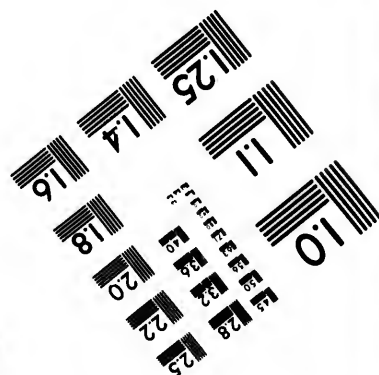
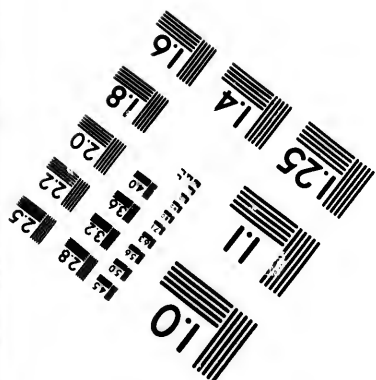
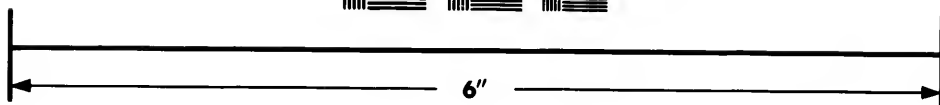
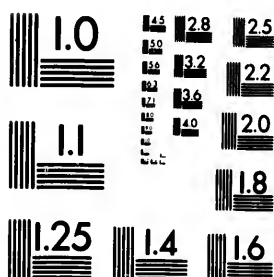


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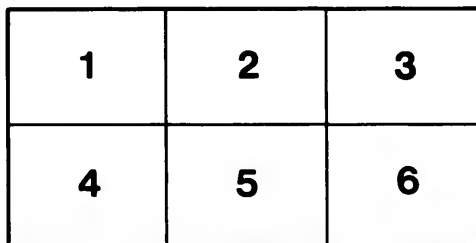
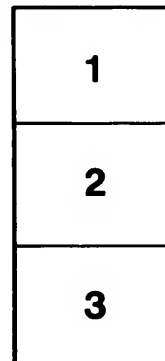
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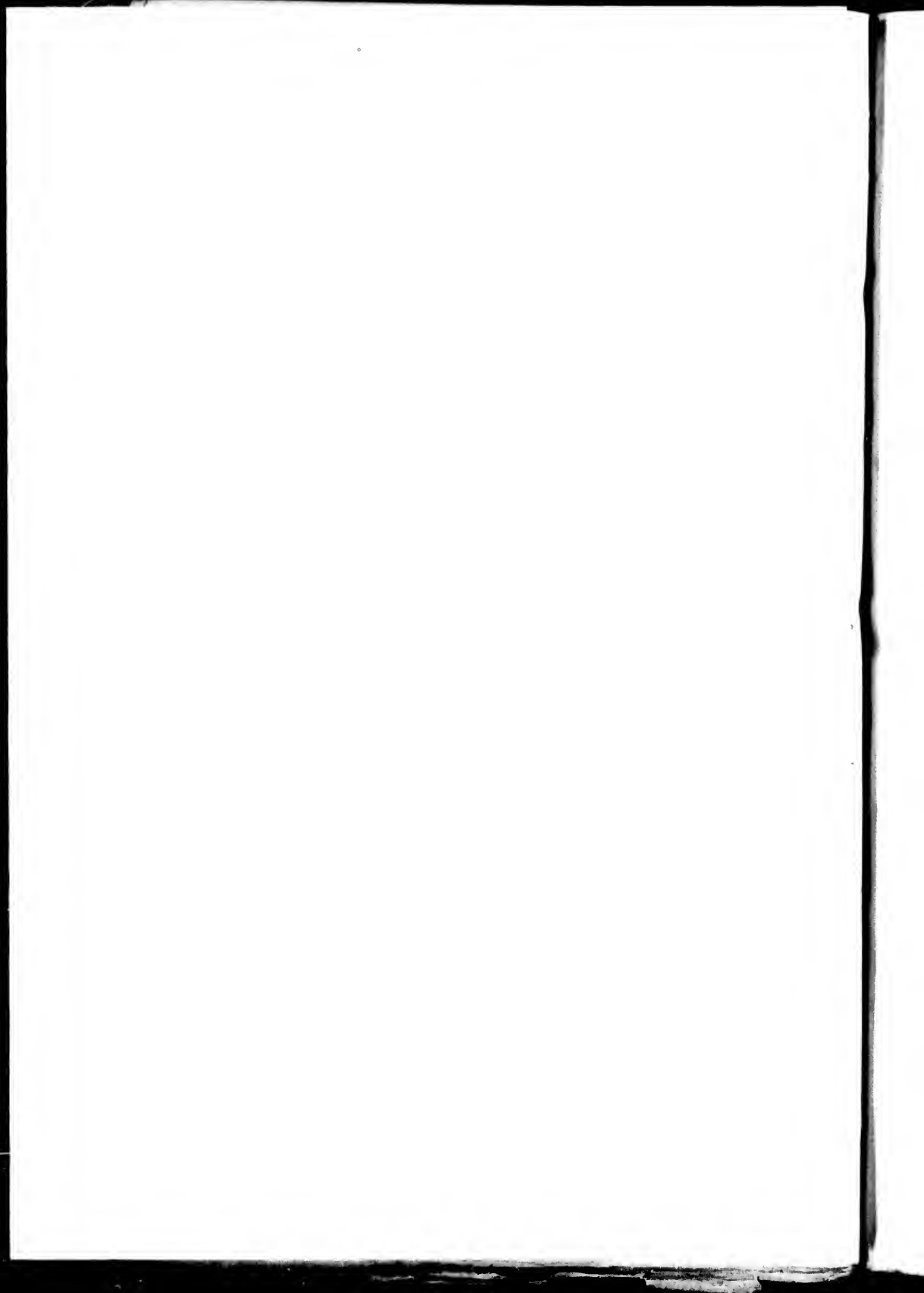
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REFLECTIONS
ON THE
EXPEDIENCY of a LAW
FOR THE
NATURALIZATION
OF
FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In Two PARTS.

PART II.

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

By JOSIAH TUCKER, M. A.

Rector of St STEPHEN'S in BRISTOL,

AND

Chaplain to the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of BRISTOL.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. TRYE, near *Grays-Inn Gate, Holborn.*
M.DCC.LII.



T H E
P R E F A T O R Y
D I S C O U R S E.

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

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

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

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

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

† This is meant with regard to the *Laity* among the *Protestants*; for as to their *Clergy*, it is certain, that they are persecuted even unto *Death* in most *Popish* Countries, especially in *France*, as may be seen by the *Edicts* of 1685, 1724, and 1745. And there are *recent* Examples of the Execution of these cruel *Edicts* on several worthy Protestant Clergymen.

PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. vii

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

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

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

THE

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

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

VII. NOW

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

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

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

x PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

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

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

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

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xi

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

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

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

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

* See the Tract entitled, *Papery always the same*, Printed for B. DOD in New-Mary Lane, London, 1746.

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xiii

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

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

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

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

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

PREFATORY DISCOURSE. xv

the Ruin and Destruction of Protestants,—and which they have very often, though hitherto (God be praised) unsuccessfully attempted. But what is the Intent, and what were the Occasions of enacting those several Laws? — Not surely to harass and oppress the Papists (God forbid) but to secure ourselves. And therefore, though the Principles of the English Catholics can deserve no Favour, or Connivance from a Protestant Parliament, and a Protestant House of HANOVER, yet as long as their Practice continues to be inoffensive, these Laws are never executed. And the Roman Catholics in England enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration, as to all the Purposes of Conscience and Religion. Though viewing their Principles in the most favourable Light, Papists, as such, certainly disavow and deny the supreme Authority of the British Government, and hold themselves subject to a foreign Jurisdiction, which to them is infallible and supreme.

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


IMPORT-



IMPORTANT
QUERIES,
OCCASIONED BY
The Rejection of the late
NATURALIZATION BILL.

SECTION I.

*Preliminaries relating to popular Prejudices;—
The Terms Foreigner and Englishman;—
And the Service which Foreigners have formerly done to the Commerce of this Nation.*

- I.  HETHER popular Prejudices are to be considered as the Test of Truth? Whether there have not been the most violent Oppositions against Christian Forbearance and Toleration in each Part of the united Kingdom;
B dom;

2 QUERIES occasioned by the

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

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

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

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 3

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

SECTION II.

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

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

II. **W**HETHER it is not assuredly known, that Foreigners do still excel us in making several Sorts of Paper, some Kinds of Silks, Velvets, and Brocades, Gold and Silver Stuffs, and all Sorts of Embroidery, Thread, Thread Laces of various Kinds, Gold and Silver Laces, also in Dying of Blacks and Scarlets, making of thin Cloth for the *Southern* Countries, Carpets * and Tapestry, in many Branches of the

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

4 **QUERIES** *occasioned by the*
the Linen, Cambrick, and Lawn Manufac-
tures, Drawing and Designing, Carving, Gild-
ing,

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

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

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

“ II. FOR the Encouragement therefore of those Ma-
“ nufactures, Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by
“ the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the
“ Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Tem-
“ poral, and Commons in this present Parliament as-
“ sembled, and by the Authority thereof, that from
“ and after the First Day of *October* next ensuing, it
“ shall and may be lawful for any Person or Persons
“ whatsoever, *Native or Foreigner*, freely, and with-
“ out paying any Acknowledgment, Fee, or other Gratui-
“ ty for the same, in any Place of *England or Wales*,
“ *Privileged*

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 5

ing, and Coach-making, Statuary, Painting,
and Prints, also in *Nuremburg*, and some other
Sorts

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

“ III. AND all Foreigners that shall really, and bonâ
“ fide, set up and use any of the Trades and Manufac-
“ tures aforesaid, by the Space of three Years, in this
“ Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and
“ Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, shall from thenceforth,
“ taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be-
“ fore two Justices of the Peace, near unto their Dwell-
“ ings, who are hereby authorised to administer the
“ same, *enjoy all Privileges whatsoever, as the natural-*
“ *born Subjects of this Kingdom.*

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

6 **QUERIES** *occasioned by the*

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

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

SECTION

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

SECTION III.

Materials for Labour, and for Employing the Poor.

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

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

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

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

8 *QUERIES occasioned by the*

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

II. WHETHER

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION IV.

The Causes of so many Persons being now unemployed.

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

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

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

10 QUERIES *occasioned by the*

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

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

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

VI. BUT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION

SECTION V.

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

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

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

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

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

LIKEWISE

14 **QUERIES** *occasioned by the*

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

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

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

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

SECTION

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

SECTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

V. **W**HETHER

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

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

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

SECTION VII.

The Encrease of Inhabitants the STRENGTH of a Kingdom.

I. **W**HETHER there be not a certain Text in the Bible, in relation to which,

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

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

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

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

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

18 **Q U E R I E S** *occasioned by the*

such a Country spare sufficient Numbers to fight its Battels, without greatly injuring its Agriculture and Manufactures?

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION VIII.

The Increase of People the RICHES of a Country.

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

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

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

IV. **W**HETHER the single Province of *Holland* * is above half as large as the County of *Devon*?

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

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

V. WHAT

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION IX.

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

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

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

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

III. If a Pestilence was to sweep away
100,000 People in the North or West of *Eng-*
land, and none from other Parts permitted to
come in to supply this Loss, would not the
Rents of Lands immediately fall in those Count-
ties?—On the contrary, if 100,000 Foreign-
ers, of various Employments, were to be na-
turalized, and increase the Consumptions of
the Produce of the neighbouring Lands, would
there not be a proportionable Rise in its Value?

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

SECTION

SECTION X.

The Improvements of Lands depend upon the Increase of People.

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

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

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

from an Increase of Inhabitants to consume the Increase of Produce?

IV. I s the present Complaint a just one, That Country People are too fond of breeding up their Children to easy handicraft Trades, rather than to the laborious Business of Husbandry? And will the keeping out of Foreigners mend that Matter?

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

VI. A R E there no Improvements yet to be learned from other Nations in point of Agriculture? And are we sure that Foreigners, from whom we have received so many useful Discoveries in sowing of Grasses, in Gardening, and other Parts of Husbandry, can teach us nothing more?

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

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fewest, or those which have the greatest Number of Inhabitants?

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

SECTION XI.

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

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

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

E

III. I f

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

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

SECTION XII.

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

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

II. IF

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

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

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

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

SECTION XIII.

Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax.

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

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

late NATURALIZATION BILL. 29

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

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

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

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

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

ENGLAND

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

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

SECTION XIV.

*The * Birth-right of an Englishman.*

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

II. WHO

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

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

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

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

SECTION XV.

The real Interest of Tradesmen.

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

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

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

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

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

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

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

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

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

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

F SECTION

S E C T I O N X V I I .

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

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

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

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

solicited Charters to exclude Goods of the same Kind coming from *England*?

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

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

SECTION XVIII.

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

I. **W**HETHER there is not a certain Fundamental Principle in Govern-
ment

36 **Q**U E R I E S occasioned by the
ment and Commerce, *That an Increase of La-*
bour will be attended with an Increase of People?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

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

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

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

III. WHAT

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

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

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

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

SECTION XX.

*If a Naturalization Bill should pass, Whether
the Vicious and Abandoned would be the like-
liest to come over.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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were corrupted in our Morals by the Reception of the *Flemish* and *French* Refugees?

SECTION XXI.

The most efficacious, as well as the gentlest Methods of reforming a People's Morals.

I. **I**S the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants inconsistent with any good Scheme that can be devised for the Reformation of Morals? And indeed, will not both Schemes co-operate best together? That is, Will not good Examples be the best Recommendation and Enforcement of good Laws?

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

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

“ THE present *English*, says he, are not descended, generally speaking, from the *Britons* who inhabited that Island when the *Romans* subdued it. Nevertheless, the Strokes with which *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* characterise the *Britons*, are extremely well suited to the *English*; for the one were not more subject to Jealousy [the Impatience of being outvalled] than the other. *Tacitus* observes, that *Agricola* found no better Method of engaging the ancient *Britons* to make
G “ their

the Inhabitants of this Island in regard to Foreigners? Might it not therefore be made very instrumental in promoting the Reformation of the Natives?

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

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

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

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

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



SECTION XXII.

A Regard to the Constitution both in Church and State.

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

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

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

IV. **ARE**

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

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

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

OCTOBER 18. “ It must be confessed, that many
“ of the meaner Sort [of the Refugees] have not dealt so
“ well with us as they ought to have done. But then
“ you must consider, how far the HOTSPURS of our
“ Church have *always* provoked them; and that the
“ more discreet and understanding of them were *never-*
“ *theless* generally for us.”

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

46 **QUERIES** *occasioned by the*

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

I. IN what respect would the Introduction of Foreign Protestants endanger the Constitution of the STATE? What were the Sentiments of the most distinguished Patriots and ablest Politicians on this Matter?

II. ARE Foreign Protestants averse to Liberty, and in love with Slavery? Are they disaffected to the present Royal Family, and in the Interest of the Pretender?

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

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

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

SECTION XXIII.

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

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

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

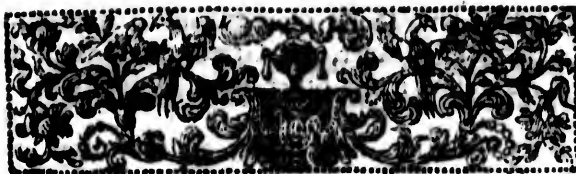
III. **W**HETHER if these Kingdoms, for the
Punishment of our Sins, should fall again un-
der the Power of a *Popish* persecuting Bigot,
we

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

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

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

A P P E N-



THE
APPENDIX,

VIZ.

*A CALM ADDRESS to all Parties in Religion,
concerning Disaffection to the present Govern-
ment.*

A New Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

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

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

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

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

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

LET

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

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

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

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

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

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

But

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Orphans,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I 2 4. THIS

* See my IId Diſſertation againſt Mr Cluſt, *viz.* on Rom. xiii. Printed for T. Trye, Holborn.

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

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

AND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K ing

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

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

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

For

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

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

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

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

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

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