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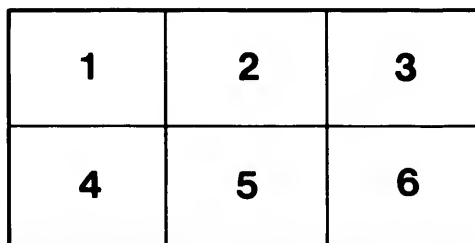
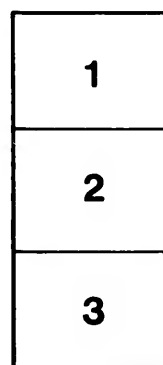
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REFLECTIONS

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.

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:

Printed for T. TRYE, near Grays-Inn Gate, Holborn.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

AS 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, 1750.*

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 Burgesses 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.

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.

WITH 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.

FIRST, 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 Invektives, 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 empower 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
P R O T E S T A N T S.]

P A R T II.

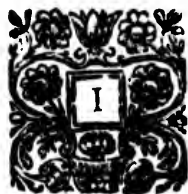
Containing important Queries relating to the Improvement and Extension of Commerce: — Materials for Employing the Poor, and the Causes of the Want of Employment: — The Encrease of Inhabitants, the Riches of a Country; the Landed and National Interest:—Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax:—The 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; oc-
casioned by the Rejection of the late
Naturalization Bill.*



It is observable, that every Na-
tion hath some peculiar Biass, of
a virtuous and a vicious Ten-
dency, 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*,
B though

2 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*

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

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 3

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 Reprials 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

4 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*

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 expel the Kingdom all such Foreigners, as were a Burden to the Nation." The Burden 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* Landlord 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 harde, and vyle Prysonement*."

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

that they thought it necessary to recal * them : And then the City of *London* began their Complaints ; 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 Protection to Merchants Strangers, which contained 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 another, or to be punished for his Misdemeanor. It seems likewise very probable, that the Contents

* *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, *Gives London. petunt, quod Aliigenæ Mercatores expellantur d Civitate, quia ditantur ad Depauperationem Civium, &c.*

" *Responsio, 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.

6 HISTORICAL REMARKS on the

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 *Gaveston*, 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
“ not

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

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 7

“ 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 *Flan-*
ders 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 participiando comitare, sed
 “ solum Mercaturas exercendo Partem minime facien-
 “ tes.” *Rym Fœd. Tom. III. Page 771.*

8 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*

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

“ 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, Avoirdu-
 “ poize, and other Livings and Victuals,
 “ with divers other Things to be sold, ne-
 “ cessary and profitable, to sell or deliver such
 “ Wines, Livings, Victuals, nor other Things,
 “ to any other than to themselves: By reason
 “ whereof, such Stuff afore said, is sold to the
 “ King, and to his People, in the Hands of
 “ the said Citizens, Burgeesses, and other Peo-
 “ ple 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, with-
 out 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 pre-
 fer 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

late NATURALIZATION BILL. II

of expostulatory and threatening 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 nostra inde
“ factæ, diversa instrumenta pro Pannis hujusmodi tendendis & faciendis in domibus suis propriis fieri, & *textores ac alios operarios ex hac causâ conduci fecerint*;
“ vos ad præmissa considerationem non habentes, *diversas Pecuniæ Summas* ab iisdem *Thomâ* & aliis occasione consecutionis & levationis instrumentorum prædictorum, *exigitis*, & ipsos eâ occasione *multipliciter inquietatis & gravatis*, ut asserunt, minus justè, in
“ ipsorum *Thomæ* & aliorum dispendium non modicum,

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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, concordiæ, & proclamationis prædictarum: Super quo supplicarunt sibi
 “ per nos de congruo remedio in hac parte provideri:
 “ Nos advertentes ordinationem, concordiam, & proclamationem prædictas, si in Regno nostro teneantur
 “ & observentur, *ad nostram & totius populi nostri ejusdem Regni utilitatem cedere posse*; volentesq; præfatos
 “ *Thomam & alios qui Pannos hujusmodi operari & facere voluerint*, ac ipsos operarios eo prætextu 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 quacunque terrâ fuerint, qui infra dictum Regnum nostrum, aut terras nostras *Hiberniæ*, & *Walliæ*, venire, & ibidem morari vellent, in eisdem 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 prædictâ, & in singulis
 “ Comitatibus dicti Regni nostri, fecimus proclamari,
 “ ac jam intellexerimus, quod quidem Malefactores de
 “ Civitate prædictâ, diversis hujusmodi operariis Pan-
 “ norum, qui juxta proclamationem prædictam, sub
 “ protectione nostrâ, jamdiu est, venerunt, & in dictâ
 “ 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 ibi-
 “ dem *ulterius morari non audent*, nisi eis per nos subve-
 “ niatur in hac parte; nos, volentes omnes & singulos
 “ hujusmodi operarios, de partibus exteris, in Regnum
 “ nostrum prædictum, ex causâ prædictâ 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

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

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

“ ITEM, That no Merchant Stranger be
“ impeached for another's Trespafs, or for
“ another's Debt, whereof he is not Debtor,
“ Pledge, nor Mainpernor. 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

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“ 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 Sicknefs, 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.

“ 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 encreased
 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
 D Foreigners.

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 Merchandizes, 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 afore said; 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 notwithstanding."
" ing."

BUT the King was not so much altered from himself, as not to see through these Pretences; and therefore gave the Petitioners little 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 indeterminately 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

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 Gros: 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.

“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, Sher-
 “iffs, 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

“chifes 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 diminish-
 ed by such Exclusions and Monopolies. And
 yet perhaps he acted wholly upon the Prin-
 ciples 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 dange-
 rous Insurrection were actually then on foot,
 Besides, he had a favourite Point to be gained,
 no less than the intailing of the Realms of *Eng-*
land and *France* on his four Sons, which was
 proposed

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 Sessions, to restrain the Encroachments of the Citizens 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 Merchandises, as Wine, Iron, Oil, and Wax, and
 “ other Things pertaining to Merchandise, exercising, 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 Merchandises aforesaid, at their Will and Pleasure, paying in
 “ this Behalf only, the Customs and other Devoirs 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-makers, as other the Merchants aforesaid, by
 “ the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Drapers,
 “ and Merchants of *London*, be daily disturbed
 “ and

“ 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 Ensamble 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’

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the King's natural born Subjects, in the Light
of Foreigners; and give them this very Appel-
lation 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 pro-
ceeded 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 Merchan-
" dises for Merchandises, to be paid and con-
" tented 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 follow-
ing 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 Pro-
vidence had decreed we *should* be a TRADING
Nation, in spite of all Endeavours to the con-
trary, 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*, *Catellians*, 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

“ 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 *Hofts*,
 “ 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=

“ IV. MOREOVER, a great Number of Artificers, and other Strangers, not born under 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 Occupation, 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 beyond the Sea, great Substance of Wares and Merchandises to Fairs and Markets, and all other Places of this Realm, at their Pleasure, and there sell the same, as well by Retail as otherwise, as freely as any of the King’s Subjects used to do, to the great Damage 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

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“ before rehearsed, have gained within this
 “ Realm, by Buying and Selling, and by such
 “ easy Occupations and Handicrafts, great
 “ Substance of Goods: With the same Sub-
 “ stance they go out of the said Realm, to
 “ such Parts beyond the Sea as them liketh
 “ best, and there spend the same Goods often-
 “ times among the King’s Adversaries and
 “ Enemies, to the great Damage of our So-
 “ vereign Lord the King and his Subjects, and
 “ Impoverishment of this Realm, and the
 “ Commons of the same: And so by the
 “ Occasion of the Premises, the Substance of
 “ the Inhabitants in the said Cities, Boroughs
 “ and Towns, now of late hath fallen, and
 “ daily doth fall into great Poverty and De-
 “ cay, to their great undoing, unless the King’s
 “ gracious Aid be to them in this Behalf
 “ shewed.”

THE absurd Suggestions in this Preamble,
 That a free Trade causes a Monopoly, and
 that the Buying our own Wool, and manu-
 facturing it into Cloth at Home, tends to im-
 poverish a Country, seem naturally to point
 out this Inference,—That if the Force of Pre-
 judice in our Ancestors was so strong, as to
 make them believe Propositions, not only con-
 tradictory to common Sense, but also so pal-
 pably against their own Interest, We should be
 the more cautious that our Judgments be not
 biased by any popular Cry, nor by any Re-
 mains

mains of this national Foible, whenever Questions relating to the Naturalization of Foreigners come upon the Carpet. Besides, Suppose 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 themselves, as they had taken such uncommon Pains to render this Country an unsafe and disagreeable Place for Strangers to reside in? And was it not natural for Foreigners to associate together, while they staid here, as they were so hated and ill-used by the Natives?

HOWEVER, a Law was made to redress these imaginary Grievances: A Stranger was never to sell by Retail, nor to be an Host or Landlord to any other, but to a Fellow-Countryman: Aliens were to sell their Merchandises within *eight* Months after their Arrival, and to lay out the Money, so received, in buying the Commodities of the Country;—yet they were not allowed to buy or sell 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 said Cloth: Aliens were to take no Apprentices or Servants, but the King's natural born Subjects; and if any Alien Artificers, or Handicraftsmen, should come into the Realm, after a limited Time, they were to return into their

OWN

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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 favourable Juncture, Application was made, and a Bill obtained, That if Strangers were made Denizens, they were to reap no Privileges from that Grant.

AND now, one would think, the *English* had gained a complete Victory over Foreigners. 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 drooping Head? Did Wealth and Plenty, the natural Consequences of Commerce, follow on this Expulsion of those, who were before represented as taking the Bread out of *the Mouths of the Natives*? No, the Event verified what plain, unbiaſſed common Sense would have foretold, 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 buying

ing even our own manufactured Commodities, as naturally, and upon the same Principles, induced 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 *Londoners*, had formerly alledged against Foreigners. 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, Portugal, France, Ireland, Venice, Dantzick, Flanders, 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 foreign Markets, and to supply them with proper 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-
 “ 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 Cominodities of divers and severall 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

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 Country became apparently thinner of Inhabitants. And the Diminution of Inhabitants, much about 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 ancient dwelling Houses, and Houses of Husbandry, 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 devoured 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

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

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* Journey-men, 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,

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

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,

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 Foreigners, as the *English* were against their Forefathers. 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, considering 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, without disgusting the People by a general Naturalization. Whether this was done by making the famous Law against Informers, — or by giving Orders to the Judges not to receive Informations (a Thing practised in some Cases in those Times) — or by permitting the Freemen and Burgeesses 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.

not. However, one Thing is clear, that the Citizens of *London* either found no Encouragement to renew their Complaints, or, if they ventured to renew them, they were not regarded. 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 several 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 Consequence of these Solicitations, were, as might be expected, quite opposite to the Nature of a free, open, and extensive Trade. But I believe 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 understood, 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, 322, 437.

" 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-

“ 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

“ 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 apprize her of the Danger thus hanging

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

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 *Barnett* 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.

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*.

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 47

“ 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 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 understood, 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 contributed much to cure the Nation of their old Aversion to Foreigners, especially to the most *useful Part* of them, *Merchants and Mechanics*. And the Dangers of *Popery*, with which Men were threatned in the preceding Reign, had disposed them to think more favourably 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 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 *J. Knight*, Member for *Bristol* in several Parliamen

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 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 k—k'd his own Constituents. Men of wiser and cooler Heads opposed 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 seemed 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 disposed 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.

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, calculated to support their Grandeur and Distinction, 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 vending such vast Quantities of all Sorts of Manufactures,—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 Nursery 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 *Portugal* to ratify these Advantages by Treaty, was vilified and insulted for the Service he had done his Country. Mr *Methuen*, 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 destructive 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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late NATURALIZATION BILL. 55

“ 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 Sentiments
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 render

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 Re-*
 “ *ceptacle* for all Nations, Religions, and Lan-
 “ guages: A System only proper for *small po-*
 “ *pular States*, but altogether unworthy, and
 “ below the Dignity of an *Imperial Crown*.
 “ —These Men come with the Spirit of *Shop-*
 “ *keepers*, to frame Rules for the Administra-
 “ tion

der *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 Mer-
 chants 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 *Re-*
publican 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 pro-
 posed 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 Per-
 fection, of any since the Apostles Days; and
 under that Persuasion, I confess it appears to

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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 *England*, but the unworthy and *unchristian* Behaviour 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 Author (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 abroad, the true Matter of Fact is this: When *Lutherans* 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 themselves, but not greater than those that subsist between the Members of the established Church among Us. Dr *South*, and Bishop *Atterbury*, tho' both High-Church Clergymen, were as opposite in their Sentiments concerning
certain

certain Points, as any *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. And it is further observable, that one of our publick Religious Societies, consisting of a great Number of the Right Reverend the Bishops, the principal Clergy, and other distinguished 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 Schismatical. But the Society went farther, and in a few Years afterwards, opened two new Missions 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 Printed Account, at the End of this Year's Sermon, Page 7.

A s

*——“ 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*,
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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 *Madrafi*, 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 Ad-
 “ dition of Missionaries, as well as the Enlargement of
 “ the Mission to *Cudulere*, near *Fort St David*, another
 “ *English* Settlement. However, the Society chearfully
 “ 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 to-
 “ wards carrying on this pious and glorious Design,
 “ have been large and constant.” See also N^o IV,
 Page 58. for a further Account.

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late NATURALIZATION BILL. 61

foreign Catholicicks, especially the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*; thereby draining us of People, to encrease his own Subjects. * Even the bigoted *Spaniards* have now a Project on Foot for naturalizing TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND foreign Catholicicks. 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 Ustarits*, one of the Lords of Trade to His Catholick Majesty.

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

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 Oidium 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 Dearth 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-

64 HISTORICAL REMARKS *on the*

selves, they would not have been *too fond* of,
 these Foreigners were sent abroad, some to
Ireland, and others to *New York*. The Parlia-
 ment 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 useless 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 *Pen-*
sylvania, 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 useless, 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 *Exami-*
ner, N^o 44. That they *understood no Trade or Handi-*
craft. So that either Way, Tradesmen or Husbandmen,
 the Foreigners must be condemned.

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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
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* 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
 “ *ill 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.

“ 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 biased 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

Encouragement in *England*, than in other Countries,—or, that they had behaved unworthily 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-

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* 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. *Debates*, Vol. V. Page 70.

spective 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 Complexion* 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 characterised 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 wn 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.

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.

I N D E E D, 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*.

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

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