A REVIEW OF THE PROPOSED NATURALIZATION OF THE JEWS.
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JEWs;
BEING
An Attempt at a dispassionate Enquiry
into the present State of the Case,
with some Reflexions on GENERAL
NATURALIZATION.

By a Merchant who subscribed the Petition
against the Naturalization of the Jews.

LONDON,
Sold by J. Waugh in Lombard-street, and in the
Pamphlet Shops. 1753.
TO THE

Right Honourable — —.

Sir,

Addresses of this kind are of so singular a nature, it is difficult for the author to pay honor to the patron, and at the same time to do justice to himself and his subject. Persons in your station, are seldom courted with any homage, which is consistent with the nature of opposition.

The manner in which I dissent, may however induce some to imagine, that instead of pleading my cause with zeal,
DEDICATION.

zeal, I only make it an occasion to offer incense to your power. Unhappy people whose deviations from virtue have rendered so much dependent on one, yet will hardly believe he can be entitled to the tribute of disinterested praise! Have the Great in office no title to the enjoyment of the true prerogative of substantial merit? Shall we remember that there is no person without many imperfections, and not make great allowance for men in public life? If, upon the whole, the virtuous scale preponderates; as we have good reason to believe, we shall receive favor hereafter; we ought to show it here. And what just grounds are there to imagine, that the welfare of this nation, is not the prime object of your ambition?

With regard to the subject of this pamphlet; is it to be conceived that Mr.
Mr. —— could entertain a single thought of favoring the Jews, but as such favor might advance the general welfare? the conclusion then is very clear, that it was the moderation and benevolence, by which you are so much distinguished, that induced you to subscribe to this measure.

Whether the end proposed can be answered, is what we are now to consider. But we can never discover the truth, if under a notion of opposing unpopular measures, we become the dupes of a party interest. To correct a mistake in some instances, argues greater sagacity, than the not committing one. In the first case we generally struggle with a strong prepossession: In the last, the supposed wisdom oftentimes arises from no better cause than a supine inactivity.

But
But whilst other men are gratifying their inclinations in their way, I have as good a right to indulge myself in mine. I am constant to my principles and opinion, with regard to the matter in debate, yet I have not the less pleasure in declaring my veneration of your character, and the sincere respect with which I am,

Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

Tunbridge-Wells, August 5, 1753.

A Merchant, &c.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. General reflections on naturalization. The expediency of attending to our domestic economy, to answer the end proposed by Naturalization.

We have now had time to consider the arguments on both sides the question, relating to the naturalization of the Jews. On the one side we have seen several matters advanced as facts which are really no facts; and several mistakes
mistakes have been entertained with regard to the supposed importance of the Jews. The argument has been also treated in a loose manner, and with little attention to the importance of the subject. Instead of a sober and steady remonstrance, we have also seen a spirit of clamor conjured up; and as a natural effect of it, much hath been thrown out, as little consistent with our character, as a polite and humane people; as injurious to the tenderness which christianity inspires. I speak of that part which has been realy handled in an improper manner, and not of every thing which hath been said on either side of the question.

As the different views and interests of men lead them different ways; they are apt to swerve from the real merit of their cause, as if they meant from false extremes to find out the true medium. To this purpose one may observe an humorous remark in a letter lately addressed to the public, concerning the marriage bill. In this piece, which seems to be wrote by a very able penman, lawyer, and logician, the author supposes an application to parliament to be made by fan-stick-makers (whose employment is of late fallen off) concluding that they would be as strong in their expressi-
ons of danger to the religion, liberty and commerce of their country, as the remonstrances have been against the naturalization of the Jews. These people being under such particular circumstances with regard to their customs, manners, and religion; the subject of their naturalization hath of course been treated in a very different manner, from that of any design of the like nature, with regard to Christians.

Before I proceed any farther, I will be bold to say, that I not only imagine the Bill in question will not produce any bad effect; but I believe it will produce a good one. In the first place I take it for granted, that no Jew will be naturalized in consequence of it; and in the second, that the Jews themselves will have the wisdom never to make so absurd a request again. But whether these supposed effects will arise from the clamor made against the Bill, or from some better cause; it must be clear, that no man of sentiment, nor any lover of his country, ought ever to wish, much less to solicit, that clamor might prevail without reason; or, if we could substitute any consistent rule of conduct in its place, that it might ever prevail at all.
Some of the warmest advocates for the naturalization of the Jews, pleaded with no less zeal for a general naturalization, when this subject was before the parliament. It was once imagined, and not without foundation in the reason of the thing, that the proposed particular naturalization of the Jews, had no less for its object than a general naturalization. Whether this was really the case or not, I shall indulge myself in making some reflections upon this principle. The argument hath been warmly urged by many real patriots and well-wishers to their country, from the consideration of the supposed great utility to be derived, from the diminution of the present price of labor; and with a view to supply our navies and armies with men. Others, equally lovers of their country, but less speculative in their notions, and less sanguine in their expectations, argue from a fact which is undeniable; viz. "That we have great numbers of people in this island who are supported by charity; either because the means of supporting themselves by the labor of their hands, is not afforded them; or, that the wisdom of the legislature hath not yet found out a way to compel them to work;" consequently these opponents to a general naturalization say, "That
"our domestic oeconomy ought first to be regulated, before we can even judge of the expediency of introducing a number of foreigners at a venture."

It hath been urged, indeed, with some appearance of reason, "That to conquer the deep-rooted laziness of a people, it is necessary to bring in examples of industry, and the good effects of it before their eyes; and that the admission of foreigners, who settle in this country, is so far from taking the bread out of the mouths of the natives, that it is putting bread into the mouths of those who otherwise in a short time must have none." They add further, that experience hath taught us, what great benefits may be derived from giving countenance to foreigners.

Here we may observe that one point is taken for granted, which remains to be proved; and another supposes that things are at present as they were formerly, which I apprehend is not the case. Every nation is now applying themselves to the cultivation of their natural advantages; and improving all the various arts of life, in order as much as possible to establish an independency, by the means which are in their own
own hands. If they act wisely with regard to their situation; if notwithstanding the great heights to which we have already carried our improvements, we have yet a great deal of work upon our hands, and great care and circumspection are become necessary to the support of our domestic economy, independent of foreign succours, we certainly ought to make more vigorous efforts towards this end, before we enter upon the consideration above mentioned.

Were we to search out the causes of the idleness and extravagances of our own people, we should find the distemper lies too deep to be cured, by the expedient of introducing strangers among them. If we have already more people than we have wisdom or abilities to employ, we may invite foreigners to eat that bread of which there is already no superfluity. The distinction of foreigner and foreigner, is as necessary, as that between idle and industrious natives. The acquisition of manufacturers, who are skilful as well as industrious, can hardly fail of producing good to this country. As to foreign merchants, when they apprehend that their profits, or pleasures, will receive any encrease by it, they come to us of course.
Gentlemen of property who prefer to live among us, have also no temptation from the notion of general naturalization. We are then brought back to the multitude of common people. Here we find that we rather want new trades, and new manufactures, than new people to be employed in those we already possess. If the price of labor should be decreased, the charge of supporting a numerous additional poor, must add a weight to the price of the thing made or manufactured. If still greater numbers of our people become a dead burden, they will indeed depend on strangers even for their bread. This is the condition of some of those nations whose riches arise, not from the productions of the earth, with regard to the necessaries of life; but from the metals which are dug from the bowels of it. But whilst there is so great wealth in a country as in this, I apprehend that instead of lowering the price of labor by means of foreigners, we should rather raise it; not only on account of the superiority such foreigners would acquire, but, as already observed, by the increase of our own poor. Thus the general force of the argument still turns against a general naturalization.
Experience proves that our own countrymen, however idle and profligate, and consequently poor; such who are really so, will eat, and drink, and continue their species. There is but one remedy to prevent it, and that is to hang all such. This remedy would be plainly worse than the disease. What then is to be done, but to use lenitives and emollients? By degrees we may work a reformation. It depends on the influence and example of the rich to make the poor useful. There are hardly ten persons in the whole kingdom, so wicked and abandoned, as to be rendered incapable of amendment. As in a religious sense there is joy in heaven at the conversion of one sinner; so in a political light, the conversion of one native member of the commonwealth, to become useful by his labor, is an acquisition of great consequence; perhaps greater than that of half a dozen strangers. We are to consider then how to reform those abuses, which lead us to seek for a supply of people from abroad; the natural effect of our endeavours, will be a great encrease of our own people.

It is granted that a number of working poor, such as perform the drudgery and useful parts of life, do constitute the chief riches of a nation; and
and not simply a number of mouths to make a large consumption. The method must agreeable to our constitution, and least repugnant to the genius of our fellow-subjects, I apprehend will be this:

First to discourage the use of spirituous liquors, and such things as are hurtful to health, and productive of idleness. The incredible number of public houses ought to be restrained*: they are a bane to the common people of this nation. In those villages where there is no public house, there is no drunkenness, nor other effects which ruin the constitution: on the contrary, there is one continued scene of industry, labor, and delightful rest, of which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing a very striking proof.

The next article is the particular countenance and encouragement which ought to be given by gentlemen of fortune, in their respective

* But how are we to raise money to support the state? May we answer by asking other questions? Hath it been yet put to a fair issue, if the legislature can levy monies by means which have no such pernicious effects on the health and morals of the people? and are we to exist for a few years; or do we extend our views to future ages?
countries, to render matrimony more universal among the poor; whilst themselves shew an example, by the sobriety of their own lives.

The third consideration is education, which is the great source of public as well as private virtue; and no less in low than in high life. The neglect of this is the chief cause of those mischiefs by which we are distressed. There is then no kind of charity more glorious in itself, or more beneficial to the public, than the relief of an industrious parent of many children, at a crisis of their fortune. Their virtuous labor and frugality, may by such means, be transmitted down to their children, who will be thus rendered useful and worthy members of the community. But if they are once reduced to the necessity of eating the bread of idleness, at the public charge, how mean soever that bread may be, they become, with regard to industry, what those who have been publicly whipped generally are, in respect to their morals. The sense of shame in both cases is extinguished. Instead of cherishing a principle of sobriety and diligence, we nurse a habit of idleness, and with the want of industry, piety, and every social virtue must languish and decay.
It is confessed that one of the great evils under which this nation labors, is the heavy charge occasioned by our numerous poor. This is an evil of so complex a nature, that the wisdom of the legislature, hath not yet discovered any practicable expedient for the removal of it. Indeed, as the support of the community, upon the present plan, must ultimately terminate in the virtue of individuals; I do not conceive, there can be any effectual remedy without the vigilance and attention of the rich and beneficent to succour the distressed, at such seasonable times, and in such a proper manner, that whilst we relieve the private object, the charity may, by a direct and immediate consequence, preserve the public also. The breeding up a multitude of people to prey upon the industrious husbandman, and manufacturer, must be ruinous. Unless these people do their share of labour, they can serve no other purpose than to keep pace in their way with the luxury and corruption of the higher ranks; and both together, must, in the course of time, subvert the best constitution in the world.

Those readers who are of this way of thinking, may immediately reduce the theory into practice,
practice, * and prove to themselves the analogy between temporal and eternal felicity. They may at once advance the interest and happiness of their Country, and remit part of their riches to heaven, where their hearts certainly ought to be, if they desire to be there themselves.

Here then we may reason upon naturalization from real life, and from an instance which every child may comprehend, which every man will commiserate, and every christian relieve, bring the argument home. Here we may see so many

* The circumstance I allude to, happened very lately and was mentioned in the public papers.

Mrs. Watkins, of Walthamstowe, in Essex, had the misfortune to lose her husband the 8th of July last, by his falling under his own cart. She is left with seven young children and big with the eighth. He rented a farm of forty pounds a year, and was industrious in his employment; but the charge of supporting such a numerous family, so far prevented the increase of his stock, that he hardly left his widow sufficient to pay the rent which was due. This accident has drawn the attention of several of the neighbouring gentlemen, and other pious and noble benefactors. It may be hoped it will still engage others to enable this poor woman to go on with her farm, which by the assistance of her brother, she designs to do. She has hitherto brought up her children in the cleanest, most decent and proper manner imaginable for her circumstances; and to all appearance will continue to support them in the same manner, without their becoming any burden to the public.
prostitutes who prey upon the thoughtless youth, prevent marriage, and obstruct the encrease of the people, rendered virtuous by being bred to labor. We may also figure to ourselves robbers and murderers, who are lost to God, themselves, and the community, made sober husbandmen and mechanics, by the virtuous examples of their parent, and the effect of a happy education. What we may naturally compute their encrease to be in thirty or forty years, is within the reach of every common capacity.

Thus we shall dry up the source of the calamities under which we languish; and render our poor, the most useful, instead of the most burthensome and dangerous part of the inhabitants of this island. Thus we shall breed up children in humble life, to be an honour to their parents, their country, and benefactors; thus we ought to be watchful to teach them to till the ground, or to fight our battles; to be zealous of our country's good, and to worship their God, in the profession of the purest religion in the world. But we chuse to amuse ourselves with a refined speculation, concerning the encrease of subjects by a general naturalization;

and
and like the dog in the Fable, lose the substance by catching at a shadow.

The encouragement of protestantism in Ireland*, with that zeal which becomes good christians, true protestants and sound politicians, is another circumstance of the highest moment. Might we not expect to receive from thence such supplies of men, for the improvement of the arts of peace; and for the support of war, as would render our speculations upon general naturalization, as unnecessary, as we have hitherto found them ineffectual? whereas by our neglecting our interest in this circumstance, our enemies procure those supplies which are ready upon all occasions to act against us, as they have more than once done with great success †.

Could the fashion be introduced, we might receive farther increase of useful people: a much less number of Servants than we entertain, might answer all the ends of domestic economy, and produce a much greater tranquillity and satisfaction in great families; but this we must pass

* See the scheme of the incorporated society of Dublin, to which considerable donations are made, but very short of the importance of it. It is amazing that any man, even of a small fortune, shall pretend to any regard to his country, and not subscribe to this political as well as pious charity.

† Witness Fontenoy.
over. *Sumtuary laws* are become necessary to abridge our vanities; but the great freedom which we enjoy renders us repugnant to such laws; we must therefore *wait* till the state is in greater distress; or in other words, we must approach yet nearer the precipice, before we open our eyes, and see our danger.

To these reasons might be added, that we have something more to be watchful of, than barely a supply of our present necessities. Liberty is of a very tender and delicate nature, subject, as our modern histories prove, to many changes and revolutions. Our ancestors have often bled for it, and have been tenacious of keeping up a spirit of national honour and bravery, even among the lower classes of the people. Would a *general naturalization* tend to strengthen or enervate that spirit? If such naturalization brought in but a small number of people amongst us, it would signify very little; if it introduced a great number, it might create great confusion. We have reason to judge from the temper of our people, that a clashing interest would arise between natives, and foreigners; and probably between the foreigners of different nations also. We are already too much disposed to party and faction; and altho' under arbitrary governments such
such evils are not much to be dreaded; yet with us they ought to be guarded against.

If what I have advanced should be rather deemed *ideal* than *practicable*, we can only appeal to the hearts of individuals: we shall soon discover that men of fortune and leisure, might easily reduce these notions into practice, and reap the glorious fruits of them. Examples of piety, generosity, and public love, tempered with such wholesome severities, as particular occasions render necessary, *must* have their proper effect. It is certain that the want of *Examples*, and the erroneous conduct of the *rich*, render so many of the *poor* useless: it is not the want of foreign succours, which makes the nation languish. If the notions of national honour, and public love, are *really* become *obsolete*; I am afraid that the mean *self-love* of individuals, tho’ it may supply a *different principle* by which the state is supported for the present, cannot answer our purpose *very long*. We *must* bring these notions again in fashion, or *farewell liberty*! If she *takes up her rest* amongst us for half a century longer, it will be a greater miracle than the Romish church can boast of.

Thus
Thus far I have said, in a presumption that only those whose thoughts were inclined to a general naturalization, could ever entertain any design of naturalizing Jews. If a general naturalization was to take place, in consequence of which the Jews might be included, the opponents of this project would be disarmed of some of their arguments; and yet as none of the Jews are husbandmen, manufacturers, mechanics, soldiers or sailors, they of all mankind have the least title to naturalization.

CHAP. II.

The antient state of the Jews, some of the prophecies concerning them, which disountenance the naturalization propos'd.

Our business now is to enquire, if it is consistent with our religion as well as our honor, and our politics, to naturalize Jews. For this purpose we may consider the subject in an enlarged view, with regard to the prophecies previous to their great national crime of crucifying the Lord of life; and their national punishment in consequence of that unparallel'd act of iniquity.
iniquity. From hence we may possibly be led to believe, that as they are not suffered to establish any Government of their own; nor permitted to incorporate with any other nation, therefore they ought not to be naturalized.

Their great lawgiver Moses, and the prophets also, did most plainly foretell the misfortunes which would befall the Jews. Whether with regard to the calamities they suffered in their several captivities, or the total dissolution of their government, what was predicted of them is most plainly verify'd. "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb and a by-word among all nations, whither the Lord shall lead you." "The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them; and shall be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth." "And I will deliver them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth." In fact we do find the Jews, thus sentenced, have been not only captives, but distressed, persecuted and slaughtered beyond any other people since the beginning of the world.

* Deut. xxviii. ver. 37. † Deut. xxviii. ver. 25. ‡ Jere. xxiv. ver. 9.
Why this has so happened, may be accounted for upon the common principles by which we are permitted to judge of the divine conduct; and the natural effects of causces. Was there ever such an instance of the depravity and corruption of men as among the Jews? These people were so highly favored, that even the effulgent presence of the deity was locally displayed to them: the oracles of the almighty were declared, and his pleasure made known to this once selected nation. Yet such was their repugnance to the terms of their own felicity, that this very favor and indulgence, became the occasion of their crime and offence. We see how extremely averse they were to the reception of the Messiah: and their iniquity in rejecting him, was punished with a severity, proportioned to the distinguished mercy which had been shown them. In what an irresistibly plaintive and melodious strain, doth our Saviour mourn over them! "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! behold your house is left unto you desolate!" The conduct
of his life, so amazingly beneficent, so replete with the mercy of a God, yet did it not open their eyes. Not the astonishing circumstances of his death could awaken them from their lethargy of iniquity. Not the sympathizing pangs of nature, nor all the copious streams of mercy which flowed from his wounds, could prevail on them to acknowledge him, as the Messiah.

Thus did these infatuated people give proof of the greatest perverseness, and demonstrate the highest instance of human error, which ever happened in the world. And what was the consequence of it after the death of our Savior? Their rebellion against the Roman government was the means used by divine providence, to work that destruction, which they had thus merited. They had filled up the measure of their iniquity: their abominations were become intolerable: and in the ordinary course of providence, nothing less could happen to them, as a state, than their total destruction.

After the taking of Jerusalem by Vespasian, we are told they were reduced to the hard necessity of paying a tax, toward the support of the Heathen worship. But their punishment did not stop here. In less than fifty years after the
the destruction of Jerusalem, a further rebellion against the Roman arms, under Trajan, cost them the lives of many thousands. In a few years after this, they again rebelled against Adrian, Barchochebas their leader pretending to be the Messiah. This rebellion was not suppressed till almost all Palestine fell a prey to the Roman arms, and near 600,000 Jews perished on this occasion. After that time, for near three hundred years, they were treated with such severity, that they were not even permitted to look towards Jerusalem from any eminence; yet in the time of Constantine, they raised new troubles and fresh slaughter ensued.

Thus did the divine providence permit the Jewish nation to be brought to confusion. It is true that the most potent monarchys of the earth have been long since dissolved. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans have hardly left any vestiges of that splendor and power of which they were once possesed. These nations have been lost in the ravages of time, or incorporated with other people who became their conquerors. But the circumstances of the Jews always have been, and still are peculiar to them. May we not reasonably conclude from what we see, that it is the will
of Providence, they should be preserved as a distinct people, never to be incorporated with other nations, whilst they continue in the same faith. The same miraculous and amazing conduct which has been shewn towards them, in their being first selected to establish the worship of the true God, will, to all appearance, be continued to mankind, by the Jews being instrumental to some further great end of his providence. The probability at least is on this side of the question; and so far is their history from countenancing their naturalization, that every circumstance of it, and the conduct of every nation in the world, pleads very strongly against it. The Jews are opposed to all the other nations of the world; but most of all to Christians. And among the Christian nations they are opposed to us, whose government will not admit of their naturalization, as I shall attempt to prove in my next chapter.
CHAP. III.

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the christian religion, and repugnant to the constitution of Great-Britain.

There is nothing in which mankind differ so much as in their religious tenets. Every man is in this instance his own sovereign, in a more absolute degree than any earthly king. He is accountable only to God. We ought therefore to be very tender how we challenge others for opinions which differ from our own: but still, with regard to laws, there must necessarily be a strong connexion between the religious and civil interest of a state. There is also one great article necessary to be acknowledged, without which men are subject to be hunted from society, as the most noxious of all animals. It will be readily concluded, that I mean the being of a God, and consequently the immortality of the soul. The Jews believe both in common with us; and yet with such a distinction, that we are left bewildered in a labyrinth, and confounded in error, without the acknowledgement of that article which
which they flatly deny. If Jesus Christ is not divine in nature, Christianity falls to the ground; and all the glorious hopes we derive from thence, vanish like a dream in the night.

Ought we not then to be very careful of the smallest advance towards an incorporation with those, who not only deny our God and Savior, but whose faith leads them to think, that the same Jesus Christ whom we worship as God, was really an impostor. Mahommed taught better things than these; and monstrous as the doctrine of this Arabian is, he doth great honor to the author of our religion, compared with the opinion of the Jews.

To consider religion at large; this sacred name, though often prostituted to the purposes of worldly glory; yet has it ever influenced the politics of nations, even when the corruption of their manners seem to have estranged their hearts from God. But religion has been sometimes divided from politics; and where the latter has promised any worldly advantages, things have appeared through a false medium: thus the understanding as well as the passions have received a false bias, and a very erroneous association of ideas hath ensued.
In a case of so critical a nature as this before us, we must have recourse to religion; and this will teach us to do justice to all parties. We may observe that many who appear in defence of the naturalization, plead also for the cause of christianity, as well as that of politics. They urge the consideration of that charity which the doctrine of Christ so strongly inculcates. They recommend the benevolence which the great author of our faith hath taught us to have for each other, however different in religious tenets. Concerning the crucifixion of our Savior they observe: "that this very act of the Jews was to answer the wise and good ends of that providence which is to save us as christians;" adding, "that they should be glad to know, if it may not with truth be said, that provided it was against the ends of providence, it would not have been possible for the bill to pass." The former observation must be granted, but it proves nothing with regard to our present argument. The evidence which the Jews resisted, according to the common notions of mankind concerning justice, must have condemned them. The fact is, that God was pleased to punish them on this account; and it is highly reasonable to conclude, that
that their national punishment will not cease, till, as a nation, they are converted to christianity. As to the query proposed: if the intention of the legislature can either not be answered at all, or proved to be attended with several evils; it ought not to be carried into execution: and thus the question is replyed to, as much as, I apprehend, such questions can be answered.

Another religious reason in behalf of the naturalization of Jews is this; "That the Savior of the world when under his passion and suffering, set the behavior of the Jews on that occasion, to the account of their ignorance, praying his father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did." This was the declaration of our blessed Savior; this, without doubt, was the genuine language of the Redeemer of the world: but still it proves nothing; for neither from the gospel, nor reason, nor fact, are we led to believe that their crime, in a national light, was forgiven them; nor have we any authority to act towards them as if it was pardoned.

There is certainly a great distinction between being passive, by suffering the Jews to live amongst...
amongst us; and making a law to establish them. The Jews, I conceive, are not entitled to naturalization, for two plain reasons; the first is, because they are Jews; the next is, because they are not Christians. The charity which true christianity inspires, doth allow of the Jews living among us, unpersecuted, unmolested. So long as they do not any thing injurious to the repose of the state, we do nothing to disturb them. But I apprehend that christianity doth equally disallow of our making a law which enervates, if it does not counteract, the first principle, on which our government is established.

I will not undertake to say, that the same civil polity by which we are governed, could not possibly exist, were we of a different faith from that of Christ; nor is it I think material to our present argument. It is really a fact that our religion as christians and protestants, and our civil polity as they now stand, are interwoven. And I think it would be too dangerous an experiment to try if they would exist, was any change to happen to either.

If we trace freedom and protestantism to their source, we shall be led to think that they would not
not exist separately. Or, if we consider true Christianity, as we profess it, and as the only true religion of mankind, with regard to their common rights; we shall also be led to believe, that the temporal and eternal interest of men are inseparably connected. The consideration of those common rights, though it doth seem to teach us the doctrine of toleration; yet it by no means weakens the necessity of such distinctions among men, as the support of particular faiths, or the particular civil institutions of communities, do require.

The king is supreme in ecclesiastical as well as well as civil matters. Kings are justly denominated the vice-gerents of the Almighty: they ought to be such; not in a loose and indefinite sense, but as the watchful guardians of those laws, on which, not the temporal only, but also the eternal happiness of their subjects depend.

This being laid down as a principle; is there any absurdity in reasoning thus? If Jesus Christ is our great sovereign and lawgiver, under whom we obey our temporal prince; and under whom we constitute a legislative power; can we with consistency make a law, which with regard to those for whose use the law is more particular-
ly intended, favors an opposition to the acknowledgement of that sovereignty? It is true our Savior says, "my kingdom is not of this world," from whence one would be led to think, that political institutions, are foreign to the consideration of religious faith; but these words are immediately explained by his saying, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." Here then the sword is entirely laid aside and all compulsory means forbidden to bring men over to the profession of a particular faith. The whole tenor of the gospel proves the same thing. Reason and the nature of things entirely subscribe; but still, as the same gospel, and the same reason and nature of things, do make very material distinctions between those who did, and those who did not believe in Jesus Christ as the Messiah, a strong reason may be drawn from hence, to divide christians from Jews, in temporals as well as in faith.

This argument is indeed of a delicate nature; but we have hitherto acted entirely agreeably to it. We have not yet naturalized any people but christians, except in one instance to which I shall speak hereafter. If this reasoning appears too abstracted for real use, perhaps
a little reflection will render it familiar. It hath this on its side, that all christian nations have ever acted, and do continue to act upon this principle. But it is not the christians only; I believe the people of every nation under heaven, establish a principle by which their faith and temporal government, walk hand in hand. The religious wars which have frequently happened both in Christendom and among the Mahommedans, prove that a very bad effect may arise from a good cause. By fixing their attention on themselves only, they have deviated from their own principle, and forgotten that mankind have an equal right to freedom of mind, however each particular government may, as I have already said, unite their faith and politics.

How far naturalization may be considered as an incorporation with the community, both in a civil and religious light, in this nation, may be deduced from this; that the laws have hitherto enjoyned the receiving the Lord's supper, as previous to naturalization: this hath been esteemed as a badge of honor as a christian, and a protestant; and as a token of fidelity to the state. If it is seen in any other view at present; I am afraid it is the result of a refinement, which is less safe, as well as less intelligible.
Can the law in question take effect without blending Judaism with Christianity? Some affinity will be created by naturalization, more than existed previous to that compact. This I say must be in circumstances if not in essentials. I confess I am not able to separate circumstances from essentials. Perhaps it will be a dangerous refinement to attempt their separation even in argument. But that which may be done in discourse, cannot be brought down to the standard of common apprehensions, and reduced to practice. The world in general is governed by the modes, circumstances, and externals of things, as well as by their more essential distinctions; and this seems to be one of those cases, of which the modes and circumstances, may, for want of distinction, become essentials.

All our laws are supposed to be agreeable to, and nothing contrary to the Christian religion. Is it according to that religion, to make a law, which upon the principle here laid down, removes one distinction between Christian and Jew? A law, the tendency of which cannot be of an indifferent nature; which promises no good to us in a religious light, and may produce great evils. It is very plain, notwithstanding
standing the din of popular clamor, that this change is of so delicate a nature, that many who think well and much; as well as those who judge ill, or do not to think at all, are much alarmed. Many a serious man who is not so low as to be governed by prejudice, and party-passion; nor so high, as to consider politics independent of religion, trembles at the tendency of this law. The Jew himself, as he sees very plainly, that we act upon principles of policy, and as considering religion out of the question, whether we mistake, or not, he will most assuredly think dishonorably of Christianity. If he sees us acquiesce in what himself would blush to perform, in similar circumstances, will it increase his respect for us? He may say it will; but I should much doubt his honesty, or his veracity. But this is very clear, that if he had a due regard to his own religion, the notion of naturalization is what himself would despise, as rather more inconsistent with the nature of the Jewish constitution to accept, than it is of ours to grant. What has been said by a very shrewd person of their faith, "That the naturalization was asked in "folly," seems to be a tacit acknowledgment of this assertion.
As to the Jews being converted to Christianity by this indulgence, it is an argument in favor of the naturalization, if it could be made out: but shall we prostitute Christianity in hopes of making converts to it? Experience has taught us what we are to expect in this light. It was said of old, "If they believe not "Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." And we may say if they are not converted to Christianity by the gentle treatment and indulgences they have met in this country, neither will they by naturalization.

With regard to ourselves, whilst religion sets very light upon us, as I am afraid it does at this time, there are certainly much stronger reasons to banish the most distant reflexion of a thing of this nature, than ever to call to remembrance, that Jews are made by law members of a community which is Christian. By a transposition of the words, and neglect of distinctions, the Jews may at length be considered, as admitted to be members of our Christian community. The thing itself, I grant, is a contradiction; but still I say, it may be the cause of great confusion.
In this case, it is very plain, that we either commit a violence on our religion, or leave it entirely out of the question: neither of which, I apprehend, ought to be. If the argument involves us in the least difficulty, we are sure of this; that the great end of our politics being the security of our liberty, and religion, every law of a dubious tendency, if it is not absolutely necessary, ought to be considered as dangerous.

With regard to the connexion of church and state; we find that on account of a small deviation from the established church, in some circumstances, rather of a ridiculous, than of a serious nature, an act * was passed, which is adhered to very tenaciously. However convenient it may be for one side, or both, to suffer that distinction to remain, is not my business to enquire at present. Much may be said with regard to our fellow-christians, and fellow-protestants; but if any thing can be said in favor of the Jews, it is so subject to misconception, that no one dares to appear in their behalf, with regard to the indulgence which

* Test-act.
Christianity might warrant; left, whilst he pleads their cause, he should abandon, or seem to abandon, the cause of Christianity. This I deduce from there having been nothing yet addressed to the public of a serious nature, by any one of those ingenious persons, who in a general view plead for the naturalization in question.

It is by no means consistent with the honor of divine providence, judging as men, to imagine, that although we are not warranted, either by scripture or experience, to believe that the Jews are admitted to incorporate with other nations, whilst they remain Jews; that they are not to be converted, and united one day with the Christians, as Christians. As they believe in God, it may be hoped they will believe also in Jesus Christ, as the true Messiah and redeemer of the world. It will certainly be no reason to a Jew to profess Christianity merely because he is naturalized; but if he becomes a Christian, it may give him a title to naturalization. Would to God they already possessed that title, that we might receive them into our bosoms! Our characteristic is humanity: Our inclination, I hope, will never be wanting in the duties of hospitality. As Christians, we deplore the blindness of these unhappy men,
men, in hopes they will one day see their error; and that the king and lawgiver whom they fondly expect, is indeed the Messiah whom they crucified.

But there is yet another reason which I confess strikes me most. If the dispersion of the Jews is a standing monument of the truth of the christian faith: if that dispersion is owing, as, in some measure, it doth appear to be owing, to those distinctions which all nations have observed towards the Jews; the naturalization proposed must wound christianity, in proportion as it weakens that distinction. And in proportion as we throw any additional power into the hands of the Jews, whom we know to be constitutionally indisposed to christianity, if not actual scoffers at it, we hurt the cause of christianity.

I hope it will be clear to the wisdom of the legislature, that it is more easy to prevent than to cure an evil; and as this doth now appear, to be one of those laws, the observance of which can do no great good; but the abolition of it may prevent great mischief; that it will soon cease to be a stumbling-block.
To conclude this chapter, I have only to add, that although we are extremely benevolent, we are also extremely lukewarm and inconsiderate with regard to our religious interests. This, I say, is the fashion of the times, and therefore the naturalization of the Jews appears to me a dangerous step, since that very benevolence may be converted into a crime; and whilst we flatter ourselves into a belief, that we act as good christians ought to act, we may abandon those rules of conduct, without which there cannot be any religion at all.

C H A P. IV.

The antient state and condition of the Jews, particularly in England.

Though the constitution, customs, and manners of this nation, are so very much, and so very happily changed within these two or three centuries: though we generally incline to think ourselves no ways behind our ancestors in wisdom and knowledge; yet I cannot help observing that we show such a reverence to antiquity as to look back to the days of ignorance, superstition, and barbarity of manners.
mers, to learn what ought to be our conduct towards the Jews at this time. Laws are sacred things; but the customs and manners of nations are of no less moment to the security and happiness of strangers, who are not incorporated with the people among whom they live. But whether with regard to laws or customs, we find the state and condition of the Jews, as much mended, as we are ourselves improved. If we look back to past times, we find the Jews in England, much in the same circumstances, as they are now under Mahomedan governments: or as they are under those states, who think the persecution of these unhappy people, a christian duty.

It is true the Jews had their privileges and protections, but they paid very dear for them: they were also subject not only to have these annulled, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign; but their effects were often seized, and severe mulcts imposed, for the liberty of breathing the common air. Thus they were as much under the harrow amongst us; as they had been in other countries, in more distant ages.

After their banishment from Judea by Titus, the emperor Claudius drove them also from Rome.
Rome *. In 615 they were driven out of Alexandria, and in the two following years from Spain. In the beginning of the seventh century they were banished from France. Near the close of the 12th century, bishop Everard expelled them from Mentz, and Philip Augustus, as they were at this time re-established in France, banished them a second time. The crimes of which they were accused, we shall have occasion to mention presently.

With regard to their reception in this nation, the most antient Jewish charter, is said to be given by Henry II. to a Jew of Lincoln, where, as well as in Oxford, they were settled in considerable numbers. It is related "That in the reign of Richard I. the Jews of Norwich, Bury St. Edmond's, Lincoln, Stamford, and Lynn, were robbed and spoiled. At York five hundred of them, besides women and children, took refuge in the castle, where they offered money to the christians to save their lives; but being refused, they cut the throats of their wives and children, and cast them over the walls on the christians heads; then burnt the castle and themselves in it.

* This was 430 years after Christ.
In the following reign, king John commanded all the Jews, men and women, to be imprisoned, because he would have all their money. Some of them delivered up all they had, and yet promised more, to escape many kinds of torment. This prince however granted a charter, for the support of Jews who embraced the Christian religion; and they were permitted to settle in the most populous towns. But how reluctant the people were to the entertainment of them, in those days, appears from a grant made by Henry III. to the inhabitants of Newcastle, that no Jew should be permitted to inhabit their town.

In the 37th year of Henry III. it was provided, under pain of forfeiting their goods, that no Jew should remain in England without doing the king some service; and that there should be no schools of Jews in England, except in such places where schools were wont to be in the reign of king John. That all Jews in their synagogues should celebrate with a loud voice. That every Jew should be answerable to the rector of his parish, for all parochial dues charged on his house. That no Christian should suckle the child of a Jew; nor any Christian man, or woman,
woman, serve any Jew or Jews, nor eat with, nor abide in their house. That no Jew should have a secret familiarity with a Christian woman; nor any Christian man, with a Jewish woman. That no Jew or Jews should eat or buy flesh in Lent. That every Jew should wear a badge upon his breast. That no Jew should enter into any church, or chapel, unless in passing to and fro. That no Jew should hinder another Jew, who was willing to turn Christian. And that no Jew should be suffered to abide in any town, without the king's license; except in towns where Jews were formerly wont to reside.

In 1250, this prince accused the Jews of clipping money, and found no less than three hundred guilty; forty of them were hanged, and the rest bought themselves off. Indeed the extortions on these unhappy people run so high, that this prince, and his successor Edward I., in the space of seven years, extorted no less a sum than four hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In the year 1291, Edward I.,

* These regulations seem to be founded on the canon or pontifical law, which is still for the most part observed in Rome, and in several other parts of Italy.
banished them to the number of fifteen thousand at one time. He confiscated all their estates, and left them only just money enough to bear their charges to carry them away. Notwithstanding these severities practised in this nation, pope Innocent III. gave the Jews a particular toleration in Rome, in hopes of converting them to christianity: but they were at length expelled by him also, under this character, mus in pera, serpens in gremio, & ignis in sinu.

It is very hard to judge how far the Jews might be criminal, to draw upon themselves such treatment. Derision and contempt of our Savior was indeed imputed to them as one of their greatest crimes. Defacing the coin of Christendom drew on them a general odium, though many a christian has been hanged for the same fault. As to their illegal correspondence with christian women; in those unfashionable days the laws considered it as the highest offence. If it was now punishable with us, as it is among some christian nations, they would be subject to fines and corporal punishments: whilst Mahommedans, with regard to their women, and according to their laws, subject the Jews to be punished with death, unless they become Mahommedans. The stealing and crucifying
ciflying christian children was a crime imputed to them: how far the bigotry and inhumanity of some might lead them, is difficult to say, but it is hardly credible that this should have been a general crime, and that their whole nation should suffer for it. Usury, forgeries and other species of iniquity were also laid to their charge, as if they really were in general more guilty than the christians; or that the superiority of the christians over them, rendered the Jews more obnoxious to punishment, than the christians were among themselves.

The stories related of the Jews do however prove, that they were very wicked in those days; or that the avarice, ignorance, and barbarity of manners of our ancestors, were not much inferior to the infidelity and immorality of the Jews. It is certain that after residing here two hundred and thirty years, they were banished, and kept out for three hundred and sixty four years. In 1655, they had again a re-admission into England, in consequence of a treaty between the usurper Cromwell and Manasseh Ben Israel; they were again restored to their worship in this country. These are the outlines of the Jewish history. How
wonderfully things are changed in their favor will be the subject of the 6th chapter.

C H A P. V.

The present state of the Jews in most parts of the world except England.

Let us now consider in what esteem the Jews are held at this time in other countries, and from the comparison teach them what to ask, and ourselves what to grant. If we travel into Asia we shall find that although the Mahommedans act upon a very different principle from the Christians; the Jews are often treated, as if they had no title to enjoy the rights of our common humanity. It is indeed among their states, as it is with the Christians, according as the respective governments are conducted upon the principles of justice and equity.

In Persia the Jews are poor and contemptible. In Turkey they are more important with regard to their commercial connexions; but still they are frequently fined with great severity. In Barbary, where they are settled in considerable numbers, they are treated with such gross indignities, that no Jew dare lift up his hand a-
gainst a Mahommedan, even to defend himself, or to protect his bed from violation.

From Russia they are totally expelled, not for their virtue we may imagine; though the political views of that nation are more contracted, and their toleration of religious opinions, less indulgent than ours. At the same time we must do the Russians the justice to observe, that they show great marks of favor, even in a religious light, to christians of almost every denomination. How often the Jews have been threatened in Austria and Hungary, late years have furnished us many authentic reports; and during the late war they were actually expelled from Bohemia. The Genoese will not tolerate a Jew in their territories; whilst in the pope's dominions, at least at Avignon, no strange Jew is suffered to enter the town, without paying a toll, the same as any parted hooffed beast. At Rome they are permitted to live, but they have their separate quarters, and are not suffered to intermix with the inhabitants. The same is also practised at Venice.

I have heard it advanced in favor of the naturalization in question, that in Tuscany the Jews are permitted to buy lands. If this is true,
true, which I do not believe, the only remark
I can make on it, is, that it is some alleviation
of their misfortunes in being thus persecuted in
every quarter.

How they are treated in Spain, as well as in
the American dominions of that monarchy, we
are well informed from accounts of the terrors
of the inquisition. No native Jew, notwith-
standing the great numbers supposed to be in
that country, can make open profession of his
religion, unless he has a mind to be burnt. In
Portugal the name of a Jew is a term of such
high reproach, that a man being called Jew *
to his face, if he slays the offender, the laws
do not condemn him. The reason is plain,
since to be called a Jew, implies a suspicion of
his being such; and that suspicion may afford
sufficient cause for the inquisition to lay hands
on him. To enter into a detail of their treat-
ment in that country is unnecessary; since it is
well known to all the world, that the Portuguese
cannot bear the name of a Jew, and con-
sider it as a Christian duty to wage perpetual war
with them.

* Judeo.

If
If we now come back to Holland, and consider it as a country of commerce, freedom, and toleration of religion, still I never heard of such a thing as the naturalization of a Jew in the United Provinces. On the contrary, the Dutch are zealous of supporting a distinction; and to guard their own people from any encroachments of men whose faith is opposed to christianity. They confine the Jews to a particular quarter of Amsterdam, the same as is practised in almost every great city in Europe, where Jews are permitted to reside, though not so strict as in Italy, and some parts of Germany. In Amsterdam there are some eminent merchants of the Jewish faith, but they are by no means considered in any respectable light. It is said they may buy land: but what privilege is it to purchase land estates in a country where such estates are not worth any thing? In what little esteem these people are in Holland may be deduced from this, that any Jew who has illegal commerce with a christian woman, is subject by law to be publicly whipped; and in fact they are often fined instead of suffering this infamy *

* The Hollanders are not very delicate in regard to brothels, since it has been found the policy of the state to allow of them under certain limitations, for christians.
In Poland, and some parts of Germany there are a great number of Jews settled: but how little are they regarded, or rather how much are they despised! What their employment is, and of what use they are in those countries, we shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter. In short let us look round us on every side, and we shall behold the Jews excluded, even under the least desirable governments, from everything that can possibly bear the name of naturalization. And such marks of distinction are fixed on them, as if providence had intended, that no Christian might ever behold a Jew, without calling to mind his redeemer, and the truth of the religion he professes.

But as the conduct of the French, that polite and ingenious, as well as commercial nation, has engaged our particular attention, we must answer to what is advanced with regard to them, as exactly as possible. It is suggested that the French, for these two centuries past, have practised that very rule of conduct, which is designed for the proposed naturalization, extending their indulgence to the poor, as well as to the rich Jews.

“In
In 1550, Henry II. of France, by his letters patent declares the Jews capable to purge, inherit and enjoy real estates in France, "Comme de vrais Regnicoles, et sujets de Roi."

Henry III. in 1574; Louis XIV. in 1656; and Louis XV. in 1723 and 1728, renewed "and confirmed this privilege, Sans que les Juifs soient tenus de prendre aucunes Lettres de Naturalité." These words might lead the wisest into a mistake. That the Jews are true and faithful subjects to the king of France no doubt can be made; and as to the latter words, which may be construed, "without the Jews being bound to take out their naturalization;" it seems to me an artful way of refusing their naturalization instead of granting it. Under this notion of indulgence, the French do in fact treat them with very little tenderness. Ask a Frenchman if a Jew is naturalized in France; he will laugh in your face for making so absurd a supposition. It is said, that during the regency of the duke of Orleans, the Jews in France did offer two millions of Livres for their naturalization; but this prince, however great a libertine he might be, either thought the thing absurd, and inconsistent, or too unpopular to be attempted. The
The Jews are indeed received as merchants in Bourdeaux and Bayonne; but they are confined to a spot, and not considered as having any title to that politeness, and affection, which the French shew to one another. In Lyons they are not permitted to reside above three months, and pay toll at the bridge, the same as a parted hoofed beast. I have heard it said that in Alsace as a conquer'd country, they are permitted to hold lands, under particular limitations and restrictions; but even this is very doubtful. In the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, being the frontiers towards Germany, the Jews have a particular indulgence as merchants, but enjoy no privileges in any other light, more than they do in Germany.

From the whole tenor of the conduct of the French, one would be led to imagine, that they deem it a gross absurdity in politics as well as religion, to suffer the Jews to spread themselves through their country. So far from receiving them into their bosom, I am assured that only one Jew is permitted to reside in Paris, as a representative of all others of his faith in the French dominions. No other Jew is permitted to remain in that city, without entering himself in the
the Police, and then only during forty eight hours. If any strange Jew doth remain there a longer time, it is in a presumption that he shall not be enquir'd after.

Now, if I am not grossly misinformed, and if the conduct of the French government is really such as I have related, and that it is also deemed of sufficient weight, to be a rule to us; it is very clear, that we are not to naturalize the Jews. Moreover it will appear from the concurrent practice and opinion of all nations, civilized, or uncivilized; learned, or ignorant; in slavery, or freedom; Mahommedan, or Christian; that providence hath to all appearance placed a bar, an impregnable bulwark, against the Jews being incorporated with any people under the heavens, in any such manner or degree, as the notion of naturalization doth imply.
The great indulgencies shown the Jews in England, no argument for their naturalization. State of their condition as denizens, in consequence of royal charters, and the indulgence of the crown.

We have already explained from indubitable facts, that the Jews are in a state of persecution, in a greater or less degree, in every quarter of the world. Little need be said to prove, that they are so far from being persecuted in this country, that they are highly favored. In all estimations of happiness we are to consider, not so much what men do enjoy, as what they do not suffer. To what tax, mulct, or other expensive burthen, are the Jews subject in this country, more than the Christians? To what indignity are they exposed? It is a plain argument, that the indulgence shown them has hardly any bounds, or they certainly never would have asked for their naturalization. Happy Israelites of our time, who bask in the sunshine of our benevolence! I hope the warmest of their opponents mean them no harm; but we neither love, nor respect them to that degree,
as to endanger our own preservation, or that of our posterity, on their account. We would not be willing that the purity of our religion should suffer any stain; the honor of the nation be contemned; and what affects us intimately as merchants, that our reputation and commercial connexions abroad should suffer any prejudice.

The happiness of the Jews is so much the more distinguished in our opinion, when it is remembered, that upon the principles we now argue, neither the laws of nations, nor the laws of humanity are, or can be more strictly observed towards them, by any people, than they are by us. Happy it is for them, that as no real form of government is so admirably modelled as ours; they can no where enjoy so great a security of their lives and properties. This security seems to have lulled them into a supine neglect of themselves. They have either forgotten, that they themselves are Jews, or that we are Christians: but they would do well to consider what have been the effects of an overweening confidence.

It is recorded that "William Rufus encouraged the Jews to enter into disputation with the bishops; and swore by the face of St. Luke," that
that if they got the better he would himself turn Jew." The historian adds, "the Jews grew so insolent upon this encouragement, that they openly derided the Christian religion. However they soon found their mistake, and were forced to leave London, and fly for shelter. Many of the Jews became so terrified, that two hundred of them were converted to Christianity, in one day, at Dunstable."

What sort of Christians they were we may easily conclude; but from hence we are taught that any union, or appearance of union between Christ and Antichrist, cannot with safety be attempted. The Christian is instructed not to transgress through a false notion in politics, or a false zeal in religion. The Jew is yet more strongly admonished, not to be the foolish occasion of his own misfortunes.

The Jews themselves are certainly most deeply interested to behave with that moderation, which is best calculated to support them in the establishment, which they have acquired in this country. I thought in the beginning of this affair; I declared my opinion, and am still constant to it, that the privilege at which the Jews now aspire, might hereafter become one of the chief causes of their persecution, God forbid that
that a spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm, should ever prevail in this nation! But whether it is from a good or a bad principle; if the conduct of the Jews should at any time give offence, their naturalization, if such should take place, will to all appearance raise the higher indignation, in the breasts of their persecutors. In the mean while, they are giving alarms to those foreign nations, who are their constant and avowed enemies.

Whatever advantages they might receive by naturalization, it is very plain they never can be incorporated with us, whilst they remain Jews, or we, Christians. They do not desire to be incorporated: but is it not highly reasonable to believe that they propose to themselves a considerable augmentation of their influence and power, in this nation, by means of naturalization? these people who are so attentive to their worldly advantages; can it be conceived, or imagined, that they would take so much pains for nothing? They have either put themselves, under the guidance of men of very narrow capacities; or, what is more probable, they do flatter themselves, with the enjoyment of greater advantages, than are generally allowed, to be the natural result, of the naturalization proposed.

And
And why did they in the time of Cromwell; and likewise in the reigns of king William, queen Ann, and his late majesty, solicit for their naturalization, if it was really of no consequence to them? To reason upon this principle, is, as if we imagined, they were ignorant of their interest, or we indifferent about ours.

Let us now consider some of the reasons which induced the legislature to proceed thus far. As to the power which the Jews have, or have not, by law, I do not conceive that the force of the argument rests upon it. Whatever laws there are in being, if they can be proved to be injurious to the community, ought they not to be revoked?

The debate has afforded us an opportunity of learning what the greatest part of our merchants had either forgotten or never known, viz. that the Jews are already naturalized by an act of 1740, at least "that those Jews " who have already resided in the American " colonies, or who have served as mariners, " during the war, two years in British ships, " are become natural born subjects of Great- " Britain without taking the sacrament." It may now be asked how that bill came to take place? The considerations which affect us now, certainly
certainly did not affect us then. But this is no argument against those, who now apprehend the proposed naturalization will be injurious in its consequences. The inclinations of a people, consequently the laws of a nation, differ extremely, at different times, and perhaps in no country more than in Great-Britain. As the case now stands, there seems to be strong reasons to repeal that act also; much stronger, I apprehend, than to throw any additional power into the hands of the Jews. Indeed if it is just and right to repeal either, the same reasons will hold good for both.

Let us examine now the political arguments made use of by moderate people, who have declared for the naturalization of the Jews. "Why should not," say they, "the father enjoy what the son already possesses? The latter when born in his majesty's dominions, is a natural-born Englishman and free to pursue chase lands." I apprehend they mistake the matter, and that there is no such thing as natural-born English Jew. As to our appeal to the records of Henry the 2d. with regard to their purchasing of lands, I believe it will amount to no more, than a permission granted for that purpose by a royal charter. We find
find the Jews totally expelled this kingdom from 1291 to 1655. I know not how far lawyers may deem this expulsion a revocation of such charter; but surely it can be no ways obligatory to us, any otherwise than as we find it convenient. Perhaps if we search the thing to the bottom, we shall discover, that the Jews were only made Denisons by that charter; and I am told there is a very material difference, between a denison and a natural-born subject. A denison, as I understand, cannot legally inherit land by descent; but particularly a Jewish denison does not enjoy this privilege,* or I am grossly misinformed. Indeed no opposition has been made in our time, to such inheritance, nor do I apprehend there will. I have heard a Jew complain that as the law now stands, his brother's estate to which he is legal heir, devolves to the crown, thereby tacitly acknowledging the mistaken notion that a Jew born here is a natural-born Englishman. Whether any thing can consistently be done in their favor, supposing this to be the case; or whether any thing

* We find a certain great Jew was so sensible of this, that he holds his estate by a particular act of parliament, by which he had a liberty to purchase by its being granted to another to sell it to him. Besides, this Jew, if he is a Jew, has the wit to bring up his children christians.
thing is necessary to be done, we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. Be this as it may, it by no means invalidates one single argument against the proposed naturalization.

The truth is, that the Jews have always been, and perhaps always will be, in a great measure dependent on the clemency and justice of other nations; and their greatest security must depend on the constitution of that government, and the moral character of the people, with whom they reside. We do not find that since their modern establishment among us, which is now of one hundred years standing, they have been once molested. The tenderness and equity of the present government have, without doubt, afforded a very strong reason to the Jews, to believe that the favor of naturalization would be granted them; and perhaps no time would be more proper than this, when our notions of policy are so much enlarged. But as unlimited speculations in politics, may be as ruinous as narrow and contracted opinions; some restraints are certainly necessary. In the mean time the Jews have the highest reasons to thank God, for the good which they enjoy. If they grow jealous of us, and are not contented; there is just grounds to suspect, that instead of a virtuous
acknowledgement of the dispensations of providence, they are intoxicated with indulgences which have been shewn them, by the government of this country: indulgences by means of which they have acquired many great fortunes; and which they now safely enjoy. May their conduct be such as always to entitle them to that enjoyment!

CHAP. VII.

Of the number, employment, riches, and poverty of the Jews. The impropriety of their possessing landed estates. The absurdity of the right of disposing of church benefices.

We come now to view the present state and situation of the Jews, from whence we may deduce, that their naturalization is improper, or unnecessary.

The number of the Jews is very differently reported: some have made them only six hundred families, containing two thousand souls. The Jews themselves have of late pretended that their number is ten thousand, agreeable to what was mentioned by one of the merchants, at the
the bar of the house of commons, and which was not contradicted. However, the nearest computation, I apprehend to be seven thousand; and yet the number of opulent families, do not exceed twenty, the half of which number are merchants. The next set of people in rank are brokers, and they hardly exceed forty. With regard to trade, they are what a trumpeter is in the army. They are by no means respectable in themselves, nor are they deemed the most honorable in their profession; but I am willing to think they are of use, because they are frequently the occasion of setting other people to work.

Next to these come a train of hawkers, and pedlars, and traffickers in every imaginable commodity, in every imaginable way, but very few in that which is deemed regular, honorable, and according to the ordinary rules of civil polity. In this general list, we must include those who buy, and sell, stolen goods. Gentlemen who have been curious in their remarks, observe that many second-hand things, exposed to sale by the Jews in Flanders, are of English manufacture. It ought not to be imagined that these are all stolen, since they buy great quantities, in what is generally called a fair way.
In the light of itinerant pawnbrokers, and purchasers of that which the seller ought not to dispose of, a late complaint of the university of Cambridge may be urged in proof, that such kind of wanderers are oftentimes detrimental. As to the qualities of the goods which they vend up and down the country; the complaint made against them, seems to carry with it a reflexion on the understanding of the buyers; we will therefore pass it over, as not essential to the present argument.

Now if the calculation of their numbers just mentioned, be true, the proportion of their poor must be very great. It is said in their behalf, that as the necessitous are maintained by the opulent; the former are rather a benefit, than an injury to a state: but this I apprehend is not true, for the reasons mentioned in my first chapter. It is rather a diminution of the merit of the Jews, that their poor are really a burden to a nation. They serve for little more than to raise the price of provision to the industrious laborer, from whose shoulders they take no part of the burthen. These poor are indeed supported by the funds of their synagogues, arising from the taxes imposed on their people, by their elders; and by the offerings made at the time of prayer.
prayer in their synagogues, and on all other solemn occasions. Thus far, they act with equal policy and humanity; since if the Jews were permitted to beg about the streets, as the Christians most impolitically and unchristianly are suffered to do, they would necessarily bring such a disgrace upon their fraternity as would expose them to many pernicious consequences.

There are some few ingenious men among the Jews, physicians, as well as merchants; but their number in this country is exceeding few. Among the lower classes of the people, however great their poverty, they are naturally, or by custom, averse to labor. Their religion cuts them off from commerce with the rest of mankind, and I cannot discover that they learn any art, or practise any manual labor. They are of no use in agriculture, or manufactory; neither will they serve us in our army, or navy. Notwithstanding this, it is highly reasonable to believe, that under a notion of being put on the footing of natural-born English subjects, many Jews, in very despicable circumstances, will flock over to us. They know that wealth is to be acquired in this commercial country; and considering what their morals and fertility of invention in acquiring riches, generally
rally are, it is probable that under the countenance of naturalization we should soon have an encrease of Jews, though they should be masters of no more money, than just to pay the expence of naturalization. Some of them, no doubt, would have the expence borne by their rich friends, since the more Jews are naturalized, the greater will be the weight and influence of Judaism in this country; and the more opportunities they will have of assisting each other. We see already, that in all cases where the pecuniary interest can receive any accumulation, or additional strength, they cling to us with all the fondness imaginable.

Thus it does appear, that this country may really become to them an asylum, in a sense which no other country has yet been, since their dispersion. Is this the thing intended by the legislature? If it would advance our political interest, without wounding our religion, liberty, or commerce, every good subject ought to subscribe to it.

But our immediate view has been to the rich Jews, in hopes of partaking of their wealth, in consequence of their commerce, and other connexions with us. Here I must beg leave.
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can confine the naturalization to fuch perfons,
"spend the produce of their stock amongst us."

As to their possessing a sum of two millions in our funds, considering that they are seldom reconciled to so low an interest for their money, it is much to be doubted whether this be a fact. I have heard of one Jew who has two hundred thousand pounds in our stock, and only of one who makes any figure in that kind of wealth. The riches of these people have certainly been represented much greater than they really are. I have already observed, that there are not in London above ten Jew houses of business of any great note, and that their men of fortune do not exceed the like number. But these people have a peculiar art of magnifying their wealth, and from thence derive a credit, which they employ to the enriching of themselves, under a notion of promoting the national service. How few of those Jews who are masters of estates, have really brought them into this country! and of those who have acquired them here, it might be well asked to which of them the nation is really indebted? It is the manner in which private property is acquired, that constitutes the augmentation of the national stock, at least in this country.
country. I know of some Jews who have traded themselves into poverty; and yet have done more real benefit to this nation, than others who have acquired great fortunes. If we consider the injurious practice of jobbing in stocks, and the supplying national demands by our submitting to the means of extortion, no doubt can be made of the great abilities of the Jews. But in this instance I think they are rather to be dreaded than cared for. The support of this nation I hope will never depend on such instruments. If it is not the inclination, or interest of our own merchants, and moneyholders, to support the public credit, upon any exigency; what deplorable circumstances must we be in! We all know that it was the interposition of our own merchants, which prevented the execution of a Jewish project during the late war, which must have involved this nation much deeper in debt.

But of all the reasons which have been advanced in favor of the Jews, nothing was represented in a stronger light, in the beginning of this affair, and yet, I think, nothing is of so dangerous a tendency as this. It was said, that if the Jews, under the authority derived from naturalization, should purchase land,
the value of our lands would be enhanced in proportion to the sum which should be brought to market for that purpose; and that in proportion to the value of our lands, must the opulence of the nation necessarily be.

People under the circumstances of the Jews, should ever be employed in pecuniary affairs, and not in laying money out in land. They are useful as merchants, as we shall shew presently; but inconvenient if not dangerous in the light of landholders. A merchant compared with a gentleman of a great landed estate, is in a certain degree of inferiority. Commerce is the source from whence the splendor of this nation arises. The gentleman of estate in land is the spring from whence the channels of trade are supplied. But as there ever will be frequent occasions in which a higher principle must prevail than mere self-interest, his zealous affection for the community, or his indifference towards it, must raise, or depress us as a free nation; consequently in proportion as our common interest is changed, or the attention of many opulent subjects diverted by other objects (and who can expect the same regard from a Jew as from a Christian?) the effects, though not immediately felt, must in the course of time be very pernicious.
The reason which is urged in their behalf, "That the Jews cannot purchase our estates, "unless we have a mind to sell them," is, I think, a bad reason. The dissolute manners of many who have been masters of very fair patrimonies, have led them into the necessity of disposing of their estates. We know not what opportunities may offer in the revolutions of time, for the Jews to become possessed of great estates in land. If the power of purchasing them is granted, the consequences of such an indulgence are to be dreaded. If it should be the case with half the island to change hands; and the estates were purchased by our own moneyed people, though it left the Jews the only merchants in the land, it would certainly be much better, than that a Jewish landed interest should predominate. The Jews, like fire and water, I am willing to think, are good servants in a commercial state; but they are very improper masters for a free people. I grant that neither our religion or government, are in so tottering a condition as to afford any immediate cause of fear of our being supplanted by naturalizing Jews. To suppose that such naturalization would in a direct view supplant us, might be deemed querulous if not factious; but are we not..."
not to regard remote consequences; and consider future ages with the same pious zeal as our ancestors have considered us? The truth is that our lands are already very valuable, and the evils we labor under, such as arise from causes of a very different nature; the admission of Jews may render these evils worse, but cannot possibly mend them.

It is not, I apprehend, the desire and intention of the legislature that Jews should buy our lands; but only that they should bring their riches into this country. But as an inducement to bring such riches, a naturalization is proposed, in virtue of which they will be legally empowered to buy estates. Now we all know, that the love of ease is natural to mankind; and that there is a certain period of life, in which men of fortune, Jews as well as Christians, are generally inclined to realize some part of their wealth. Would not such realization be either dangerous or inconvenient? dangerous in the light I have already mentioned; inconvenient, inasmuch as every sum which is laid out in land, must be taken out of trade; and this is the very thing which the legislature would not encourage.

Will
Will any one pretend to say that our landed estates would be better in the hands of Jews, than in our own? Will the Jews teach the common people such a moral, or religious conduct, as ought to be expected from Christians, and men of education? If they will not, so far as the happiness of this country, depends upon the good order of the people as Christians, so far we lose by suffering a Jew to buy an estate.

I have already mentioned that it is practised in the great Cities where Jews reside, to appoint them certain quarters distinct from the rest of the inhabitants. Under such circumstances, it is not to be imagined they can make any great impression on the minds of the common people: but give them power to purchase land by virtue of their naturalization; let them be dispersed through this country, and become masters of many landed estates: let them be the only persons of weight in several towns, and villages, remote from the capital: leave the common people who inhabit such places, without the example, influence, or protection, of any man above their own level, except a Jew; I confess it makes me tremble to think what the consequences of such a step might be. I do not be-
lieve that such people would become Jews, because a Jew has too much policy to attempt making proselytes; neither do I think that the Jews would become Christians; but such common people, whose religion already sits light upon them, might soon give it up entirely.

I must repeat, that altho' the effects of such measures should not be immediately felt; yet there is the highest reason to apprehend, that we should suffer much more by the exchange of the English country gentleman, for the foreign, or native Jew; than we could possibly gain by the acquisition of those riches, by means of which estates may pass from the hands of Christians into those of Jews.

It may be further asked, whether it is true policy to admit of any kind of foreigners as land-holders, who will not fight upon an emergency, in defence of their possessions. I know not upon what authority it is said; but I have been told, that a Jew will not fight in defence of a Christian country. We have some of our own sectaries, whose principles do not allow them to take up arms; but whatever may be necessary with regard to them, it does not seem consistent in a free country, to give a man the possession of
of a landed estate, which he will not draw his sword to defend. In enquiries of this nature, every thing which can be said on either side of the question, is not therefore necessary. Upon the whole, the impropriety of the naturalization appears in a very strong light.

But there are reasons, derived from a more direct and intelligible policy, at which I have already hinted. The indulgence of the Jews to purchase estates, must divert them from the pursuit of trade; tho' at the same time we know, that in this light only they are useful. I have known a Jew in Portugal, who had been twice in the inquisition, and twice deprived of his estate; and yet for the third time he accumulated a considerable fortune. This could not have been possible, had he vested his money in land. The Jews in Poland and Germany, I apprehend, are not admitted to any privileges, but what simply regards their commercial intercourse, either among themselves, or the natives of the country. In the light of merchants, farmers of the revenues, brokers, pedlars, and such like, they are of great service; but the lands, particularly in Poland, are held by the nobility and the clergy, who lend their money to the Jews, at the enormous interest of eight or ten per cent.
Would the Jews be able to pay such an interest, were they diverted from trade through any encouragement, or even permission to buy land? On the contrary, would not the Jews become in some measure the equals of the nobility and clergy? or for want of commerce, they would either not have any money at all, or the value of it would only regard the price of their own consumptions.

As to our withholding from the Jews, a right of purchasing, or inheriting any benefice, ecclesiastical living, or school; the thing speaks so much for itself, that nothing need be said for it. Would there be a grogger absurdity in the nature of things, than that a Christian ecclesiastic or teacher, should be dependent on a Jew in a Christian country? we might indeed submit to this, if the Jews were become our masters; but not whilst we are theirs.
CHAP. VIII.

Political reasons against the naturalization of the Jews, with regard to their immoral character, and the temper of our own people.

Do we stand bound by any law of natural right, to give the Jews their naturalization, because they ask for it? we ought to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us; but in the case before us, the Jews ought to prove their right to demand their naturalization, before we grant it. Were they to require our jewels and plate, should we therefore give them, as the Egyptians did of old? divine providence did then interpose in their favor, and I hope the same providence now interposes in ours. There is certainly no reason for our acquiescence, founded in the general character of these people: If we have usurers, extortioners, and men of other professions, of immoral lives amongst ourselves, it is rather a reason, why we should not naturalize Jews, than why we should. I am afraid the Jews are in general an immoral people; and more the children of this world, than the Christians are. The sober sensible Jews do acknowledge this; and I believe it will be found, that
that their wickedness as well as their faith, have often exposed them to persecution. This appears to me a very strong reason, why we should not receive them into our bosoms; and it ought to be a reason to them, to be very careful of their conduct, among those foreign nations, with whom they are permitted to live; whilst the humanity and justice which prevail in this country, afford them the most ample favor and indulgence.

Immorality, and a vicious self-love, are vices very prevalent among us; but I hope in a similar case to this before us, we should talk a very different language, from that which is spoken by some of the Jews. It was suggested that their countrymen abroad, would be exposed to difficulties, and not improbably distressed, on account of this very indulgence at which they aspire. But they, eager to grasp the present advantage, answer coolly that it might be so: indeed it is more than probable that it will be so. Now, if in a national light, men are devoid of the impulses of humanity, or of love for their own countrymen, what regard can they have for strangers? if the consideration of a present interest, leads them not only to neglect the welfare of those who were lately their fellow citizens, but even
to run the hazard of exposing them to misery; what gratitude or affection can we expect, who profess a religion of which they are bred up in the strongest abhorrence?

But to wave the consideration of a point, in which Christians as well as Jews, are often guilty; let us acknowledge that there have been illustrious examples of virtue and piety among the Jews; examples which would have placed them in the rank of Christian heroes, had they been inspired with the same glorious principles. There are good men of all the different faiths under heaven, and we ought to believe, that there are several men of great probity among the Jews, in this country. There is one Jew merchant in particular * whom I have often heard mentioned with great honor; his charity and other moral virtues, seem to flow from that spirit of humanity, and universal benevolence, which God originally implanted in the minds

* A gentleman of great probity and honour assures me that he has received the highest proofs, that I do no more than justice to the character of the Jew here alluded to, by name Benjamin Mendes Dacosta: and this gentleman can hardly be suspected of partiality, since he was one of the warmest opponents of the naturalization; and tho' upon the principles of humanity and charity, he is a well-wisher to the Jews, he is also very constant to his opinion, that they ought not to be naturalized.
of men. The virtues of this Jew might make such Christians blush, whose power is equal to his; and yet their inclination and practice bear no similitude.

Indeed in these latter times, as most Christian nations are improved in their manners; the Jews are also less wicked than they were. The better sort of them disdain those practices, which have often rendered the people of their faith obnoxious to punishment. If we consider the moral precepts of the Jewish religion, tho' they are not so refined as those prescribed by Christianity, yet we plainly see that there are very good men among the Jews. But still these people are not inspired with the same principles as the Christians.

We are apt to consider the Jews as vagabonds and wanderers, but they boast themselves of being a separate people, the chosen of God; and I will be bold to say, that for this very reason, every good man among the Jews, must either disapprove of this attempt, or be distressed how to reconcile it. The notion they suck with their milk is, that they are a great nation, and all mankind usurpers of their sovereignty. This consideration reconciles their pertinacious adherence to the religion of their forefathers; and
invalidates their claim to mix with any other nation: and it doth seem as if providence interposed in a very singular manner, that they should think so, and that the politics as well as the religion of all other nations, should thus oppose the naturalization of the Jews.

As to what concerns the temper of our own people, it may be observed, that as the word Christian is frequently made use of among the vulgar, to express the idea of man; so when a Jew is spoken of, among those who are not conversant with people of this faith, they hardly associate the idea of man. Thus the consideration of our common humanity, is in some degree excluded. Tho' the manner of expressing their repugnance to this naturalization, may argue their unpoliteness; yet as the experience of all ages seems to prove, that no union of this sort can or ought to be made, so far this repugnance may as well be deemed providential, against them, as the passing the bill is for them.

God knows we are more disposed to quarrel about this world, than to give ourselves much concern about that which is to come. We are more inclined to put up our consciences to sale, than
than to renounce any *paultry* pecuniary advantages: but still a minister must be a *bad* man, as well as an *unable pilot of the state*, who supposes there are not *good men* in the nation; therefore we may reasonably conclude, that as we are very far from being unhappy in this instance; but on the contrary, that peace, tranquillity, and the general welfare are the objects pursued, no just occasion of offence will be given, that may disturb the consciences of those who mean well, at the same time that if there be any such, those who mean ill, may be subdued by the arts of lenity and moderation.

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**CHAP. IX.**

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the commercial connexion of this nation in foreign countries.

The merchants who appeared against the bill, laid no small stress on the apprehensions they entertained, concerning our foreign commercial connexions; particularly with regard to the impressions, which the Portuguese will probably receive of us. It is true we might challenge them for supporting of an inquisition,
as well as they us for naturalizing Jews. But as these people do hate the Jews out of measure, for the same reason as we would love them out of measure, that is beyond our former practice, or the custom of any other nation, we also may become the objects of their hatred. As the case stands at present, we must be considered as heretics; yet we are esteemed such moral heretics, and have such regard to the propriety of our behaviour among them, as to be in almost every instance preferred to those foreigners, who profess the same religion as themselves. Besides, their commercial and political interest exactly coincide with ours: they are our friends and entirely attached to us; but doth it follow they will be always the same, let us act in ever so different a manner to what we have hitherto done.

It is the nature of mankind to love others, in proportion as they act agreeably to their humor and inclination; and to hate them as they deviate from this rule. Experience already in some degree evinces the truth of this principle, in the very case before us. If we should really naturalize the Jews, I am morally certain we shall decline into a very contemptible reputation in Portugal. But however the propriety of the reasoning with regard to public affairs in general
general, may be disputed; I suppose it will be granted, that in our commercial connexions, we should have a certain regard to the genius of a nation, on whom an important branch of commerce depends. As we strive to adapt our manufactures to the taste of a people with a view to their better reception; so far as is consistent with the nature of our constitution, we ought to adapt our manners also. I do not mean, that it is true politics to submit to any servile compliances, but to avoid any change in our customs, hitherto agreeable, or not offensive to our neighbors, when the good expected by such change, is not equivalent to the risk we run.

As a mercantile nation, policy doth then call on us to be tender what steps we take in a matter so peculiarly circumstanced. When all the nations of the world consider the Jews as a separate people, by a necessary consequence of the Jewish religion; if we naturalize them, shall we not appear abroad, as if we made our religion subservient to our politics? And if we should thus appear; shall we not suffer a diminution in their esteem? But this is most clear and indubitable; that the the credit and reputation of one nation with another, in a commercial view, and particularly with regard to those sub-

jects
jects who reside in foreign countries, have a
great analogy with the credit and reputation of
a private merchant with other traders. When
there is any extraordinary circumstance in the
conduct of such private merchant, which is
extremely offensive, he will certainly lose some
degree of that respect which he found very ser-
dviceable, if not essential, to the conduct of his
business. And if we put it in the worst light,
he will secretly be undermined, and his situa-
tion rendered intolerably uneasy.

The Portuguese being blended with many
natives, who are Jews in their hearts, have for
some ages acted towards them with that seve-
rity, as if a toleration of Judaism, would bring
on a total subversion of Christianity, in their
country. The jealousies which arise on this ac-
count, are almost as great those which regard
their women; and both together render them, in
too many respects, unsociable; and consequently,
the less improved in their learning and manners.
How extremely careful they are, of any mix-
tures of the Jews, appears from this; that those
who are new christians, or supposed to be con-
verts to Christianity, are not admitted into any
office, 'till certain evidences are given of the pu-
urity of their blood; that is, that they must
have
have passed through, I think it is, above sixty removes, since their parents were known to be Jews. We have hitherto been considered by them as untainted; and though this reputation hath not been of any material use with regard to the enjoyment of offices, yet it certainly is of service in our commercial capacity. The ignorance of the common people in that country is such, that they have sometimes been induced to enquire very seriously, "if the English are "Christians?" Was the naturalization proposed to take effect, the question would be changed, and they would ask, "are not the English Jews?" The humorous intimation that surgeons are already gone to Belém* to examine the English who arrive there, to see if they are circumcised, seems to carry with it something more than a mere jest. It is indeed probable the inquisition would often suspect, that under the cloak of being English Christians, English Jews would come into their country to transact business. However absurd the foundation of such jealousy might be, those who know any thing of the Portuguese will easily believe, that from being the most beloved, we might by so extraordinary a step become the most despised nation.

* The entrance into the port of Lisbon.
It is probable the Portuguese will also consider us as establishing a law, with a view to entice rich Jews out of Portugal. I do not know that any number of rich men of that faith have at present any existence among them. If there are any such persons, to be anxious upon the subject of their coming over to us, is as little consistent with the honor of this nation, as the naturalization proposed, is unpromising of any advantages to us. They know if they do come here, they will be received under the protection of the most free, and most generous government in the world. What more do any of the Jews aspire at? And as to those who are already settled here; what more than they really enjoy, can they reasonably ask?

But if the reader should imagine that this is little more than the cant of a Portugal merchant; let him remember the great affinity between the genius of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Both these states are at perpetual war with the Moors on account of religion. And the Spaniards in particular cannot support a religious war against the Infidels, with more warmth than the Portuguese against the Jews. How far the former carry their resentments, we have a recent instance in their conduct to-
wards the Hamburgers, who were absolutely obliged to abandon their treaty concluded with the Algerines; or to abandon all commerce with Spain. How far political reasons might interfere, or the Spaniards might judge it proper to give laws to so impotent a state as that of Hamburg, need not be insisted on. It doth appear that their resentments arise, in a great measure, from the Hamburgers making a peace with the enemies of the religion of Christ, with whom they never will have peace.

CHAP. X.

The Jews considered as merchants, the only light in which they can be considered as advantageous to a Christian state.

The measures proposed by a legislature, though they should not quadrate with the inclination of their constituents, are most assuredly entitled to a dispassionate examination, and respectful treatment; and this is preparative for that composition, which it is sometimes necessary to make, in similar cases.
There are some men of great probity and experience in this island, who inclined to the opinion that it would be much better for this nation, if there was not a single J ew it. This opinion is founded in a presumption that the commerce these people carry on, might be better conducted by our own merchants. How far this may be true, I will not take upon me to enquire. There are several reasons why we ought to shew our good will to the Jews, as merchants. Our present scheme of politics is generous: we have long considered the Jews as merchants, and as such have treated them with indulgence. The great object in view with regard to the proposed naturalization, is the promotion of commerce; and so far from depressing the Jews, their opponents never meant to deprive them of any weight in their commercial capacity; but rather to keep from them every temptation, which might divert them from so useful a pursuit. This must be evident to all the world; therefore whilst the Jews remain Jews, the least return they can make to us, is that of a modest deportment.

Whether
Whether it arose from an opinion the Jews had conceived, that they should advance their interest by boasting of their importance with regard to their wealth and extensive commerce; they certainly found means, to make several persons of most eminence in this kingdom, believe, that their riches and trade are much more important and extensive than they really are: when they had carry'd their point so far, some idle expressions dropt from them, as if their abilities as traders were superior to those of our own merchants. An imputation of this sort is too ridiculous to deserve any serious animadversion. The Jews, from the necessity of their situation, are traders. Success has crowned the endeavours of some of them; they are remarkable for going great lengths upon the force of credit; but they are not equal, much less superior, in skill to our own merchants. Several of them have traded very largely upon small capitals, in consequence of which frequent bankruptcies have ensued, and great losses have been sustained by our own people. This consideration however is of a private nature; and entirely dependent on the prudence of individuals; but whilst the effect may, upon the whole, be serviceable to the nation, the motives upon which the Jews act,
act, do not entitle them to any pagenegyric. If their trading boldly is deemed an actual proof that they are useful to the state; it must be also considered as a presumptive argument, that it is the interest of the state to keep them to their merchandize; which, from what hath been premised, I do humbly conceive, may be accomplished with more ease and consistency, without naturalization, than with it.

If in this light as merchants, it could be proved that the qualification for naturalization is consistent with our general interest; yet it is very remarkable, that those who appeared most in favor of the Jews, do not so as much pretend that they know of any one rich Jew who will come here from any foreign country, upon the force of it. Men in circumstances to answer the purpose of the legislature, are not numerous in any country: and if we consider families established abroad, conversant with the customs and languages of a people; if we likewise consider countries, where provisions are much cheaper than in our metropolis, it is more probable that the naturalization proposed would bring here the worst rather than the best kind of Jews.

Whether
Whether any distinction in favor of the Jews as merchants, beyond other foreigners who are not naturalized, ought to be granted, is a circumstance we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. The Aliens duty is of some consideration in the calculation of a large trader. I do not imagine however, that this small impost hath prevented any wealthy Jew from coming into this island; consequently the taking it off will be but a small temptation to such Jews to leave the continent; yet perhaps it will surprise the advocates for the Jews, when they consider that this is the only circumstance which is wanting to put them upon a par with the natural-born subjects, considered simply as merchants. If the Alien's duty then was yielded up to them, they would enjoy the substance, without hurting us in any greater proportion than the sum which such Alien's duty usually amounted to. And if the number and riches of the Jews should augment by any increase of their trade, which the legislature will expect as the natural fruit of this indulgence, the deficiency will be made up to us, and the general interest advanced.
I believe it will be universally granted that the Jews are faithful to the state: indeed their security, and protection, are intimately concerned in their fidelity. So long as they continue as they are, I am willing to believe, they will be useful in the character of merchants. As their circumstances naturally lead them to this employment, the consideration of those circumstances has long procured them protection in several of the polite nations of Europe. Riches, which are the chief objects the Jews have in view, can be most easily acquired by commerce. As merchants they desire to be countenanced. As merchants we desire to countenance them. If it is a fact that the Jews do acquire riches, and are secure in the enjoyment of them; how came it to enter into the hearts of themselves or of any of their advocates, that we exercise a severity towards them, in not admitting them to the full enjoyment of all the immunities of natural-born-subjects? It is true we are fellow-citizens, and commerce is the link by which men are united in love. This is the mutual interest which ought to subsist between Christians, Jews, Mahommedans and Pagans; so long as commerce is conducted with integrity, it must produce a connexion and harmony, such as con-
flitutes an universal commonwealth, among the whole race of mankind.

CHAP. XI.

Difference in opinion, no reason for animosity among fellow-citizens.

As to the different opinions which have prevailed among ourselves, they are a consideration of a distinct nature, on account of which the Jews ought not to receive any good or harm. We are under a wise and free government; we have constituted a legislature, to this we ought, to this we must appeal, as the arbitrator of differences.

Several merchants of importance, with no small number of packers, dyers, and tradesmen, did sign a petition in favor of the Jews; from whence it hath been inferred, that the naturalization proposed is a right measure, as it may, or, as they say, "will encourage persons of wealth and substance to remove with their effects from foreign parts into this kingdom; the greatest part of which, agreeably to the experience of former times, will be employed by them in foreign trade and commerce, in encreasing the shipping, and encouraging the
the exportation of woollens, and other ma-
ufactures of this kingdom; of which the
Jews have for many years exported great
quantities.” Many of the merchants were
doubtless of this opinion, but neither of the peti-
tions, for or against, creates any difference in the
weight of the argument, as the case now stands.

The applications made on this occasion may
however instruct us in one material point, that
the genius of this nation is, to be either too
much asleep, or too much awakened. Extremes
are ever dangerous. The efforts of passion do
however sometimes operate more effectually,
than the calmer dictates of reason, and we see
the most beneficial designs brought to a happy
issue, by means not consistent with wisdom.
It is very clear that neither the vociferations of
some, nor the mistaken zeal of others, do enere-
vate the force of the argument against the na-
turalization. We should desire rather to con-
vince the understandings of men, than to in-
flame their passions, and return to our cooler
deliberations, without regard to private inter-
est, or party zeal. If the voice of the people
can, with any propriety, be said to be the voice
of God, it is only when that voice is free. I
now take the liberty to say, that the freedom
of voice was most in favor of those who petitioned against the naturalization. The connexions of some of the petitioners in favor of the Jews are very obvious; therefore, without calling their probity in question, they must be supposed to lean to the side of their interest.

The petitioners against the Jewish naturalization, were not only more numerous, but more important in point of fortune. I know several of them who are men of great probity, and possessed of very large estates; and, what is more, friends to the administration, and in good correspondence with the Jews.

Differences in opinion ought by no means to create the least animosity among fellow citizens, they should rather mutually gratulate each other, on the common liberty of declaring their sentiments. There is an equal right on the one side, to give their opinion in favor of the Jews, as on the other to argue against them. There are certainly many honest and sensible men on both sides the question. As to the riches of either side *, I look on it no more to the purpose.

* I mention this particular though it may appear foreign to the subject, because the petitioners against the naturalization were thought to be of no great weight in the light of men of fortune.

than
than the maintaining that he only can have the best of an argument, who is richer than his antagonist.

Since it is confessedly the union of the whole, which gives strength to the parts, it is most clearly our duty upon the principles of self-love, to cultivate a good understanding among ourselves. At the same time we ought to consider, that it is the freedom of our government that makes our minds also free; and that very freedom almost necessarily creates a variety of sentiments. As free born subjects, we should study the art of rendering the different opinions of individuals, productive of the firmer establishment of the community. For this reason I was sorry to hear it proposed, to publish a list of the subscribers of the petition against the Jews. What doth it avail, who were for, or who against them? If it was a wrong measure, it may be presumed that it will not take place. Those who can support their opinion, must thank God that they did judge right; and those who were mistaken, be equally thankful that their mistake has not produced any evil consequence.
To oppose the execution of a design which is contrary to a man's principles, or his notions of good and evil, is as different from an opposition founded in a party zeal, (especially towards those who compose a legislature) as light from darkness, or as concord founded in reason, from faction, and an impious contempt of laws. Abstacting from the coercive power vested in lawgivers, there is a reverence due to them, which a free people can never violate without injuring themselves. Where the liberty of remonstrance is permitted from the very nature and essence of a constitution, the greater care ought to be taken, to conduct such remonstrance with propriety. When the liberty of declaring our opinion, is not restrained by such considerations, it is apt to degenerate; and that which was originally the produce of sentiment, of generosity, and public love, may become mean and servile; instrumental only to faction, or productive only of those low party views, against which it was at first directed. In general our corruption has warped our understanding as well as our affections; but there is yet a great deal of virtue and good sense in this nation; and consequently we can differ in sentiments, and
and yet support a good correspondence among individuals.

Further, though the doctrine of unlimited submission is dangerous in some instances, liberty will droop and languish when a legislature is treated with disrespect. A free people necessarily constitute themselves the judges in dubious cases; but every well wisher of his country, will reflect very seriously on the importance of supporting the authority and dignity of a government, before he opposes his constituent; lest the remedy proposed should, for want of order, become worse than the disease. There are many instances, wherein remonstrances from without doors, serve to whet up men’s wits within. If a business happens to be of a doubtful nature, and gives occasion to people without doors to animadvert; such business will necessarily become the better understood within; but these cases should not happen often. If a spirit of opposition is not directed by a just distinction, and is defective in that wisdom, which teaches us when we are under a good, and when under a bad administration, freedom must necessarily endanger the security of liberty; or, in other words, liberty will destroy itself.
It is so very clear, that our common preservation depends upon our union and obedience to laws, that it may seem absurd to insist on it. Yet it sometimes becomes necessary in this nation, to remind ourselves that the spirit which leads men to restrain their passions, and to exert their reason to distinguish good from evil, is the only way of administering that healing balm, on which the happiness, as well as the safety of life depends.

The regard and indulgence shewn to the merchants who appeared at the bar of the house of commons against the naturalization, was such as gave me the highest impressions, not only of the excellency and happiness of this constitution, but also of the equity and moderation with which the present government is conducted. What these merchants had to allege was expressed with decency, and without appearance of enmity towards the Jews. They were not prepared as they ought to have been; but this is a proof that they were not moved by any sinister motives. They expressed their fears that injurious impressions would be received abroad. Those fears were then considered as
as chimerical; but experience, as I have already explained, has given them a sanction.

I hope there was not any set of men in the nation, who kept themselves in reserve, to see the issue of the affair, with a view to draw any sinister advantage from it. But if there was any such, I think I can answer for the merchants, that they were no part of that number. After the bill was passed into a law, they neither wrote, nor spoke factiously; I have good reason to believe this in their favor. The arguments for the proposed naturalization, did indeed appear to those merchants to be ill grounded, leaving too great a field to the Jews, already so much favored. But in the mean time, the honor and dignity of the legislature ought to suffer no diminution, by any distinction of those whose opinion were, or of those whose opinions were not for the naturalization, left a judgment post factum, should not only make pretensions to a wisdom which did not exist; or, if it did exist, that such wisdom may not become folly, by prostituting it to unworthy purposes.

To conclude, if any thing more is to be said or done, excepting the alteration, I hope it will
will be said or done with the same moderation and charity, as this pamphlet is written; remembering, that as the whole is of greater importance than a part: all considerations which clash with this principle, ought to be absorbed, as dishonourable to liberty, and inconsistent with the dignity of an English subject.

FINIS.