, of themselves,

* A Writer in the Paper called *Old England*, March 23. 1751. hath these Words, “As to Vine-dressers [speaking of the *Palatines*] I do not see of what Use they can be in *England*.”—True; but is not every Vine-Dresser an *Husbandman* likewise, at those Times when he is not employed in the Vineyard?—Quere, Was there ever known an Instance of a Set of Peasants living wholly by Vine-Dressing, and not following other Country Business the remaining, that is, the much greater Part of the Year?—The former Objections against Foreigners used to be, That they did not betake them-

elves, they would not have been *too fond* of, these Foreigners were sent abroad, some to *Ireland*, and others to *New York*. The Parliament of *Ireland* had voted 24000*l.* for the Reception of them: And I find by an Act, passed in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, the first of *George I. c. 29.* that they were not thought an idle, or an useles People in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. Those who were sent to *New York*, having not received the kindest Usage, moved from thence, and settled in *Pensylvania*, where they met with an humane and hospitable Reception. There they invited Numbers of their Countrymen to join them; and not a Year passes, but many Thousands of *Germans* go over to them: By these Means, the Province of *Pensylvania* is enriched to such a Degree, that an Estate in Land, which might be purchased for 100*l.* Sterling, before their Arrival, cannot now be had for *Three Times* that Sum; so greatly have they encreased the Wealth and Property of the *Landed Interest*. And the other Provinces are now using all their Interest, to have as many *German* Protestants to come and settle among them, as they can; a People, no longer described as useles, lazy,

indolent, themselves to the Cart, the Plow, or the Flail, but to Handicrafts, and easy Occupations: But now, when these *Palatines* were mostly employed in Agriculture, a grievous Complaint is made against them by the *Examiner*, No 44. That they *understood no Trade or Handicraft*. So that either Way, Tradesmen or Husbandmen, the Foreigners must be condemned.

indolent, and a Burden to the Publick, but laborious, frugal, and industrious; enriching the Country they live in, by enriching themselves.*

INDEED, I am well aware, that the Author I have so often quoted, is bold enough † to pronounce it to be a most false and infamous Scandal upon the Nation in general, to reproach them for treating Foreigners with Haughtiness and Contempt. The *French Hugonots* are many thousand Witnesses to the contrary: And I wish they deserved the *thousandth Part* of the good Treatment they have received."

THIS Author had a great Talent at pronouncing whatever he pleased for the Advantage of his Party. In the Tract entitled, *The publick Spirit of the Whiggs*, in Answer to Sir *Richard Steele's Crisis*, he asserted, "That there were

* Mr *Salmon*, in his *Chronological Historian*, Page 297. says, "With what View they [the *Palatines*] were introduced into *England*, unless to starve or bully the Natives, I could never learn." How a poor, naked, defenceless Handful of People, could BULLY such a Kingdom as this, is to me a Mystery.—What they said of themselves in the printed State of their Case is, "That they humbly entreated all Tradesmen, not to repine at the good Disposition of Her Sacred Majesty, and the Nobility and Gentry:"—"We also entreat you, say they, to lay aside all Reflections, and Imprecations, and all Language against us; for that is contradictory to a Christian Spirit."—These are not the Words of Bullies! † Preface to the B— of S— Introduction.

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“were not ten Jacobite Clergymen in *England*, except *Non-jurors*.” — He might have said, with equal Truth, that all the People in *England* were *blind* and *deaf*, and that he only could see and hear.

As to the *French Hugonots*, they certainly did receive great Favours and Civilities; but this is no Proof of a *national* Disposition. — Many of our Nobility and Gentry, and other Men of Sense, if they are not biassed by Monopoly — or superstitious Fears — or Disaffection, — see these Foibles in our Countrymen, and are *ashamed* of them, and endeavour to retrieve the national Character, by a *greater and more generous Benevolence*. Besides, the greatest Number of the Refugees came over just at a Time of a violent and dreadful Persecution, from which they fled; and this Circumstance greatly softened the usual Resentment of the *English* against Foreigners, though it was very far from extinguishing it entirely. Many Complaints were uttered, even at that Time, That these Foreigners worked at an Under-price, and took the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives.

But I would willingly know, what this Author meant by saying, “He wished the *French Hugonots* had deserved the *thousandth Part* of the good Treatment they had received.” I humbly apprehend, this must imply, either that the Refugees received greater Encouragement

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Encouragement in *England*, than in other Countries, — or, that they had behaved unworthy of the Favours conferred upon them, — or were the Friends, and a Support to a Government he wished to see destroyed. — If he meant the *First*, I must beg Leave to declare, in my Turn (and I have sufficient Evidences to justify what I say) that this is a *great Mistake*. The States General, the first and second Kings of *Prussia*, the King of *Denmark*, and the Protestant Princes of the Empire, not only received them with open Arms, naturalized them, settled Stipends upon their Ministers, and caused Collections to be made throughout their Dominions for their present Support (which were likewise done in *England*) but also exempted them from certain Taxes and Duties, and from serving burthensome and expensive Offices, for a Term of Years. In some Places, they had the publick Money lent them, at a low Interest, to merchandize, and set up their Trades with: In others, Lands were given them to cultivate, and Materials provided for the Building of their Houses: And the Artificers were every where incorporated into the Companies of their re-

pective
* Tho' after Mr. *Harley* came to be Lord Treasurer, the 15,000*l.* voted by Parliament, and allowed in the Civil List, for the Support of the Ministers and Poor among the Refugees, was not paid them. See Mr. *H. Walpole's* Speech in the Parliament. *Debate*, Vol. V. Page 70.

pective Trades. Moreover it must not be omitted, that the first and second Kings of *Prussia*, stationed express Agents on the Confines of *France*, to receive the Refugees, and to conduct them into *Brandenburg*; paying their travelling Charges through the Empire: Which humane and engaging Method is, as it is said, lately revived by the present politick King of *Prussia*. It is therefore not at all surprising, that the *French* Refugees, when they fled out of *France*, chose rather to settle in other Protestant Countries, than in *England*. For out of 800,000 Persons, the Number computed by *Voltaire* and others, to have fled from the Persecutions and Oppressions of *Lewis XIV.* not a twentieth Part came here. — And at present, though we daily hear of Persecutions in the Southern Provinces of *France*, which chiefly abound with *Protestant Manufacturers*, we scarce find that a single Sufferer hath taken Refuge in *England*; — at the same Time that great Numbers are daily retiring into other Countries.

If the *Second* was this Author's Meaning, I must here allow him to be in the Right; and confess the Crimes those *Hugonots* are charged with. — It is not, that they robbed, or stole, or cheated, or raised Insurrections, or were taken in a Plot either against Church or State: — But they opposed the *Ministerial* Bill of Commerce with *France*; and gave the first Alarm

Alarm to the Nation of the mischievous Tendency of it. They best understood the Manufactures of their own Country, and the Difference between the Price of Labour in *France* and *England*; and therefore proved to a Demonstration, That we should be a ruined People, if the *French* were permitted to import their Manufactures, Wines, and Brandies into *England*, according to the Tenor of that Treaty. This was the great, the unpardonable Offence. — They ought to have held their Tongues, and not have blabbed out a Truth so *Mal-a-propos*. I must likewise add, that Mr *Samuel Toriano*, another foreign Protestant, though not a *Frenchman*, was in Danger of being sent to Prison, for his free and unwelcome Explanation of these Things at the Bar of the House of Commons.

LASTLY, If it was the Author's Intention to insinuate, that the *French Hugonots* are to be looked upon as Enemies to the Designs of that Party among us, who are *not Friends* to our present happy Establishment; — I must plead guilty to this Crime also. And indeed I will freely acknowledge, that the Naturalization of foreign Protestants, can never have a favourable Aspect towards a *certain Cause*: — Nor is it to be wondered at, that Persons of *that Completion* should oppose it with so much Virulence, and spread so many Stories among the Populace, to heighten their *inbred* Prejudices against it. For they know very well,

well, that every foreign Protestant, who fled from the Tyranny and Persecution of his own Prince, would be the more active, in a free Country, to oppose the Pretensions of any Family, who claim such an unbounded Hereditary Right over his Liberty and Life, as never can be forfeited; — who are also obliged, by the Principles of their Church, and their Ties of Interest; to suppress the Protestant Religion, as soon as they have the Power of doing it. And when the Reader considers the Schemes in Agitation at the Juncture in which this Author wrote, he will easily account for the Clamours that were raised by a certain Set of Men, against the Naturalization of foreign Protestants.

AFTER having brought Matters to this Period of Queen Ann's Reign, I think it needless to descend lower down. Be it sufficient to observe, that from a very late Instance it plainly appears, that all the former Biasses still subsist against Foreigners: — Though perhaps we now have yet stronger Reasons for the Admission of them, which I shall endeavour more particularly to set forth in the Second Part of this Treatise.

IN the mean Time, one general Observation certainly deserves the Attention of the Reader, viz. "That every Legislature ought more particularly to guard against those evil Qualities in a People, to which they are most

"most inclined." This was the Point on which I first set out, and with which I now conclude. — The English Nation do certainly excel in many good Qualities: But are there none of a different Nature to which they are addicted? And indeed, hath not every Nation some bad, as well as good Dispositions, by which it is characterized and distinguished? — The Aversion of the Inhabitants of this Island towards Foreigners is no new Thing: For it hath been taken Notice of near eighteen Hundred Years ago. Neither is it any Secret; if it were, I should have thought it improper to be divulged. But alas! all the World are agreed in the Fact; and if we deny the Charge, who will believe us? — There is, therefore, no other Way left of clearing ourselves of the Imputation, than by altering our Conduct towards them: This may produce some good Effect; but it will be by very slow Degrees. For the Foreigners are too well acquainted with our natural Aversion against them, to be fond of coming over in such Numbers;

* The common People in Wales look upon the English to this Day, as Upstarts and Foreigners: And when an English Artificer comes among them, they generally express their Contempt of, and Aversion to him, by saying, *Rhyw Sais bach, yn dyfod ni ion i o ble*. That is, A little pitiful Saxon [Englishman] who comes one knows not from where. I have had frequent Opportunities of observing this Foible in the ancient Britons; as I am a Native of the Country: And it is worth regarding, that the English themselves use almost the same Terms of Reproach against the French, and other Foreigners.

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bers, as many ignorant or prejudiced Persons among us are pleased to suppose. And the Antipathies we have so long shewed, must first be *forgot*, before they can be persuaded to prefer *England* to many other Countries, where the *Persecuted* and *Distressed* have been invited to come, and have met with the greatest Encouragement, and kindest Reception.

INDEED, we give a most astonishing and scandalous Encouragement to Cooks, Fiddlers, Dancers, Singers, &c. &c. of all Nations. But this is no Proof of our Regard to Foreigners, but of our excessive Love of Pleasure, which bears down every Thing before it. For at the same Time that so many Thousand Pounds a Year are squandered away upon Persons of *any* or *no* Religion, who come expressly to debauch our Morals, encrease our Expences, lessen our Industry, impoverish our Country, introduce new Luxuries, and do every Thing that is prejudicial to our Well-being, as Members both of Church and State, — we STILL refuse to naturalize those honest, industrious, and *conscientious* Protestant Families, who are *persecuted for Righteousness Sake*.

IN short, we discourage the *Mechanick*—the *Merchant*—and the PROTESTANT, from coming to us;—but invite and encourage ALL OTHERS.

F I N I S.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY of a LAW

FOR THE

NATURALIZATION

OF

FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In Two PARTS.

P A R T II.

Containing IMPORTANT QUERIES relating to Commerce, — The Employment of the Poor, — The Landed and National Interest, — Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax, — The real Interest of Tradesmen, — Reformation of Morals, — Constitution both in Church and State, the Duties of Humanity, and the Principles of the Christian Religion.

By JOSIAH TUCKER, M. A.
Rector of St STEPHEN'S in BRISTOL,

AND

Chaplain to the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of BRISTOL.

L O N D O N:

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M.DCC.LII.



THE
PREFATORY
DISCOURSE.

Setting forth the *avowed* Doctrines, and *constant* Practice of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Persecution of *Protestants*.

I. **T**HE Church of Rome, judging herself to be infallible, hath passed an irrevocable Decree against Christians of all Denominations, that do not conform to her Communion, whereby she declares them accursed Hereticks, and pretends to cut them off from being Partakers of the Mercies of the Christian Covenant. This Power she supposes herself to be invested with, in Consequence of her Spiritual Dominion, as the [Mater & Magistra] Mother and Governess of the Christian World. But the Spiritual Powers are not the only Weapons employed for the Extirpation of Heresy.

II. **F**OR it is the constant and standing Maxim of the Church, that even such Heretical Opinions as do not interfere with the Principles of Civil Government, deserve, in Strictness, some Civil Punishment; though

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though its Members are divided in their Sentiments concerning the Extent and Degree, and in some Instances, concerning the Expediency of it. In those Countries, for Instance, where the Inquisition is established, the Romanists attribute to the Church (or to the Church and * Christian Magistrate together) the same Power of Life and Death over Hereticks, which temporal Judges execute on Criminals;—only regarding Heresy as the most aggravated Crime. In France, and wherever else there is no Inquisition, they only ascribe a Kind of parental Authority to the Church, extending to the Infliction of wholesome Severities, through the Assistance of the Christian Magistrate, but not of capital † Punishment. The former propose

* The learned and candid Reader will please to observe, that the Author's Intention is to give such a general State of this Matter, as the Romanists themselves would allow to be a fair one in the Mouth of an Adversary. Now it being the same Thing, with respect to the principal Point in Dispute, whether the pretended Right of punishing Hereticks is lodged in the Church separately, or in the Church and State conjointly, this Part of the Controversy (so fiercely contested among the Romanists themselves) is here designedly omitted, as not worth attending to;—especially as the Advocates for Persecution confine this supposed Right to the Professors of the Catholic Faith, and would make the World believe, that though they have a Right to persecute Hereticks, Heretical Governors have no Right to persecute Catholic Subjects. Therefore the grand Question still returns, Whether the Christian Religion gives the Popish Church, or a Popish State (it matters not which) a Right to persecute those who dissent from them in such Matters of Conscience, as are consistent with the Principles of Civil Government.

† This is meant with regard to the Laity among the Protestants; for as to their Clergy, it is certain, that they are persecuted even unto Death in most Popish Countries, especially in France, as may be seen by the Edicts of 1686, 1724, and 1745. And there are recent Examples of the Execution of these cruel Edicts on several worthy Protestant Clergymen.

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to extirpate Heresy by destroying Hereticks, the latter by harassing and oppressing them. And to these two Opinions we may add a third, espoused by the more moderate Members of this Church, that though the Church and Christian State are invested with an undoubted Right of inflicting civil Penalties on Hereticks, it is not always expedient to exercise it.— And this Difference in Opinion produces as great a Diversity in the Arguments advanced to vindicate the Persecutions of the Church of Rome.

III. THE Spanish Divines, and all the Defenders of the Inquisition, endeavour to justify its greatest Cruelties upon the Principles of the antient Jewish Church, and quote with much Parade the Examples of Moses, Joshua, and the best Kings of Israel, in Vindication of their modern Practice of putting Hereticks to Death. This they do, without so much as attempting to shew that the Cases are parallel; and therefore we must charitably hope, they do not see the Impropriety of bringing such Authorities, inasmuch as they take the very Thing for granted, which ought first to be proved.

IV. IT will therefore be highly expedient, to examine into the original Institution of the Hebrew Government, in order to see, whether it bears such an Analogy to the Civil Governments now subsisting, as would justify the Arguments and Conclusions so often brought in Support of the most fierce and bloody Persecutions.

NOW the great and fundamental Articles of this Constitution was, that the GOD of Israel was likewise their temporal Prince, the great King JEHOVAH,

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VAH, who made the Temple his Palace, and the Holy of Holies the Chamber of his Presence, where He resided by a Shekinah, or visible Glory, and gave Audience to the High-Priest, his great Minister of State. Thus it came to pass, that the main or distinguishing Principles of the Religion of the People of Israel became in Practice the Tokens and Evidences of the Homage and Allegiance due to their Prince. In such Circumstances, those capital Deviations from the Duty prescribed, as tended to overthrow the Constitution, were to be considered as so many Overt-Acts of Treason and Rebellion. And as every Government must have the Power of providing for its own Preservation, so it is expressly commanded in the Law of Moses, that such Subjects as would not conform to their Duty, especially if they fell off to Idolatry, were to suffer a temporal Death; Idolatry, and such like Crimes, being not only Acts of Apostasy in respect to Religion, but of Treason in regard to Government. And the Person so offending, was not to be pitied, neither to be spared, neither to be concealed: But thou shalt surely kill him; and thine Hand shall be first upon him, to put him to Death, and afterwards the Hand of all the People: And thou shalt stone him with Stones, that he die; because he sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy GOD. — And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall do no more any such Wickedness as this among you. Deuter. xiii. 8, 9, 10, 11.

IT might further be observed, that as this was a Civil Constitution, as well as a Religious one, so the great JEHOVAH, the King of Israel, had made a Grant of the Land of Canaan to the Hebrew Nation, on the express Condition, that the People con-
tinued

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tinued in their Loyalty and Obedience to Him. Therefore it was impossible for any Member of this Society to set up another Religion, without committing High-Treason against the Prince, and incurring a Forfeiture of those Privileges which were held under him.

AS to the Punishment due to such Crimes in a future State, and the Terrors of a Judgment to come, these being distinct Articles, in which all Nations and People are concerned, in Proportion to the Light they have received, therefore the Consideration of them may be omitted in the present Case.

V. HOWEVER, thus much, I am persuaded, appears already, that the Advocates for the Inquisition have miserably failed in their grand Attempt, and have widely mistook the Nature of the Proof they ought to bring in Vindication of this Tribunal. For what Good can it do the Cause of Persecution, to quote the Precepts or Examples recorded in the Old Testament, when the Case of all Christian Nations is so very dissimilar to that of the Jews? And what Inference can be drawn from the Hebrew Constitution, under a Theocracy, or the Temporal Kingly Government of the great JEHOVAH, that is applicable to any Government or Constitution now subsisting? And if one main Design of the Establishment of the Inquisition was to root out Judaism, may we not justly wonder to find it actually conducted upon Jewish Principles, — tho' such Laws were not intended at first for universal Use, and have been repealed, or at least superseded by the coming of the Gospel, if not long before?*

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** Probably this Law, and the other which follows it in the same Chapter, being still more severe against an Idolatrous City, were no longer in force, than while the Shekinah, or visible Presence, was continued in the Temple. But this is proposed only as a Conjecture.*

viii PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

VI. *THE* Members of the Gallican Church, and all others that may be included under the same Denomination, do not pretend to build their Right of persecuting Hereticks upon such Principles, but think they go upon surer Grounds, by ascribing to the Church, (or to the Church and State, as professing the Catholick Religion) the Right and Power of an earthly Parent over her Children. And as this Doctrine carries with it an Appearance of Regard for the Souls of Men, mixed with Tendernefs and Affection to their Persons, the Unwary and Well-intentioned are the more easily deceived into an Approbation of it, as they may not see into the fatal Consequences of such a Claim. For under the Pretence of a Parent's using necessary Discipline, and wholesome Severities, for the Correction of a disobedient Child, all Kinds of Persecution that do not extend to the taking away of Life itself, are allowed and justified. Nay even Death is inflicted on the Protestant Ministers of the Gospel, who are considered as the Corruptors of these Children, whenever they exercise any Part of their holy Function. Moreover, if a Lay Person should occasionally officiate, for want of a Minister, in any publick Assembly, or be instrumental in calling it together, he is to be punished in the like Manner: It being the wicked Policy of the Romish Church to deprive the Protestants of having publick Teachers of any Kind; hoping thereby, that when the Shepherds are smitten, their Flocks will be scattered, and become the more easy Prey. And this Treatment, cruel and unchristian as it is, is the very mildest she vouchsafes to Protestants. But before we enter more distinctly into the Consequences, let us first examine the Foundation of this Doctrine.

VII. NOW

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. ix

VII. NOW the very Terms made use of, [Mater & Magistra] Mother and Governess, are figurative and metaphorical Expressions, and therefore, should not be supposed to extend to all Cases belonging to the Original from whence they are borrowed. Nay, if they had been * Scripture Phrases, which I humbly conceive they are not, they would not have justified all the Conclusions the Romanists draw from them. For Doctrines of Importance, which have an immediate Reference to Practice, and on which both the present and future Happiness of Mankind are supposed to depend, are not to be built on Tropes and Metaphors;—especially where the Subject would admit of the plainest and most express Language, level to all Capacities. And yet there is not one Word in all the New Testament, the Romanists themselves being Judges, that directly, and ex professo, teaches or inculcates the Doctrine of Persecution; though they must allow, that it would have been as easy to say, Persecute Hereticks, as Love your Enemies. And therefore, when they would defend these unchristian Tenets by Scripture Arguments, they are forced to seek out for strained Interpretations, and to have recourse to very remote Conclusions, or ill founded Hypotheses.

AND as to the primitive Church, the very Circumstances of it under the Pagan Emperors, afford Evidence enough to shew, what the Christians of those Times thought of Persecution. But when the Empire

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became

* The Church Triumphant in Heaven, the Jerusalem that is Above, is said to be The Mother of us all; but this Appellation is never given in Scripture to any Church Militant upon Earth.

x PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

became Christian, the Sweets of Power, and Thirst of Dominion and Revenge, soon began to corrupt the Gospel Doctrine of Love and Charity, and mutual Forbearance, and the Gentleness and Condescension so earnestly and pathetically recommended by St. Paul to be shewn to a weak Brother, were turned into Bitterness, and Wrath, and Evil-Speaking. And every Sect, when uppermost, called upon the Secular Arm to support the good Cause, by crushing their Adversaries. Hence arose new Claims of Right and Power, and subtle Distinctions were coined to justify the Persecution of the one Side, and condemn that of the other. Thus the Church of Rome, who finds such Difficulty to press a single Text into its Service out of the Holy Scriptures, is enabled to produce Authorities in Abundance from the Fathers of the Fourth and following Centuries, in support of the worst of Causes, the Cause of Persecution. Let us therefore now proceed to its Effects and Consequences.

VIII. IN the first Place, the Roman Church, as the Universal Mother, extends her Claim of Parental Jurisdiction, not only over her own Members, but over every other Sect of Christians in the World, and never fails to exercise this Power whenever she can: For all Hereticks are still to be considered as her Children, though disobedient and rebellious; and the more obstinately they persist in their Crimes, the stronger are the Reasons why she should exert a Parent's Right in Chastizing them, if they are not prevailed upon by gentle Methods.

IN the next Place, as the Church hath an unalienable Right to the filial Obedience of all her Children,

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xi

Children, no temporal Prince, or civil Magistrate, ought to covenant or agree with the Delinquents, that this Obedience should not be paid, for this would be doing an Injustice to the common Parent: And the civil Magistrate, who is bound in Conscience, as a good Catholick, both to reverence and obey her himself, and not to consent to the Violation of her Authority by his own Subjects, cannot disannul this superior and prior Obligation by any pretended Engagements to the contrary.

SUPPOSE therefore he took an Oath to grant Liberty of Conscience, and the free Exercise of Religion, to Protestants or Hereticks;—Suppose he stipulated, that he would hold sacred the Rights of private Judgment, provided nothing was broached offensive to good Manners and civil Society;—Suppose this was made the express Condition of his being admitted to reign over them;—Why, such Oaths, and such Conditions, are null in themselves; and he ought not to perform what he had no Right to promise. A Catholick Prince, who comes under any Engagements with his Protestant Subjects, inconsistent with the Duty owing to the common Parent, was guilty of a Crime in coming under such Engagements, but will be guilty of a much worse in keeping them.

IX. THE Consequences of such Positions are very plain and obvious;—and still the more dreadful, when we come to view them exemplified in Practice. For it is observable of ALL the States and Kingdoms of the Romish Persuasion, that they NEVER CEASE to persecute the Protestants in one Degree or other; so that

xii PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

that the mildest Treatment they vouchsafe to give, would be reckoned barbarous and cruel in this happy Land of Liberty, if the Catholicks in England were to meet with such Usage. Nor is it to be forgotten,* that the Laws in force against the Protestants Abroad, are not only severe, and in some Instances cruel and shocking, but also that the great Body of the Romish Communion are led by the Spirit and Tenor of their Religion to esteem it meritorious to execute these Laws with the utmost Rigor. And the Doctrine of their Church, concerning the Piety of extirpating Heresy, joined to that of Pardons and Indulgences, hath a strange Effect in disposing them to believe, that their personal Vices and favourite Sins may be atoned for by a warmer and fiercer Zeal for the Catholick Cause. As to the Popish Clergy in particular, it is their Unhappiness, not only to have these Prejudices in common with others, but also to be spurred on to act with the greater Violence by the Temptations of Self-Interest and present Advantage. And I cannot omit observing, that the Edicts of the present King of France are framed with so much Art and Policy, that they will in a great Measure execute themselves, both by the Encouragements given to Informers, and the Penalties which the new-converted Catholicks are subject to, if they are observed to favour in the least Degree the Meetings of Protestants; nay, if they are not extremely vigilant in detecting and prosecuting them, though they should happen to be their own Children, or nearest and dearest Relations. In short, the greatest Favour the Protestants can expect from a Popish Government,

* See the Tract entitled, Popery always the same, Printed for B. Dod in Ave-Mary Lane, London, 1746.

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xiii.

Government, is only such a Connivance, as may rather be called a Respite from Persecution, than a real Protection. For as to a legal, solid TOLERATION, POPERY suffers no such Thing, however solemnly stipulated; witness the faithless and cruel Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and the many severe Punishments inflicted since that Time, to this very Hour, upon Subjects unquestionably loyal.

X. THIS being the State of the Case, let us now consider, how far we may rely on those specious Declarations sometimes made by the more moderate Party of the Romish Communion against Persecution.

It is true, they condemn with great Warmth, and we charitably hope with equal Sincerity, the Proceedings against Protestants in particular Cases, and scruple not to blame the Authors and Advisers of them. But let not the unwary Protestant be deceived by so fair an Appearance: For though they inveigh against the Practice in particular Instances, they do not renounce the main Principle on which the supposed Right of Persecution is founded. And it is one Thing to say with the CONSISTENT PROTESTANT, That the Christian Religion gives NO RIGHT to persecute Men for mere Matters of Conscience; and another, that there may be a wrong Application, or an improper Use made of this imaginary Right. Now the former is a Position they never can subscribe to, as Roman Catholicks, though they may very heartily and sincerely join with the latter. And therefore, while they hold that the Roman Catholick Church hath still a Parental Authority, and an inherent Jurisdiction over Hereticks, their Declarations against Persecution

xiv. PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

*Persecution amount to no more, than against the im-
proper Exercise of it. So that upon the whole, the
Claim of Right being still kept up, there can be no
Security for Protestants against suffering the dreadful
Effects of it, whenever it is judged more expedient
to persecute than to forbear; and of this private Per-
sons, or particular Writers, are not allowed to be
Judges.*

*XI. THUS much I thought necessary to lay before
the English Reader, concerning the Hardships and
Sufferings of his Fellow Protestants Abroad, and I
flatter myself he will not be displeas'd with my Endeav-
ours to place these Things before him in their true
Light. Mankind are apt to take their Ideas of
Foreign Countries, and distant Things, from those
they have been most accustomed to at Home. And as
it is our present Happiness in these Kingdoms to enjoy
a Liberty of Conscience (whereby those who dissent
from the established Church are permitted to live in
the utmost Security) it is natural for us to conceive
of the Foreign Protestants, only as in the Condition
of Dissenters from the national Church, — or at the
worst, as being upon the same Footing with the Ro-
man Catholics in England. But Conclusions of
this Nature are extremely fallacious, and might pre-
vent our having that Fellow-feeling for the Suffer-
ings of our Brethren, which we ought to have. For
the Laws in England against the Roman Catholics
are upon a very different Foundation from those of the
Popish Princes against their Protestant Subjects,
the Roman Catholics being considered in this King-
dom, not as a Sect in Religion, but as a Faction
against the State, whose reigning Principles, both
as to Religion and Government, lead them to seek
the*

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xv

*the Ruin and Destruction of Protestants, — and which
they have very often, though hitherto (God be prais-
ed) unsuccessfully attempted. But what is the Intent,
and what were the Occasions of enacting those
several Laws? — Not surely to harrass and oppress
the Papists (God forbid) but to secure ourselves.
And therefore, though the Principles of the Eng-
lish Catholics can deserve no Favour, or Conniv-
ance from a Protestant Parliament, and a Protec-
tant House of HANOVER, yet as long as their Prac-
tice continues to be inoffensive, these Laws are ne-
ver executed. And the Roman Catholics in Eng-
land enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration, as to all the
Purposes of Conscience and Religion. Though view-
ing their Principles in the most favourable Light,
Papists, as such, certainly disavow and deny the
supreme Authority of the British Government, and
hold themselves subject to a foreign Jurisdiction,
which to them is infallible and supreme.*

*LET the candid and benevolent Reader now com-
pare their Case with that of the poor, persecuted
Protestants Abroad: Let him conceive himself in the
Situation of those unhappy Sufferers, helpless and
distressed, forced to abandon all his Possessions, his
dearest Relations, and his native Country, and fleeing
from his Persecutors into a Land of Strangers, where
he only desires a secure Retreat, with an Exclusion
from all publick Employments, and from Parliament,
and upon his giving the strongest Assurances of Fidelity
to the Government, to be received as a faithful Sub-
ject; — and may the Almighty direct him to form such
a Judgment concerning the Treatment due to Persons
in these Circumstances as becomes a CHRISTIAN and
a PROTESTANT.*

IMPORT-

2 **QUERIES** *occasioned by the*
 dom;—against making Hedges and En-
 closures;—against mending the High Roads,
 by erecting Turnpikes;—and against almost
 every Publick-spirited Undertaking, and useful
 Invention, when first attempted? And whe-
 ther the same *deluded* Populace, who cla-
 moured against the Admission of Foreigners
 about forty Years ago, were not likewise so
 far infatuated as to cry, *The landed Interest,—*
 NO TRADE, NO MERCHANTS?

II. WHETHER the Word *Foreigner*, as
 commonly used, doth not carry with it an Idea
 of Contempt and Reproach? Whether the
English Nation have any just Grounds for
 treating others in this Manner? And indeed,
 Whether those Natives, who pursue Measures
 pernicious to their Country, should not be
 ranked as Aliens? And those Foreigners, who
 conduce by their Industry and Virtue to the
 Publick Good of this Kingdom, be respected
 as Natives?

III. WHETHER we do not originally owe
 all our Knowledge in the several Manufactures
 of Cloths, Stuffs, Serges, Druggets, Silks,
 Velvet, Ribbands, Laces, Cottons, Linens,
 Paper, Hats, Iron, Steel, Copper, Brass, &c.
 to the Instruction of Foreigners? Whether
 therefore, our Ancestors acted wisely, or con-
 sulted the *real* Welfare of their Country, in
 endeavouring to prevent such Manufacturers
 from

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 3
 from settling in this Kingdom;—tho' their
 establishment was opposed from the same ill-
 grounded Apprehensions which now subsist,
 that such *Foreigners came to eat the Bread out*
of the Mouths of the Natives.

SECTION II.

The Introduction of New Manufactures;—
The Improvement of others;—And the Ex-
tentation of Commerce.

I. **W**HETHER it can be known, *be-*
fore Trial is made, that Foreigners
 cannot still introduce some *new* Manufacture,
 or *improve* those already established? And
 what Effect must Goodness of Work, and
 Cheapness of Labour, have upon our Foreign
 Trade?

II. WHETHER it is not assuredly known,
 that Foreigners do still excel us in making se-
 veral Sorts of Paper, some Kinds of Silks, Vel-
 vets, and Brocades, Gold and Silver Stuffs,
 and all Sorts of Embroidery, Thread, Thread
 Laces of various Kinds, Gold and Silver Laces,
 also in Dying of Blacks and Scarlets, making of
 thin Cloth for the *Southern* Countries, Car-
 pets * and Tapestry, in many Branches of
 the

* CARPETS and Tapestry.] There is a Law now
 subsisting, made the 25th of Charles II. Chap. 15.
 B 2 Anno

4 QUERIES occasioned by the the Linen, Cambrick, and Lawn Manufactures, Drawing and Designing, Carving, Gilding,

Anno Dom. 1663. for the Naturalization of all Persons concerned in the Manufactures of Linen and Tapestry; the Recital of which may not be unacceptable to some of my Readers.

An Act for encouraging the Manufactures of making Linen Cloth, and Tapestry.

" I. WHEREAS vast Quantities of Linen Cloth, and other Manufactures of Hemp and Flax, and of Tapestry Hangings, are daily imported into this Kingdom from foreign Parts, to the great Detriment and Impoverishment thereof; the Monies and quick Stock of this Kingdom being thereby daily exhausted and diminished, and the Poor thereof unemployed; while the Materials for the making of such Hangings are here more plentiful, and better, and cheaper, than in those Places from whence they are imported; and Flax and Hemp might be had here in great Abundance, and very good, if by setting up the Manufactures of such Commodities as are made thereof, it would be taken off the Hands of such as sow and plant the same.

" II. FOR the Encouragement therefore of those Manufactures, Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority thereof, that from and after the First Day of October next ensuing, it shall and may be lawful for any Person or Persons whatsoever, Native or Foreigner, freely, and without paying any Acknowledgment, Fee, or other Gratuity for the same, in any Place of England or Wales, " Privileged

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 5 ing, and Coach-making, Statuary, Painting, and Prints, also in Nuremburg, and some other Sorts

" Privileged or Unprivileged, Corporate or not Corporate, to set up and exercise the Trade, Occupation, or Mystery of breaking, hickling, or dressing of Hemp or Flax; as also for making and whitening of Thread, and of spinning, weaving, making, whitening, or bleaching of any Sort of Cloth whatsoever, made of Hemp or Flax only: As also the Trade, Occupation, or Mystery of making of Twine or Nets for Fishery, or of stowing of Cordage; as also the Trade, Occupation, or Mystery of making any Sort of Tapestry-Hangings, any Law, Statute, or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

" III. AND all Foreigners that shall really, and bona fide, set up and use any of the Trades and Manufactures aforesaid, by the Space of three Years, in this Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall from thenceforth, taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy before two Justices of the Peace, near unto their Dwellings, who are hereby authorized to administer the same, enjoy all Privileges whatsoever, as the natural-born Subjects of this Kingdom.

" IV. AND it is hereby enacted and declared, That such Foreigners as shall exercise any of the Trades aforesaid by Virtue of this Act, shall not at any Time be liable to any other or greater Taxes, Payments, or Impositions, than such as are or shall be paid by his Majesty's natural-born Subjects, unless they shall use and exercise Merchandize into and from Foreign Parts; in which Case, they shall be liable to pay such Customs as have usually been paid by Aliens, during the Space of five Years next ensuing, and no longer."

6 **QUERIES** occasioned by the

Sorts of Toys, making of Soap, Porcelaine, and Dressing some Kinds of Leather, Cutting and Engraving upon Glafs, making and tempering of Steel, &c. &c. And whether it be not the Interest of the People of *England* to give a *rational Invitation* to such Foreign Manufacturers to settle here, for the Increase of useful and industrious Hands, which are beyond Dispute the Strength and Riches of a Nation?

III. WHETHER the Trade of *Great Britain* is not capable of being farther extended?—And whether more Hands, New Adventurers, a larger Correspondence, greater Industry, Frugality, and Sobriety, might not encrease our Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, and national Riches? And whether the Connection of those that come hither with their Relations and Acquaintance left behind, would not extend our Trade by New Correspondence, New Commissions, and New Traffick?

SECTION

IT were greatly to be wished, that the Contents of this Law were universally known, that the Publick might reap the Benefit intended by it; for at present it seems to be almost as much forgot, as if it had never been made. However, this is a sufficient Proof, that the Naturalization of Foreign Manufacturers, according to the Opinion of the Legislature, is a Means of employing the Poor, not of taking the Bread out of their Mouths.

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 7

SECTION III.

Materials for Labour, and for Employing the Poor.

I. WHETHER we work up at present all such raw Materials as either are, or might be raised in *Great Britain, Ireland,* and our own Plantations, or imported from Abroad? That is, Whether we might not make use of much larger Quantities of *Wool, raw Silk, Cotton, Hemp, Flax, Iron, Copper,

*WOOL.] The Opposers of this Bill here object, that we lately worked up all the Wool that grew in the Kingdom, without the Assistance of Foreigners; therefore they infer, there would not be Wool enough for a greater Number.—But they are desired to consider,

I. THAT this Kingdom might raise and feed much greater Quantities of Sheep, than there are at present, by proper Improvements, without taking any Lands from Tillage;—nay, greatly to the enriching of the ploughed Grounds. The Method of feeding Sheep upon Turneps during Winter, is scarce known in the Principality of *Wales*, and very little practised in many Counties in *England*; so that they are obliged to sell off their Increase every Year, lest they should have too large a Stock for the Winter Fodder.

II. THAT the *French* import annually from *Bilboa, &c.* about 12000 Bags of fine Wool; besides the vast Quantities of a coarser Sort, which are brought into *Provence*

8 QUERIES occasioned by the

per, Brass, * Tin, Lead, &c. in our respective Manufactures, than we now do? And whether there can be a Want of Materials, as long as they may be either raised at Home, or imported from Abroad?

II. WHETHER

Provence and Languedoc, from Catalonia and the South of Spain: Whereas the English do not import 5000 Bags in all. Likewise the French bring Wool from Africa and Turkey; also from the Austrian Netherlands, and Poland; all which Markets might be as open to the English as they are to the French, if our Commerce were sufficiently enlarged.

III. IF there should, by Means of a large and open Trade, and in Exchange for our Fish and Manufactures, be an Increase of the Importation of raw Silk, Cotton, Flax, &c. to be worked up and wore at Home,—the Consequence would be the same to the Kingdom, as if there was an actual Increase of the Growth of Wool, because this would be a Means of saving so much Wool to be manufactured for other Purposes.

IV. IF the above Reasoning of the Objectors were conclusive, then it would follow, that the French must dismiss at least three fourths of their Woolen Manufacturers, as there is hardly Wool enough growing in France to employ a fourth Part of their present Numbers: And the English must send away ALL their Silk Manufacturers, as there is no raw Silk growing in England. These are the Conclusions which necessarily follow from such Principles!

* TIN.] An higher Duty upon the Exportation of Block-Tin, and proper Encouragement for exporting it when manufactured, would create Employment for thousands of our Poor: By these Means we should reap all possible Advantage from this valuable Metal,—especially as it is almost entirely in our own Hands.

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II. WHETHER in fact any Country wants the necessary Materials for Labour, either in itself, or by Introduction, if the Inhabitants were inclined to use them, and were properly instructed?

III. WHETHER we may not give a better Account of some Persons at present wanting Employment, than by the Supposition of want of Materials for Labour?

SECTION IV.

The Causes of so many Persons being now unemployed.

I. IS there not such a Thing as the Circulation of Labour, as well as the Circulation of Money? And whether the Circulation of Money without Labour, is not rather prejudicial than serviceable to Society?—Are not Lotteries, Gaming, &c. strong and melancholly Proofs of this Matter?

II. WHETHER the true Method of finding out the Causes of the want of Employment is not, first to enquire, What are the Impediments to the Circulation of Labour?

III. WHETHER Labour can so well be circulated in a Country thinly peopled, as in one
C very

10 QUERIES occasioned by the

very populous, where the Inhabitants create mutual Employment for each other? And whether it is not observable, that the People in those Countries which are thinly inhabited, are forced to seek for Employment in *distant populous* Places, for want of Work at Home?

IV. WHETHER Monopolies, exclusive Privileges, and Combinations, are not so many Clogs upon the Circulation of Labour?

V. WHETHER the * artificial Wants of Mankind, *properly circumstanced, and under due Regulations*, are not the great Master-Spring of the Machine of Commerce?

VI. BUT

* THE *natural* Wants of Mankind can be but few. Food, and Raiment, and Shelter from the Weather, are very simple Things, which the most *indolent* Persons might generally procure for themselves, as far as would answer the Purposes of *Animal* Life. But as such a State would be little different from that of *Brutes*, most of those *moral Obligations* which now constitute *social* Virtue, or *relative* Duty, would have been *unknown*.— If therefore it was the Wisdom of Providence, that there should be Relations and Subordinations in Society, the *artificial* Wants of Mankind will ever be found to be relative to their Stations; and the better any Person discharges the Duties of that Sphere of Life he belongs to, the more he will be enabled to contribute to the present Happiness of Society, by promoting a *regular* and *permanent* Circulation of Industry and Labour, through the several Ranks he is connected with. This is an *essential* Point, in which Mankind differ from the Brute Creation.

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VI. BUT when these Wants degenerate into *Vice, Intemperance, and Extravagance*, whether they do not then become a great Obstacle to the *constant* and *regular* Motion of this Machine;—and indeed, have a necessary Tendency to make it stop at last?

VII. WHETHER *Commerce*, considered in its *general* Extent, and GOOD MORALS, are not *inseparably* connected? Whether therefore, the great Corruption of Morals now prevailing, is not the true Source of many Persons wanting Employment, as they become disinclined to Labour, and cannot be trusted with Materials to work up?

VIII. WHETHER the artificial Wants of *Gin-drinkers* are of so *extensive* or *commercial* a Nature, as those of sober, frugal, and industrious People, who exchange their own Labour for the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, that is, for the Labour of others; and increase the Number of Inhabitants by breeding up *Families* to *continue* the same honest Course after them?

IX. WHETHER Gaming and Debauchery, Poverty, Idleness, and Disease, can, in the main, create any Employment, but for two Sorts of Occupations, the *Hangman*, and the *Sexton*?

C 2

X. WHETHER

12 QUERIES occasioned by the

X. WHETHER a depraved and vicious People will work as *cheap*, or as *well*, as those that are sober and virtuous? Whether our Trade to foreign Parts doth not suffer upon this Account? And whether more Goods might not be exported, if we worked either cheaper or better than we now do? Whether therefore our *National Vices* are not in this View also another Cause of the want of Employment?

XI. IN controverted Points of Commerce (where there are Petitions and Counter-Petitions, where Merchants and Traders in their Applications to Parliament assert direct Contradictions) is there not an easy natural Way of discovering the general and national Interest, *viz.* Which Scheme tends to find a constant Employ for most Hands at Home, and to export most Labour Abroad? And whether the Answer to this Question ought not always to decide the Controversy?

XII. WHETHER the keeping out of sober, frugal, and industrious Foreigners, will create more Employment at Home, or be a Means of exporting greater Quantities of Manufactures Abroad?

SECTION

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 13

SECTION V.

Other supposed Causes of the want of Employment proposed and considered.

I. WHETHER it is possible in the Nature of Things, for ALL Trades and Professions to be *over-stocked*? And whether, if you were to remove any proportional Number from each Calling, the Remainder would not have the same Grounds of Complaint they had before?

II. WHETHER, in fact, any Tradesman thinks there are too many of *other Occupations* to become *his CUSTOMERS*;—tho' narrow, selfish Views lead him to wish there were fewer of his own Trade?

III. * IF a particular Trade is at any Time over-stocked, will not the Disease cure itself? That is, Will not some Persons take to other Trades,

* SOME Trades must ever be fluctuating according to the Changes of Dress, and the Caprice of Fashions; and therefore, for the most Part, will either have *too many*, or *too few* Hands belonging to them. In such Circumstances, many Persons belonging to the Trade which is deserted by the Mode, will want Employment: But who can urge this as an Argument against a Naturalization Bill? And would not the same Thing happen, if there were but a Tenth of the People in *England* which now are? And do not all Towns thinly inhabited experience this?

LIKEWISE

14 QUERIES occasioned by the

Trades, and fewer young People be bred up to that which is least profitable? And Whether any other Remedy but this, is not, in fact, the curing *one, transient* Disorder, by bringing on *many* which are *dangerous* and will grow *inveterate*?

IV. IF we have a considerable Number of Hands now unemployed, for the want of a Demand for their Labour, Which would be the right Policy, To drive out some of the present? Or admit more Consumers?

V. SUPPOSE the Expulsion of one half of the People of all Denominations in *Great Britain*,—Would this be a Means of procuring more Work for them that remained? Or would not *five* Millions more of People increase all Employments and Consumptions one half?

VI. WHETHER Sir *Josiah Child* did not call it a VULGAR ERROR to say, *We have more Hands than we can employ*? Whether he was a Judge of Trade? And Whether it is not an infallible Maxim, That one Man's Labour creates Employment for another?

SECTION

LIKEWISE a long and general National Mourning is another Cause, why there must be a great Demand for one Species of Goods, and none at all for another.—But Accidents of this Nature are not to be prevented; and the same Thing might have happened in *France*, or in any other Country, without any Relation to the Number of People in that Country.

SECTION VI.

The Plea, "Let us first find Employment for these Foreigners before we invite them over," considered and examined.

I. WHETHER a Naturalization Bill ever did, or can pass in any Country upon such a Plan? And Whether this Reasoning would be admitted in any other Case?

II. IF Vacancies are first to be found out in some particular Trades, and kept *unfilled*, before the Foreigners are permitted to come over, What Kind of Trades are they to be? And What Customers can wait so long?

III. ARE not young People bound Apprentices every Day to Bakers, Butchers, Taylors, &c? Do they know of any Vacancies before they set up? Or is it possible, if a Person wants to buy Bread, Meat, or Cloaths, he can stay till the Apprentices are out of their Time, and have set up for themselves?

IV. WHAT Vacancies are there now in *Holland*? And yet if forty thousand Foreigners were to offer to settle there, Would they not be all accepted?

V. WHETHER

16 QUERIES occasioned by the

V. WHETHER the Quantity of Labour, or the Means of Employment, are not in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants? Whether therefore, if there were but ten thousand People in this Island, Many of those would not want Employ? And Whether indeed, upon such a Supposition, the People would not be in the same Case with the wild *Indians* of *America*?

VI. If there were but ten thousand Inhabitants, and most of those in want of a proper and regular Employ, Would this be a good Reason why no Foreigners should be called in? —Or if this want of Employment for the Natives is a sufficient Reason against the Admission of Foreigners, doth it not hold equally conclusive against permitting more Children to be born, till those who are already born are all provided with Employments?

VII. How different from this is our own Policy with Regard to our Plantations, where the Value of Numbers of People is justly regarded?

SECTION VII.

The Encrease of Inhabitants the STRENGTH of a Kingdom.

I. WHETHER there be not a certain Text in the Bible, in relation to which,

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which the Generality of the *English* are hereditary Infidels, viz. Prov. xiv. 28. *In the Multitude of People is the King's Honour?* Whether this agrees with their Maxim, That we have too many People already?

II. WHETHER the *French* do not pay a greater Regard to this Observation of the wisest of Men, than we do? And while they are encouraging Matrimony in poor People, by the most engaging and honourable Methods, Whether our Church-wardens in the Country do not often usurp a Power to forbid the Banns of poor People, lest they should become burdensome to the Parish?

III. WHETHER the young Duke of *Burgundy*, when he arrives to thirty Years of Age, may not be able to bring into the Field a considerable Body of young Men, in the Flower of their Age, who owed their Birth to his? —Whether it is to be expected, that one *Englishman* is to beat ten of these?

IV. WHAT is the Strength of a Country? —Whether those Countries are not the strongest (*cæteris paribus*) which are the most populous?

V. CAN a poor Nation equip or maintain a large *Naval* Force? Can a Country thinly inhabited be otherwise than poor? Or can
D such

18 QUERIES occasioned by the
such a Country spare sufficient Numbers to fight
 its Battels, without greatly injuring its Agri-
 culture and Manufactures?

VI. WHICH is the justest Notion, this of
 the *English*, That they are too populous;—or
 that of Sir *William Petty*, who wished, That
 all the Inhabitants of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were
 transplanted into *England*, and then those
 Countries sunk in the Sea?

VII. WHETHER, according to these nar-
 row Notions, *That we have too many People*
already, it doth not follow, that it is a *na-*
tional Advantage, that so many People lay
 violent Hands upon themselves,—left we
 should be *over-burdened* with Numbers?

VIII. WHETHER there is any Country, in
 which there are so frequent Executions,—or
 so many who kill themselves by their Intem-
 perance and Debauchery, as in *England*?

IX. Is there any Nation, Protestant or Po-
 pish, where the Mode of living Batchelors
 prevails so much as it doth at present among
 Us?—Where there are so few Children the
 Issue of the Marriage State?—And where so
 many young Persons die between the Birth and
 the Age of Twenty One Years? Whether
 therefore there is any Country where a Na-
 turalization Bill is so necessary as it is now in
England,

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England, for the keeping up the present Stock
 of Inhabitants?

SECTION VIII.

The Increase of People the RICHES of a Country.

I. **W**HAT are the Riches of a Country?
 —Land? Money? or Labour?
 What is the Value of Land, but in Propor-
 tion to the Numbers of People? What is Mo-
 ney, but a Common Measure, Tally, or Coun-
 ter, to set forth or denominate the Price of
 Labour in the several Transfers of it?

II. IF Labour is the true Riches, and Money
 only the Sign or Tally, Is not that Country
 the wealthiest, which has the most Labour?
 And hath not that Country the most Labour,
 which hath the most People to create mutual
 Employment for each other?

III. **W**AS a Country *thinly* inhabited ever
rich?—Was a *populous* Country ever *poor*?

IV. WHETHER the single Province of *Hol-*
land * is above half as large as the County of
Devon?

* THE Sentiments of his late Highness the Prince of
Orange, may be worth considering on this Occasion,
 both on account of the Authority of the Person and the
 Reason of the Thing. In the Tract entitled, *Proposals*
 made

20 QUERIES occasioned by the

Devon? Whether it hath not ten Times the Inhabitants, and at least twenty Times the Riches? Does not raise more Money for publick Service, and furnish larger Fleets and Armies?

V. WHAT

made to the States General for redressing and amending the Trade of the Republick, he observes, Page 12 and 13, That among the moral and political Causes for the settling and establishing of Commerce in that Republick, the following were the chief, "The unalterable Maxim and fundamental Law, relating to the free Exercise of different Religions.—This Toleration and Connivance hath been found the most effectual Means to draw Foreigners to settle and reside here, and so become instrumental to the peopling of these Provinces.

"THE constant Policy of the Republick has been to make this Country a perpetual, safe, and secure Asylum for all persecuted and oppressed Strangers: No Alliance, no Treaty or Regard for, or Solicitations from any Potentate whatever, has at any Time been able to weaken or destroy, or make the State recede from protecting those who have fled to it for their own Security and Self-Preservation.

"THROUGHOUT the whole Course of all the Persecutions and Oppressions that have occurred in other Countries, the steady Adherence of the Republick to this fundamental Law, has been the Cause that many People have not only fled hither for Refuge, with their whole Stock in ready Cash, and their most valuable Effects, but have also settled and established many Trades, Fabricks, Manufactures, Arts and Sciences in this Country, notwithstanding the first Materials for the said Fabricks and Manufactures were almost wholly wanting in it, and not to be procured but at a great Expence from foreign Parts."

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 21

V. WHAT is the Balance of Trade in favour of one Nation against another?—If there are forty thousand Persons in *France* or *Sweden*, working up their Manufactures to send to *England*;—and only ten thousand at work in *England* for *France* or *Sweden*, Which Nation hath the Balance?—If it is allowed that *France* and *Sweden* hath the Balance, would it not be to the Advantage of *England* to get that Number of Manufacturers, by which they exceed us, removed out of *France* and *Sweden*, and settled here?

VII. WERE an Estimate to be taken of the Wealth of *England*, which Way would it be rated? By Acres? By Houses? By Stock? By Merchandize? But do not all these depend on the Number of Inhabitants, who are to occupy, to use, to buy and sell, to manufacture, transfer, and export these Things, or the Produce of them?

SECTION IX.

The Increase of People the Increase of RENT to the Landlord.

I. WHETHER Lands near *London* are not rented at forty Times the Value of Lands of equal Goodness in some of the remote

22 QUERIES occasioned by the remote Parts of *England, Wales, and Scotland*? What is this Difference in the Rent owing to, but the superior Number of Inhabitants? And that these distant Lands pay any Rent at all, is it not owing to the carrying the Produce of them to distant *populous* Places?

II. IF the City of *Bristol* could be removed forty Miles off, would not all the Estates now around it sink in Value?

III. IF a Pestilence was to sweep away 100,000 People in the North or West of *England*, and none from other Parts permitted to come in to supply this Loss, would not the Rents of Lands immediately fall in those Counties?—On the contrary, if 100,000 Foreigners, of various Employments, were to be naturalized, and increase the Consumptions of the Produce of the neighbouring Lands, would there not be a proportionable Rise in its Value?

IV. How can Tenants pay their Rents, if they cannot find a Market? And what is a Market, but a Collection of Inhabitants?

SECTION

SECTION X.

The Improvements of Lands depend upon the Increase of People.

I. WHETHER the Lands of *Great Britain* are improved to the utmost?—And what is the Reason that one Acre of Land near a large Town, shall produce ten times the Crop that an Acre of *unimproved* Land (though in itself of equal Goodness) generally yields in a distant Country Place? If the Soil of the Town is the Cause of this Fertility, what occasions such a Quantity of Soil or Compost? Is it not the Number of Inhabitants?

II. ARE there not Millions of Acres in private Hands (besides Commons, Marshes, Fens, Heaths, and Forests) which might produce ten Times the Quantity of Herbage or Provisions they now do, were they properly cultivated, and a Demand for the Produce?

III. WHAT Encouragement hath a Gentleman to cultivate and improve his Lands, if his Gains thereby are not at least equal to the Expence he may be at? And from whence can his Gains arise in an *inland* County, but from

24 **QUERIES** occasioned by the
from an Increase of Inhabitants to consume the
Increase of Produce?

IV. Is the present Complaint a just one,
That Country People are too fond of breeding
up their Children to easy handicraft Trades,
rather than to the laborious Business of Hus-
bandry? And will the keeping out of Foreign-
ers mend that Matter?

V. If the Country is the great Source of Re-
cruits for Trades and Services, whether those
Foreigners, who now come over as Journey-
men and Footmen, do not eventually prevent
the taking great Numbers from the Plough?
—Suppose these Foreigners were all expelled,
would not their Places be filled up, for the
most Part, with Persons who must otherwise
have been bred up to Country Business?

VI. ARE there no Improvements yet to be
learned from other Nations in point of Agri-
culture? And are we sure that Foreigners,
from whom we have received so many useful
Discoveries in sowing of Grasses, in Gardening,
and other Parts of Husbandry, can teach us no-
thing more?

VII. WAS a Country thinly inhabited ever
well cultivated?—Which Parts of *England*
are the best improved? Those which have the
fewest,

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fewest, or those which have the greatest Num-
ber of Inhabitants?

VIII. Is it Policy and good Prudence to
leave so many vast Wilds and Commons near
the Metropolis of a Kingdom? What are they
now but a Rendezvous for Highway-Men, a
Scene for the Commission of Robberies, and
a Means of escaping?—Could all this have
been, if these Places were well cultivated, and
properly enclosed, and better inhabited?

SECTION XI.

*The Landed and the Commercial Interests of
the Kingdom center in the same Point.*

I. **W**HAT is the true Landed Interest?
— Can any Scheme advantageous
to our *National Commerce* be repugnant to the
Interest of the Land-holders?

II. IF Commerce is depressed, if our Rivals
get our Trade, if Houses are forsaken, Mer-
chants remove, and Manufacturers forced to
fly away,—what then becomes of Farms
and Dairies? How will the Tenant pay his
Rent? How will the Landed Gentleman be
able to support his Rank and Station, and al-
low for Taxes and Repairs?

E

III. IF

III. IF Commerce be encouraged, and Merchants and Manufacturers grow more numerous, if all Fetters and Shackles upon Trade are taken off, if there be a brisker Circulation, and a surer Market, where will these Advantages terminate but upon the Landed Interest?

IV. WHEN Landed Gentlemen are perswaded to exclude Foreigners, and to lay Restraints upon Trade, do they not act against their own Interest? And are they not the *Dupes* of those *monopolizing* Tradesmen, who have set up a low, personal Interest of their own in Opposition to that of the Publick?

SECTION XII.

The Case of Foreigners who have Money in the Publick Funds, and of rich Merchants and Tradesmen in some foreign Countries.

I. IF Labour be the Riches of a Country, what Sort of Inhabitants create most Labour?—Those that can afford to purchase a few of the Conveniencies and Ornaments of Life? Or those who are able to pay for a great many? If the latter, whether it is not the Interest of the Nation to INVITE all the Foreigners, who have Money in our publick Funds, to come over, and spend it among Us?

II. IF

II. IF there are between 15 and 20 Millions of Money in our publick Funds due to Foreigners, is not this Sum to be considered in the same Light as a Mortgage on a private Gentleman's Estate?—And in that Case, is it not the Borrower's Interest to INVITE and REQUEST the Lender to reside on, and pay Rent for Part of the mortgaged Estate, and to buy all he wants of the Tenants and Tradesmen thereunto belonging? Must the Lender *solicit* this Matter as an *especial Favour*, and pay a large Sum of Money for the *Permission* of spending the Interest of the borrowed Money on the Borrower's Estate?

III. ARE there not some late Instances to be given of Foreigners, where they have put their Money in our Funds for the sake of Security, and yet have chose to reside out of *England*, on account of the Aversion of the *English* towards Foreigners?

IV. ARE there not many Countries in *Europe*, where Merchants and Tradesmen are treated with much Contempt on account of their Profession? Are there not some, where they dare not appear wealthy, or discover their Riches? Would it be any Detriment to this Kingdom, if such Persons were *invited* here? And ought they not to be told by the *publick Voice of the Nation*, that they shall be welcome, and enjoy the Benefit of a free Constitution?

E 2

V. ARE

V. ARE foreign Tradesmen, Merchants, and Mechanicks acquainted with the Nature of our Constitution? Do they reason and debate about Politicks as we do in *England*? And when they hear that a Naturalization Bill is rejected by the Representatives of the *English* Nation, what can they conclude, but that Foreigners are refused Admittance;—or at least, that they are *not protected* by the general Laws of the Kingdom, in the same Manner as the Natives are? Ought we not therefore to undeceive them in so material a Point?

SECTION XIII.

Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax.

I. ON what are all Taxes to be raised, but on the Labour of the People, and the Things they consume? And in which Country will the Taxes produce most? Where there are few, or many Inhabitants?

II. IF a certain *Sum* must be raised for the Exigencies of the Government, and the Paying of the Interest of the publick Debts, and there be a Deficiency in the several Branches of Customs and Excises,——How is this Deficiency to be made up, but by an heavier *Land-Tax*? Whether therefore the whole
Body

Body of the *Landed Interest* are not concerned on *this* account, as well as all others, to promote the Increase of Inhabitants?

III. WHETHER the *French* Refugees did not maintain their own Poor? And were also assessed in many Places towards the Support of the *English* Poor?—If this is the Fact, what Grounds were there for the Clamour, That a Naturalization Bill would encrease the Poor Tax?

IV. WOULD it be any Disadvantage to the Landed and Commercial Interests of the Kingdom, that so many Foreigners come over as would ease the *Natives* by contributing 20, or 30,000 *l.* a Year to the Relief of their Poor?

V. SUPPOSE all the Foreigners settled here for seventy Years past, and their Descendants were now expelled,—Would this be a Means of lessening the Numbers of the *English* Poor, or reducing the Poor Tax? Would not the Burden be still heavier upon the Landed Interest?

VI. WHETHER the best Way of judging of the Expediency of the Admission of Foreigners, would not be by keeping an Account, by way of *Debtor* and *Creditor*, between *England* and the Foreigners who have settled here for seventy Years past? *Viz.*

ENGLAND

30 QUERIES occasioned by the

ENGLAND Debtor to Foreigners for Manufactures, Rents of Houses and Lands, Consumption of Provisions, Increase of Commerce and Navigation, Payment of Taxes, Customs, and Excises.

ENGLAND Creditor to Foreigners by Sums expended on, or Charities given to such Foreigners.—And on which Side would the immense BALANCE fall?

SECTION XIV.

The * Birth-right of an Englishman.

I. **W**HAT is the Birth-right of an Englishman?—Is it a Right or Privilege to be poor and miserable, while his Neighbours are increasing in Wealth and Commerce? Is such a Birth-right worth *Twelve-pence*? Is it worth preserving?

II. **W**HO

* "BUT to come to the Subject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the Consequences would be, upon the Supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their Power.—The Bill [for the Naturalization of foreign Protestants] now to be repealed, would then be re-enacted; and the *Birth-right* of an Englishman reduced again to the Value of *Twelve-pence*." EXAMINER, N^o XXV. Jan. 25. 1710.

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 31

II. **W**HO are the Persons that would attempt to deprive *Englishmen* of their Birth-right?—Such who propose to make *England* rich and flourishing, the Center of Trade, and a Magazine for other Nations?—Or those that would cramp and confine its Commerce, countenance Monopolies and Combinations, prevent the Increase of Inhabitants and the Consumption of Labour, under a Pretence of preserving the *Purity* of the *English* Blood?

III. **A**RE not all Attempts to deprive us of the Benefits of Labour, Attempts upon our Birth-rights? Are not all Limitations and Restrictions, whereby *Englishmen* are obliged to buy the *dearer* and sell the *cheaper*, so many Invasions on their Rights and Liberties? Who are the Persons guilty of these Crimes?

IV. **W**AS there any Clause ever offered in a Naturalization Bill to deprive the Freemen of Towns Corporate of their Rights and Privileges?—And was it not always declared by the Promoters of such Bills, that Freemen should preserve these [*supposed*] Privileges, as long as they themselves would chuse to keep them, and till they would petition to be released from them?

SECTION

SECTION XV.

The real Interest of Tradesmen.

I. **W**HAT are the Privileges of Freemen?—Are they real, or imaginary? Would the Inhabitants of *Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds*, accept such Privileges if they were offered them?

II. **A**RE the Tradesmen in *Westminster* the poorer for being *without*, or the Tradesmen in *London* the richer for being *within* the Liberties of the City?

III. **I**F a Tradesman sells the *dearer* by excluding those who are not *free*, doth he not buy the *dearer* of other Tradesmen for the like Reason?—If his Intention is only to exclude Rivals, do not the Freemen of other Trades exclude their Rivals upon the same Motives?—And when other Tradesmen exclude their Rivals, do they not in fact exclude such as might be his Customers?

IV. Is not every Tradesman willing to buy as *cheap*, and sell as *much* as may be? But how can he do either where Trade is not free?

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

There must be Rivals in Commerce either at Home or Abroad.

I. **I**F there will and must be Rivals either at *Home* or *Abroad*,—which is the most detrimental to a Kingdom?—To have *Competitors* at Home? or to be *out-rivalled* Abroad?

II. **W**AS a Nation ever hurt by Competitions at Home?—And is not the Proverb, *Penny wise and Pound foolish*, manifestly verified in those, who would prevent Competitions between Merchants, Tradesmen, and Mechanics?

III. **W**HAT is the Publick Good? Is it not, for the most Part, the Result of Emulation among the Members of the same Society? And what would become of Industry, Temperance, Frugality, and the Desire of Excelling, if there were no Emulation?

IV. **W**HICH is best for the Publick,—To have *Emulations* among Tradesmen and Manufacturers, or *Combinations*? And which of these hath the strongest Tendency to heighten the Price of exportable Goods, and impoverish our Country?

F SECTION

SECTION XVII.

*The Objection, "That Foreigners would take
" the Bread out of the Mouths of the Na-
" tives,—and carry away the Mysteries of
" Trade," considered and examined.*

I. **W**HICH Sort of *Foreigners* are most to be dreaded, as taking the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives? — Those *thout* the Kingdom? or those *within*?

II. I F the good People of *England* could see through a Telescope those Merchants and Manufacturers in the several Parts of *Europe* who out-rival them, and prevent the Sale of their Manufactures, — would they not rather say, ~~It~~ *Those are the People that take the Bread out of our Mouths?* — But will the Refusal of a Naturalization Bill be a Means of curing this Evil?

III. **W**H O are those that have carried the Mysteries of Trade out of this Kingdom? — *Foreigners?* or *Englishmen?* And whether there are not *Englishmen* very lately settled in most Kingdoms in *Europe*, who teach the Natives of those Countries the particular Trades in which we most excel? — Whether also there are not undeniable Proofs of their having solicited

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 35
solicited Charters to exclude Goods of the same Kind coming from *England*?

IV. **A**R E there not a Variety of Tools now making in *England*, and daily shipping off for the use of Manufacturers in Foreign Countries? And will not the *English* Masters and Journeymen go over to teach Foreigners the Use of those Tools, if they are invited and sufficiently *encouraged*?

V. I F the Kings of *France, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, &c.* are intent upon setting up any *English* Manufactures, — which would be their likeliest Way to succeed? — To draw off *English* Manufacturers by Premiums and Salaries? or to be at the Expence of sending their own Subjects, and maintaining them here a long Time to learn the Trade? Which is the most expeditious Method? The most secure, the cheapest, and that which has been most frequently and successfully practised?

SECTION XVIII.

The permitting the Natives to go to our Colonies and Plantations,—and the Inviting of Foreigners to come in to increase our Numbers, shewn to terminate in the same good Policy?

I. **W**H E T H E R there is not a certain Fundamental Principle in Govern-
F 2 ment

36 QUERIES occasioned by the
ment and Commerce, *That an Increase of La-
bour will be attended with an Increase of People?*

II. WHETHER Colonies and Plantations,
*under * proper Regulations*, do not increase
Labour?

III. WHETHER the Kingdom of *Spain*
would have been depopulated by the *Spanish*
Settlements in *America*, if all the Manufac-
tures sent to that Country had been worked
up in *Old Spain*?

IV. As great Multitudes of *French, Eng-
lish, Dutch, Italians*, and other Nations, are
now employed in the making of Manufac-
tures, and the sending of Provisions to the
Spanish West Indies,—would not *Old Spain*
be a very populous Country, if these People,
with their Wives and Families, were trans-
planted there?

V. IF there is an Increase of Labour in any
free Town, will not the People flock thither
from other Parts of the Kingdom, in Propor-
tion to that Increase? And whether the like
would

* THE Regulations here referred to may be seen in
the VIIIth Proposal of the *Brief Essay on Trade*, 2d
Edit. Page 92. printed for *T. Trye, Holborn*. And I
suppose Sir *Josiah Child* must have had some such Regu-
lations in his Thoughts, when he pronounced it to be a
VULGAR ERROR to say, That Colonies do lessen the
Number of People in the Mother Country.

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would not hold good with respect to the whole
Kingdom, if Foreigners were admitted?

VI. IF Foreigners were not admitted, whe-
ther the above mentioned Increase of Labour
will not *forsake* that City, Country, or King-
dom, and fix in another where Work is *cheap-
est* done? Whether any Statutes, Restraints,
or Prohibitions, can prevent this Consequence?
—And whether the *Spaniards*, who have
experienced this Truth to their Cost, are not
now setting about to amend their Error by an
Admission of Foreigners? Yet do not the
English seem inclined to run into the same Er-
ror more and more?

VII. WHETHER it is not prudent to keep
open *two Doors* in a State, one for such Per-
sons to *go out* to our Colonies, as may have
their Reasons for such Departure, and the
other to *admit* those Persons in, as are inclined
to live among us?

VIII. IF any among ourselves have been
imprudent or unfortunate, and would willing-
ly retire to a Place where their past Conduct
was not known;—or if any are moved by Am-
bition to seek their Fortunes in foreign Coun-
tries, is it not the best Policy to *open a Way*
for such Adventurers to go to *our own* Colonies
and Plantations, rather than to let them retire
to other Countries, and probably to our Rivals?
SECTION

SECTION XIX.

If a Naturalization Bill was to pass, Whether Beggars would be the likeliest to come over?

I. **D**O Beggars want the Inducement of a Naturalization Bill?—If a thousand foreign Beggars were now to come over, have the * Justices of the Peace, the Mayors, or other Civil Magistrates, any *legal* Authority of ordering them out of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, or of levying a Tax, or applying any Publick Money for that Purpose? If they have not, what Encouragement would a Naturalization Bill give to Beggars more than they have already?

II. ARE the Lazy and Indolent the likeliest to leave their native Country? Do even such among the *Scotch, Welsh*, (tho' upon the same Continent) or *Irish*, as are Beggars by Profession, take the Pains to come into *England* to set up *that Trade*? If any of the Natives of those Countries are found begging in *England*, are they not, for the most part, industrious People who came for work, but were taken sick, or reduced by unavoidable Misfortunes?

III. WHAT

* THE Justices of the Peace have a Power of *passing*, that is of sending away *Irish* Beggars into *Ireland*, but no Foreigners as I am informed.

III. WHAT could a lazy and indolent Foreigner propose to himself by coming into *England*, where he doth not understand so much as the Language of the Country? Or how would such a Person defray the Expence of a Passage hither?

IV. IF any *Englishman* proposes to push his Fortune in a foreign Country, doth he intend to live by Laziness and Idleness? And can a foreign Merchant or Mechanick here in *England* hope to thrive by any other Means, than by an Application and Industry *equal* at least, if not *superior* to that of the Natives?

V. Is that Objection, "That we shall swarm with foreign Beggars," consistent with the other, "That Foreigners will come over to underwork the Natives, and take the Bread out of their Mouths?"

SECTION XX.

If a Naturalization Bill should pass, Whether the Vicious and Abandoned would be the likeliest to come over.

I. **W**HAT Restraints are put upon the Vicious and Abandoned from coming over now?—Do not all the Rakes in *Europe* know by the Example and Conversation of the *English* that travel Abroad, that *England*

40 QUERIES occasioned by the
land is a Country where People may be as
wicked as they please? And what is it to a
Rake, a Prostitute, or Sharper, whether they
are naturalized or not? Are not they, for the
most part, *Citizens of the World*?

II. WHEN foreign Merchants and Trades-
men are obliged to leave their Country on
Motives of Conscience and Religion, are they
so likely to increase our Luxuries, and debauch
our Morals, as foreign Cooks, Singers, Dan-
cers, and Fiddlers, whose very Livelihood de-
pends upon adding Incentives to our Follies,
and feeding our Vices?

III. IF our Rivals had it in their Choice to
send either a Colony of Merchants and Manu-
facturers, — or of Singers and Fiddlers into each
Trading Town in *England*, — Which of the
two would they be the likeliest to send? And
which do we seem *most disposed to receive*?

IV. WHETHER the Manufacturing Poor in
any Country are so debauched and immoral as
in *England*? Is there not therefore a greater
Danger, that the *English* should corrupt the
Foreigners, than be corrupted by them?

V. Is not *Holland* open to all the World?
And are the People observed to be more de-
bauched upon that Account? — Or was it
found by Experience, that we in this Nation
were

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were corrupted in our Morals by the Recep-
tion of the *Flemish* and *French* Refugees?

SECTION XXI.

*The most efficacious, as well as the gentlest Me-
thods of reforming a People's Morals.*

I. IS the Naturalization of Foreign Pro-
testants inconsistent with any good
Scheme that can be devised for the Reforma-
tion of Morals? And indeed, will not both
Schemes co-operate best together? That is,
Will not good Examples be the best Recom-
mendation and Enforcement of good Laws?

II. Is not Emulation a strong Principle in
human Nature? — And particularly* so in
the

* THE ingenious *Abbe du Bos*, in his *Critical Re-
flections on Poetry and Painting*, Vol. II. Chap. xv,
Page 196. makes a very pertinent and useful Observa-
tion on this Head.

“ THE present *English*, says he, are not descended,
“ generally speaking, from the *Britons*, who inhabited
“ that Island when the *Romans* subdued it. Neverthe-
“ less, the Strokes with which *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* cha-
“ racterise the *Britons*, are extremely well suited to the
“ *English*; for the one were not more subject to Jea-
“ lously [the Impatience of being outrivalled] than the
“ other; *Tacitus* observes, that *Agricola* found no bet-
“ ter Method of engaging the ancient *Britons* to make
“ their

42 QUERIES occasioned by the
the Inhabitants of this Island in regard to For-
eigners? Might it not therefore be made very
instrumental in promoting the Reformation of
the Natives?

III. HATH not the Method of Whipping,
sending to Bridewel, to the Plantations, and
even Hanging, been long enough practised? — yet
these

“ their Children learn Latin, as well as Rhetorick, and
“ the other polite Arts in use among the *Romans*, than
“ to excite their *Emulation*, by making them ashamed
“ to see themselves excelled by the *Gauls*. The Spirit
“ of the *Britons*, said *Agricola*, is of a better Frame
“ than that of the *Gauls*; and if they have a mind to
“ take Pains, it depends entirely on themselves, to sur-
“ pass their Neighbours. *Agricola*'s Artifice had its de-
“ sired Effect; and the *Britons*, who before scorned to
“ speak Latin, grew even desirous of acquiring the Beau-
“ ties of the *Roman* Eloquence. Let the *English* them-
“ selves judge, whether the Artifice used by *Agricola*
“ might not be employed among them at present with
“ the like Success.”

THE Reader perhaps will not be displeas'd at the
mentioning another Example of the like Nature, though
of an *inferior* Kind, as it is so recent and applicable to
the present Subject. The chief Gardiner of a late noble
Lord employed a great Number of *English* and *Irish* La-
bourers in making new Gardens; but could not get them
to perform their Work with any tolerable Degree of In-
dustry and Care, 'till he hit upon the happy Expedient
of separating the two Nations, and exciting their Emu-
lation against each other. This had all the Success he
could desire: And they did more Work, and in a bet-
ter Manner, when they were told, it was for the *Honour*
of *England*, — and for the *Honour* of *Ireland*, than for
any other Considerations he could urge.

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 43

these Severities have had no good Influence on
the Morals of the People. Is it not therefore
requisite that some other Expedient should be
tried? And if it has been made evident, that
a Naturalization Bill would be an Inducement
only to sober and industrious Foreigners to come
over, may not a Spirit of Emulation incite the
English to rival them in the like virtuous Prac-
tices?

IV. SUPPOSE a Set of Journeymen and
Manufacturers entered into a Combination to
work only three Days in a Week, and to have
an exorbitant Price for that Time, — What
Arguments are to be used, or Methods taken,
to break this destructive Confederacy? Will
the Terror of the Civil Magistrate in such a
Constitution as ours be so effectual as the Force
of Emulation? Will the Sot or the Debauchee
be so soon reclaimed by any Severity, as by
seeing Foreigners employed in case he refuses
to work? And is not the raising of Emula-
tion a much more humane and gentle Method,
more agreeable to the Genius of a free People,
and in all Respects most conducive to the Pub-
lick Good?



G 2 SECTION

SECTION XXII.

A Regard to the Constitution both in Church and State.

I. IN what Respect would the Introduction of Foreign Protestants endanger the Establishment of our excellent CHURCH?—What was the Opinion of our Reformers?

II. HAVE the Churches Abroad ever expressed an Aversion to Episcopacy,—to the Use of Liturgies,—to our Articles and Homilies,—or to any Part of our Ecclesiastical Constitution? And have not they often considered the Church of *England* as the Pillar and Glory of the Reformation?

III. ARE not the *English* noted throughout *Europe* at this Day for broaching Heterodox Systems and Latitudinarian Opinions? And is there any Country, where the grand and fundamental Articles both of Natural and Revealed Religion are attacked in so outrageous a Manner as they are in *England*? Is there therefore any Danger that we should be corrupted in our Principles by the Introduction of Foreigners?

IV. ARE

IV. ARE not the principal Clergy in Foreign Countries, both *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*, Members of our *Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*? If therefore any of their Flocks were to remove and settle here,—would they advise them, when they came to *England*, to separate from the established Church?

V. DID* the Foreign Protestants, who fled hither from Popish Persecutions, behave indecently

* HAVING been lately favoured with two Extracts from the Letters of Bishop *Compton* to Bishop *Fell*, I am persuaded that I cannot do a more acceptable Thing than to present them to the Reader, as they contain the Sentiments of one Father of our Church to another, in their *friendly* and *private* Correspondence; and as both these eminent Prelates were distinguished for their Zeal and Affection to the Church of *England*. There is no Date of the Year in either Letter.

OCTOBER 18. “ It must be confessed, that many of the meaner Sort [of the Refugees] have not dealt so well with us as they ought to have done. But then you must consider, how far the HOTSPURS of our Church have *always* provoked them; and that the more discreet and understanding of them were *nevertheless* generally for us.”

JANUARY 21. “ The Abstract you sent me [relating to the Refugees] is exceeding good, and I believe we shall send it into all the Dioceses: For the PAPISTS have been so very *careful* to raise an *evil Report* against these poor Men, that it has done great Mischief.”

46 **QUERIES** occasioned by the
cently or disrespectfully towards the *English*
Clergy? Are not their Descendants at this
Day as well affected towards them as any Per-
sons whatever? And is it at all probable, if
Numbers were now to come over, that they
would give any Cause of Complaint against
them?

I. IN what respect would the Introduction
of Foreign Protestants endanger the Constitu-
tion of the STATE? What were the Senti-
ments of the most distinguished Patriots and
ablest Politicians on this Matter?

II. ARE Foreign Protestants averse to Liber-
ty, and in love with Slavery? Are they dis-
affected to the present Royal Family, and in
the Interest of the Pretender?

III. WHAT Plots, Conspiracies, or Trea-
sons, were the Foreign Protestants, who have
settled here, detected in? What Books or
Treatises have they wrote or countenanced,
which tended to the Subversion of the Rights
and Privileges of the Subject, or the just Pre-
rogative of the Crown?

IV. WILL the *English* Constitution be
weakened by a Naturalization Bill, at the same
Time that *all others* are strengthened by it?
—Will it be right in the *French* Government
to entice the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Catho-
licks

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 47
licks to settle in *France*, and be wrong in the
English to invite the persecuted Protestants to
come to *England*? Is not every Manufacturer,
drawn from a rival Country a double Loss to
that Country?

SECTION XXIII.

*The Dictates of Humanity, and the Principles
of the Christian Religion.*

I. **W**HETHER the denying Refuge and
Protection to the Persecuted and
Distressed, is in itself an humane and benevo-
lent Proceedure? Whether it is such as we
would chuse to be done to ourselves in the
like Circumstances?

II. **W**HEN a Fellow Protestant is persecuted
in one City, and flees to another, in Obedience
to his Saviour's Commands,—Whether it is con-
sistent with the Religion we profess, as *Christians*
and as *Protestants*, to shut the Gates of the
City against him, and hinder him to come in?
And whether the Foreign Protestants acted in
that inhospitable Manner to the *English* Refugees,
when they fled from the Persecutions of the
bloody Queen *Mary*?

III. **W**HETHER if these Kingdoms, for the
Punishment of our Sins, should fall again un-
der the Power of a *Popish* persecuting Bigot,
we

we should not esteem it, extremely inhuman and unchristian to be denied a Protection and Afylum in some neighbouring Protestant Country?

IV. WHETHER every Miscarriage of the Naturalization Bill in *England* is not industriously made use of by the Priests in *France*, as an Argument to perswade the Protestants to turn Papists? And whether they have not from this Circumstance, a very plausible Pretence for saying, That the *English* refuse to receive the Foreign Protestants in Distress, when the *Roman* Catholicks give all possible Assistance to the Members of their Communion? Whether therefore, when our *Practice* is compared with theirs, the *Popish* Religion doth not appear in a more advantageous Light, to our great Scandal and Reproach?

V. WHETHER the Government and Clergy of *France* have not their Hands strengthened to persecute the Protestants by our denying them Admission? And whether the Persecutions did not actually slacken in *France*, when our Naturalization Bill was depending, and revive again after it was defeated? — Whether therefore we ourselves do not become in some Sense the Accomplices of Popish Persecutors, in direct Opposition to the distinguishing Principles of the Gospel, and the Interest, the Strength, and Honour of our Church and Nation?

A P P E N -



* THE

A P P E N D I X,

V I Z.

A CALM ADDRESS to all Parties in Religion, concerning Disaffection to the present Government.

A New Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

THE Reader will easily perceive, that a Part of this Piece was published during the late Rebellion, when there was an Embarkation of Forces at *Dunkirk*, designed for the Invasion of this Kingdom. The Author imputes the favourable Reception it met with at that Time, to the Improvements it received from the Honourable Mr Justice *Foster*, who was pleased to revise it before its Publication. After mentioning a Gentleman

H of

* See the Reasons in Pages 49, 50, 53, and 69, of Part I. for annexing this Piece to the Subject of naturalizing Foreign Protestants.

of so distinguished a Character, he thinks it needless to say any Thing more, than to express in this publick Manner, his Gratitude to him for this, as well as many other signal Obligations.

THE Additions now made, are submitted with great Deference to the Judgment of the Publick. And if what is advanced on this Subject may contribute to remove any ill-founded Prejudice against our present happy Constitution, the Author will think his Pains amply recompens'd: But if the Abettors of a contrary Opinion should be irritated against him for his Sentiments (delivered in an inoffensive Manner) and repeat their ill Usage to him, he hopes they will consider, that there can be no greater Proof of a *bad Cause*, than the Necessity of supporting it by *base* and *disingenuous* Methods.

IT is not to be doubted, but the Friends and Partizans of the *Chevalier* would make the World believe, that it would be greatly for the Welfare of this Nation if he should prevail; that his Reign, and the Restoration of his Family, would take away the Cause of Party Factions and Divisions; that the Liberties and Properties of the Subject would be secured upon as *good*, or rather *better* Foundation, than they are at present; that Trade would encrease and flourish; the People be eased of a great Part of their Taxes; and lastly, that he himself is a good, sincere, and honest Man, and will give clear Proofs of it during the Course of his future Government.

LET

LET us grant (for Argument Sake) the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Uprightness of his Intentions, to be as great as the most sanguine of his Adherents can conceive them to be. And let us consider what *Political* Consequences, with respect to Us, those very Principles would naturally produce, were he to succeed in his Attempts on these Kingdoms.

I. THEN, his Claim to these Kingdoms must be grounded on the Doctrine of an *indefeasible hereditary Right*. — He can have no other Pretence but this; for the present Reigning Family have the *Parliamentary Right* on their Side, being called to the Crown by an open and unconstrained Election. His Plea therefore must be, and is in fact, that he is come to assert his *Property*, which has been so long detained from him.

Now if the Crown is a Matter of *Property*, and not an Office in *Trust*; if it is *unalienable*, and not to be *transferred* by the People, in any Case, for the Security of their *Liberties*, and the *General Good*, this unalienable and hereditary Property is likewise, for the very same Reason, not to be *diminished* or *infringed*. Consequently, all Statutes made to *restrain* or *abridge* the *Prerogative*, are void and null of course, being nothing better than so many popular *Encroachments* and *Usurpations*. For the *Subject* is BORN the *Property* of his *Prince*, and therefore, *can have no Right* to insist upon Terms and Conditions from him. In short, his only Remedy is to submit with Patience to the *Will* and *Command* of his *Proprietor*.

H 2

THUS

THUS unlimited passive Obedience, and *Non-Resistance*, are inseparably connected with the Claim of an *indefeasible* hereditary Right. And if a Prince sets up the one himself, he may very reasonably require the other to be practised by his Subjects.

II. If ever the *Chevalier* succeeds to the Crown, he can do no less, consistently with the Principles of *Justice* and *Gratitude*, than restore to his *Benefactor*, the King of *Spain*, the important Fortresses and Ports of *Gibraltar* and *Mahone*.— This would be no *extravagant* or *unreasonable* Demand in the latter to make, but would be a Thing highly *injurious* and *ungrateful* in the former to refuse; because these Places were conquered by those whom the *Pretender* must stile *Usurpers*, and from those who have ever been assisting him in his greatest Exigencies: And upon his coming to the Throne, he can lay no Claim to these Places, either by *Treaty*, *Cession*, or *Conquest*;— consequently, can have no Appearance of Right, of any Sort, to detain them. Thus all the Trade to the *Mediterranean* would in a great Measure depend on the mere Will and Pleasure of the Court of *Spain*; and the *Brittish* Nation would not have it in her Power to rule in those Seas as she doth at present, but must submit to lose all that Influence, and the Benefit of her Maritime Strength, for want of Ports and Harbours for the *wintering* and *refitting* of the Ships, and Security of the Fleet.

III. THE same Reasoning holds with respect to the delivering up of *Cape Breton* to the *French*: Both *Justice* and *Gratitude* demand it of him. But

But as the Case stands at present, if we prove successful in the War, we shall certainly keep * it; and by that Means open to ourselves a Trade more beneficial than all the Mines of *Peru*: But should we prove ever so unfortunate, we shall still be able to obtain something valuable in Lieu of it, and so procure a Peace upon more advantageous Terms than could otherwise be obtained. Add to this, that it is much to be questioned, whether *France*, in the Plenitude of her Power, would practise such *unusual* Moderation, as to be content with the re-delivering up of *Cape Breton*, as an Equivalent for all the Expences she hath been at in placing the Pretender on the Throne; when it will be entirely at her Option to make her own Terms, and to insist upon the most valuable Possessions we have, either in *America* or elsewhere, in order to prevent it from ever being in the Power of the *Brittish* Nation to oppose her again.

IV. THE Duty on *French* Wines, &c. must be considerably lowered, so as to be upon a Par with the Duties on the like Commodities of other Nations.

* The surrendering up of this Fortress is now amply compensated by the settling of *Nova Scotia*; and it is also to be observed, that the Cession of it was one of the principal Inducements with the King of *France* to conclude so disadvantageous a Peace, by restoring all *Flanders*; from whence this Nation can be invaded with every *Easterly* Wind, as it would both bring the Invaders over, and lock up our own Fleet in Port.

† It is well known, that the *French* have looked upon *Ireland* for a long Time past with wistful Eyes, as this fertile Country would supply them with Wool for their Manufactures at Home, and Provisions for their Colonies Abroad; and as its Ports would be a Means of augmenting and protecting their Trade, and strike a Terror in the whole *English* Nation, when made the *Rendezvous* of a *French* Fleet.

tions. For it would be very strange, and an ill Requital of Favour and Protection, if the *Chevalier*, when King, should put the Subjects of *that* Crown, who restored him to *his*, upon a worse Footing than the rest of *Europe* within his Dominions. The Produce of *France*, when imported here, pays heavier Duties at present than that of other Nations; and her Wines are charged about two thirds more than those of *Portugal*, which was wisely done in Consequence of an express Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, for the Grant of a favourable Admission of our Woollen Manufactures, and other Commodities, into his Dominions. Can we imagine then that *France* would not embrace such an Opportunity as here supposed, to get these excessive and discouraging Duties repealed? And doth not the Thing itself look very plausible, carrying a Face of Equity that it should be so? In short, the *Chevalier* and his Friends, cannot, in point of Decency, Honour, or Gratitude, refuse to concur in such a Repeal; or if they would, they dare not.

WHAT then would be the Consequence with respect to us?—FRENCH Goods, of various Sorts, would be imported, as we are so fond of their Fashions, and their People work so much cheaper than ours, to the utter Ruin of our own Manufactures: *French* Wines would be almost universally drank instead of *Port*, whereby that most valuable Part of *all* our Commerce, the Trade to *Portugal*, would be entirely lost, and very probably pass from our Hands into those of the *French*. Thus there would ensue a general Stagnation of Trade and Manufactures; and our present ready Specie would daily diminish, by being carried a-
way

way into *France*, without any Prospect of its Return, or of receiving fresh Supplies from other Countries.

V. SEEING such a Reign as here supposed must unavoidably be productive of *insupportable* Grievances, and Matters of *just Complaint*, the Number of *Malecontents* and *dissatisfied* Persons would be much greater, and their Clamours *more violent* than ever. And as the present Reigning Family would be looked upon, at that supposed Juncture, as the Pretenders and Rivals to the Throne, the *Discontented and Disaffected* would be so much the more formidable. Therefore a *very numerous* Army would become *necessary* to keep in Awe a *free People*, unaccustomed to bear the Yoke of *Oppression*;—or a *new* Revolution would soon ensue. Hence Taxes, instead of being *diminished*, would inevitably be *multiplied*, as the Government would have the same Load of National Debt it hath at present, or must have Recourse to a *Sponge* to wipe it off: For in such Circumstances there could be no other Method of paying it. And if this should be thought the best Expedient,* then the whole *Publick Credit* must sink of course; *Widows*, and

Orphans,
* By the Tenor of the *Chevalier's* Manifesto, published during the Rebellion, it should seem, that he preferred the Expedient of *Annihilating* the Publick Debts to that of *Paying* them. For he is pleased to inveigh against them as contracted to *keep out* his Family, which is by no Means true of the greater Part of them. For they were really contracted to withstand the exorbitant Power of *France*; which is a Duty so incumbent on every *Brittish* King, that the *Stuart* Family themselves ought to have done the very same Thing, if they had continued on the Throne. He then goes on, saying, "He would leave the Matter to a free Parliament, whether these Debts should be paid or not." That is, in plain *English*, The first Parliament he called after his Victories, composed only of his own Friends and Followers, and the Soldiers of Fortune (for at such a Juncture
ture

Orphans, and thousands of Persons of good Fashion, be reduced to the most indigent and abject State; and many Publick *Charitable Foundations* of Schools, Hospitals, Infirmaries, &c. be obliged to be shut up. But if the same Debts are supposed to remain, then the prodigious Expences of the Service, joined to the Interest payable to the *Publick Creditors*, would put the Government under a Necessity of laying on many *new and heavy Taxes*, when the Trade or Money circulating in the Nation would bear no Proportion to answer them.

VI. AFTER these Things impartially considered, we may clearly observe, that the continual Assistance of *France* would become so absolutely necessary, that it would be impossible to support such a *tottering* Crown without it. And therefore it would be the Interest of the *Chevalier*, to see *Flanders* always in the Hands of *France*, as he could receive Assistance, with great Ease, from his *potent Ally*, by Means of the *Flemish* Ports, to quell any Attempts of the Friends of Liberty to recover their Freedom: And it would be the Interest of *France* to foment all our domestick Divisions, at least not to take away the Cause of them, in order to keep the Crown of *Great Britain* still dependant. — So that in fact, the *Chevalier* would be little better than a Vice-Roy, or Lord Lieutenant, under the Grand Monarch; and the *Brittish* Subjects would actually be in a *much worse* State, than if they were under an *immediate French* Government.

VII. THERE (where none others could dare to appear) would then determine, whether they should pay the publick Creditors, or share the Spoils among themselves. — And it is easy to resolve which they would chuse to do.

VII. THERE can be nothing which the Favourers of this Gentleman have to reply to these Observations, but this, that when he is once settled upon the Throne, he will then consult the Interests of the *Brittish* Nation only, and disappoint the Expectations of the Courts of *France* or *Spain*. — I have shewn, that he cannot do this, consistently with Gratitude, Honour, or Justice. But if, notwithstanding, it is still insisted, that he will, — I ask, What Security can we have, that such a Prince will be more *conscientious* in performing his Engagements to *Us*, over whom he will consider that he hath an *indefeasible Property*, than to *others*, over whom he hath no such Claims, and to whom he hath been so much obliged, and so deeply engaged?

BESIDES, it will not be in his Power to act in this Respect as he pleases. — *France*, enlarged by Conquest, having her Frontiers secured by the *Rhine*, her Commerce increased and raised upon the Destruction of ours, and in Possession of all the Ports of *Flanders*, which are within a *few Hours* sail of our own Coasts, could easily compel the distracted and divided People of *Great Britain*, sunk in Trade, destitute of Credit, and without Finances or Allies, to submit to her own Terms. And it is evidently no more the Design of that Crown to raise the Power of the *Pretender* to a State of *Independence*, capable of turning his Arms against her, than it is to favour the Interests of the present Royal Family. For whenever she assists, she doth it with no other View, than of making *Tools* of the Party assisted, by espousing their Interests in *such a Manner* as shall make them *subservient*

servient to her own; which, in the Nature of Things, must be contrary to the Interest of *Great Britain*.

WHAT then can be expected from the Success of the Pretender?—Nothing certainly in point of *National Advantage*: So that there can be urged no Motives of *that Sort* to induce any one to embark in the Undertaking, or even to countenance a Spirit of *Disaffection*.

VIII. LET us therefore examine in the next Place, how the Matter stands, and on which Side the Argument would conclude in point of *DUTY*.

1. It is an undoubted Maxim, founded in the Reason of Things, that Protection and Allegiance are *reciprocal*. As therefore we have received the one, we ought the more chearfully to pay the other, and be vigorous in the Support of a Government, which hath so long protected us in the Enjoyment of all our Rights, Civil and Religious; —and that in a greater Degree than ever was known before.

2. BOTH Prince and People have entered into *mutual Stipulations*, and the most *solemn Engagements* to assist and defend each other; which therefore, neither Party have a Right to break through at Pleasure: Now let any one look over the *Declaration of Rights and Liberties* made by the Lords and Commons in the very Year of the Revolution, *viz.* 1688, and say, whether he thinks in his Conscience, that the People are debarred of the full Possession

session of any one of them. And if they are not, how can any Man of Honour or common Honesty be free from his Engagements?—More especially a CHRISTIAN, after having, in the most solemn Manner, called GOD to witness, to the *Sincerity* of his Professions of Loyalty and Obedience?

3. SHOULD any one be so *weak*, or *ignorant* of our free Constitution, as to *doubt* of the Title of the present Royal Family (which in every View hath a much better *Original*, and *Plea of Right*, than any other Family since the Time of the *Saxons*, who by the *basest Treachery* usurped the Government from their Masters:) Nay even supposing there was a *real Defect*,*—Why, *St Paul* hath decided in such a Case, that an *established Constitution*, which answers the general Ends of Government, is not to be resisted, because the Title happens to be *controverted*: A defective Title being the very Pretence of the *Jews*, and *Judaizing Christians*, for their Reluctance to obey the *Roman Government*, *viz.* Because, in their Opinion, it was not *ordained* of GOD. And yet the Apostle would by no Means admit of this Plea, but lays it down as a general Rule, that every *settled Government* [*The Powers THAT BE*] exercising that Office for the Good of the People, is *so far* ordained of GOD, as to have a *sufficient*, and therefore in that Sense a *Divine Right*, to the Loyalty of the Subject; which Service he cannot refuse without committing a very *heinous Sin*.

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4. THIS

* See my II^d Dissertation against Mr Chubb, *viz.* on *Rom. xiii.* Printed for T. Trye, Holborn.

4. THIS Declaration of the Apostle, concerning Obedience to the Powers in Possession, is incorporated into, and made an essential Part of our Constitution both in CHURCH and STATE.

As to the CHURCH, the same Doctrine is contained in the *Homilies*, where King *John*, though a most notorious Usurper, is stiled, Our natural Lord and Sovereign; and it is observable, that before the Civil Wars, there is not one Instance that the contrary Position was ever held. Nay farther, the very Convocation expressly called together by the first King of the *Stuart* Line reigning in *England*, to deliberate on such Points, gave their Judgments as follows; "If any Man shall affirm, — That when any new Forms of Government, begun by REBELLION, are after thoroughly settled, the Authority in them is not of GOD; or that any who live within the Territories of such new Governments, are not bound to be subject to GOD's Authority, which is there executed, — he doth greatly err."*

AND

* Bishop *Overall's* Convocation Book, CANON XXIII. Page 59. N. B. This Quotation is brought with no other View, but to set forth the Sense of the Clergy of the Church of *England* at that Juncture, concerning controverted or defective Titles in the reigning Powers, — defective I mean, with regard to Claims before Possession, or the Pretensions of a Rival; for after Possession, the Subject is precluded, according to the Sense of this Canon, from making any Objections against the Lawfulness of obeying such a Government, or giving Countenance to the Pretensions of a Rival, that would disturb it when once quietly established.

AND with respect to the STATE,* It hath been the constant and invariable Maxim of the *Common Law of England* to ascribe the same Powers and Prerogatives, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military, to a King *de Facto*, as to a King *de Jure*. And to prevent any Possibility of Doubt on this Head, the Legislature itself passed an Act, the 11th of *Henry VII.* expressly limiting the Obedience of the Subject to the King for the Time being. After this, it might appear superfluous to recite the Authority of the Courts of Judicature, in which the Statutes of both Sorts of Kings are always allowed to carry equal Force and Obligation; — or the Opinions of the most eminent Lawyers, who are consequently the best Judges of the *English* LEGAL Constitution, and yet never made any Scruple to assert, that the Loyalty of the Subject was limited to the King in Possession.

IX. BUT even allowing that all these Arguments are inconclusive, and that nothing can make Amends for the Want of a regular Succession of the next of Kin; — the grand Question therefore is, Who hath the best Pretensions to the Crown by Virtue of this Succession? † The *Stuart* Family can have no Right; for their Claim must descend from King *John*, who was not only a gross Usurper, but

* THOSE who wish to have a clearer and more perfect View of all these Points, would do well to consult that excellent Book of Dr *Higden* on the *English* Constitution, with the Defences annexed to it.

† SEE this proved at large in *Ballantyne's* Hereditary Right of King *George II.* asserted: Sold by *M. Cooper* in *Pater-Noster Row*.

but a *Murderer* of his King: And his Children being also *illegitimate*, the whole hereditary Right must have passed from him to his Sister *Maud*, the Daughter and only surviving Issue of *Henry II.* (in whom, *N. B.* the *Norman* and *Saxon* Lines were *united*.) And from this Princess, married to the Duke of *Bavaria*, His present Majesty, King *George II.* is LINEALLY descended. So that tho' the Plea of an *indefeasible* hereditary Right is certainly a very weak one, and such as every Friend to our present happy Constitution would heartily disclaim, yet it may have its Use merely as an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and serve to confute the Defenders of a wild, extravagant Opinion, upon their own Principles.

X. LASTLY, The Faults of the Administration, the Number of our Taxes, and the vast Load of the National Debt, are made standing Subjects of Complaint.

As to *Faults* and *Miscarriages*, there is no Doubt to be made, but every *human* Institution is subject to them; and with respect to our own, its best Friends will the more readily acknowledge it, as they are the most zealous in their Endeavours to rectify what may seem amiss, and to render our Constitution still more complete and perfect. For it is one Thing to aim at the Improvement and Perfection of the Government under which we live, and another to plot its Ruin, and side with its Enemies. Moreover, it is an indisputable Fact, that many Things have been made Matters of great Complaint, which really deserved

deserved Commendation; and that some of the most violent Clamours against Male Administration have had no other Grounds, than either a Spirit of *Disaffection*, or the Views of Ambition.

AS to the NATIONAL DEBTS, the real Fact stands thus:

THE *first* Article upon the List was a Debt contracted in the Time of King *Charles II.* when he shut up the Exchequer, and rewarded that Gentleman (*Mr Clifford*) with a Peerage, and raised him to the Office of Lord High Treasurer, who projected this infamous Scheme of robbing the Publick Creditors.

THE *second* Cause of necessary Expence was the *Revolution*; concerning which it may be sufficient to say, that either the Nation must have taken those Measures, or have submitted to the Loss of all its Liberties, Civil and Religious, and been contented to wear the Chains of *arbitrary* Power, riveted by *Popish Bigottry* and *Persecution*.

THE *third* was the *Reduction of Ireland*, then in the Hands of an Army of *French* and *Irish* Papists, with King *James* at the Head of them, exercising all Manner of Cruelties on the poor Protestants of that Country, and ready to invade *England* at the first Opportunity.

THE *fourth*, and greatest of all, was occasioned by the long Wars with *France*; When the real Question was, Whether the Nation would prefer being

being a *free People*, or submit to become a *Province* to the *French Monarchy*?

THE *fifth* was owing to the Intrigues and Cabals of the *disaffected* Party at Home, who endeavoured to subvert the Government by destroying its Credit;—in which wicked Arts they so far succeeded, as to cause the Premiums, Discounts, and Interest of Money lent to the Publick, to be raised to a most exorbitant Height, and then made these Evils the *Foundation* of *new* Clamours; thus going on in a Circle of *Complaining*, and creating *more Causes* of Complaint.

THE *sixth* was the unwearied Attempts of the same Party by continual Plots and Intrigues, by repeated Insurrections and Rebellions, which have occasioned the necessary Expence of constant Precautions.—And therefore, when all these Things are taken into the Account, let it be submitted to the Judgment of the impartial World, who hath most Reason to complain of the Load of our National Debts, and to whose Conduct and Behaviour it is chiefly to be imputed.

MOREOVER, as to the Number of TAXES, that Part of them which is necessary for the Payment of Interest in the Funds, ought in Truth and Justice to be *so far* imputed to the *disaffected* Party, as they have been the Occasion of the present Largeness of our publick Debts. *And as to the remaining

* SEE this, and the following Article, clearly demonstrated in a Pamphlet called *The By-stander*, which contains many other very solid and judicious Reflections. London, printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street.

remaining Taxes, one Portion of them is now so absolutely *appropriated* to the *Publick Service*, and so entirely under the Command of the *Parliament*, that an Examination is made, Accounts and Vouchers produced every Sessions; an Happiness this, which never could be obtained till the Revolution. And in regard to the other Part, called the *Civil List*, this is in fact less by one half than what it was in the Times of King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* that is, when the Sums expended on the *Publick Service* were taken out of the Sums granted by Parliament, or otherwise received, the Balance* remaining in the Hands of the Crown at that Juncture was really *double* the Income of the present *Civil List*, considering the Difference between the Value of Money then and now.

It may be farther observed, what I do not recollect hath ever yet been particularly taken Notice of, that the System of our Finances and Commerce hath, in some Measure, been put upon a *new Footing* since the Revolution, to the Nation's great Advantage;—though there is still Room for very great Improvements. For with regard to our Finances, it is not so much the Consideration of the *Sum raised*, as of the *Commodity* or *Persons* that are to pay it, which should denominate a Tax *useful* or *oppressive*:—Because a Tax produc-

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* "THE Amount of the *Civil List* for three Years and an half [that is, from the first half Year after the Restoration, ending at Christmas 1660, till Christmas 1663.] was 6,075,855*l.* which is after the Rate of 1,735,900*l.* for one Year. And this may be fairly stated, as upon a Medium, the *Annual Civil List Revenue* after the Restoration." *By-stander*, Pages 84, and 85.

ing vast Sums, may be laid on in such a Manner as to *promote* the Publick Welfare, by checking those *vicious artificial Wants*, which are prejudicial to a general, lasting, and extensive Commerce; And on the other Hand, another may be supposed of so fatal a Tendency, though its own Amount may be but a Trifle, as to prevent the Circulation of MILLIONS, by stopping the Machine of Commerce in its *first* Motions. Now this was too much the Case before the Revolution; for Taxes were laid upon the Exportation of our own Manufactures, and even upon Cloth itself. Nay the very Ingredients used in Dying of Cloth, paid a Duty upon Importation so late as the 8th of King *George II.* when in Purfuance of His Majesty's most Gracious Speech from the Throne, a Repeal was made of those absurd and pernicious Laws.

AND as to the more *immediate* Concerns of Commerce, it is a Principle not to be doubted, tho' never taken Notice of till the happy Revolution, that many Branches of Commerce, greatly advantageous to the Kingdom, are of such a Nature as not to afford a sufficient Profit to Individuals, unless *hired* at the Publick Expence, to engage in them. Hence therefore all our Bounties, Premiums, and Drawbacks, which are certainly right in themselves, when judiciously applied, though they are subject, as every good Thing is, to many Frauds and Abuses. But if we want any Example or Illustration of their *general* Utility, we need have Recourse to no other, than to the Case of the Bounty upon the Exportation of Corn,

For

For since the passing of that useful Law in the Reign of our glorious Deliverer, King *William*, the whole Face of this Country hath been changed; so that from being subject to a *Famine* every five or six Years, we are now become the Granary of *Europe*, to the unspeakable Advantage both of the *Landed* and *Commercial* Interest; having a Sufficiency of Corn for ourselves, and some to export in the worst of Seasons. For the *Downs* and *High Lands* will generally furnish a Supply, when the *Low Lands* fail,—and *vice versa*.—Not to mention that when both succeed, the Farmer is still encouraged to plow again for a next Year's Crop, as he is sure of a Price for the Produce of his Labour, either at Home or Abroad.

XI. THESE Considerations are humbly submitted to the *free* and *unbiassed* Judgment of every *honest* Man, and *Lover* of his Country, of whatsoever *Denomination*.—And if it should appear, that there can be no *just* Motive for *Disaffection* to the present Royal Family on account of either *Principle* or *Interest*, may we not hope, that all Opposition, derived from that Source, to the Naturalization of our persecuted Fellow Protestants, will entirely cease? And would it be too much to expect, that this Affair should be determined by every Man, in his own Conscience, according to the *intrinsic* Reason of the Thing, and not according to the Dictates of Party, or former Prejudices and Prepossessions?—It is surely a strange Proceeding, that an innocent, distressed Protestant, should be denied a Shelter in this Country, merely because he cannot to pay the high

high Fees for Naturalization, which the poor Remains of his plundered Fortune cannot reach; or is *disliked* for his Affection to the present Royal Family;—but stranger still, after it has been proved, that his Labour, Skill, and Industry, would be a new Acquisition of Strength and Riches to our own Kingdom and People; or that his Affection to His Majesty, and his Family, should be the very Inducement with every loyal Subject, and Lover of his Country, to receive him with open Arms.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

IN the Preface, Page iii, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *the* read *that*. Page v, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *Articles* read *Article*. — In the Queries, Page 6, Line 6, for *rational* read *national*. Page 31, Line 15, for *cheaper* read *less*.

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