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PROPOSAL

For UNITING the

KINGDOMS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

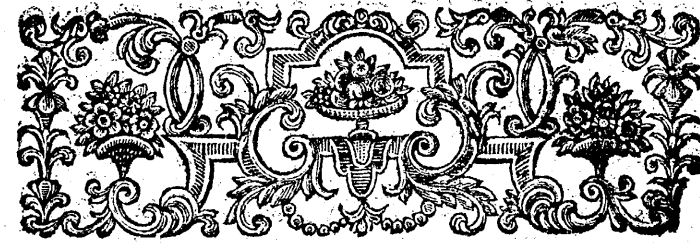
IRELAND.

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PROPOSAL

For Uniting the KINGDOMS of

Great Britain and Ireland.

THE first Principle of all Schemes offered to the Public is their general Utility. This alone should claim a candid and impartial, if not a favourable Attention.

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Upon this Principle let the following Scheme be tried ; nor does the Person, who proposes it, wish it may succeed on any other. He truly thinks, and hopes he shall be able to prove, that it will produce to both Nations many more and greater Advantages, than either can enjoy until they shall be united. But before he attempts to enumerate these Advantages, it may be necessary to give a clear and certain Idea of the Union he proposes.

He does not, therefore, mean a fœderal and partial Union, but a complete and perfect Incorporation of the two Kingdoms, inseparably and perpetually

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tually united ; formed into one Government, under the same King, and the same Laws ; represented by the same Parliament ; enjoying the same Privileges and Immunities ; confined by the same Restrictions, Prohibitions and Regulations in Trade ; having the same Alliances, the same Enemies ; and paying an equal Proportion of Taxes, Customs, Excise, both in Peace and War, that in all Instances they may become one People in Affection, as well as Interest. And however unequal *Great Britain* and *Ireland* really are, or may be supposed to be, in every Circumstance of Wealth, Power and Commerce, they

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may be joined, through all their Parts, in one great Whole, by a fair Scale of Equivalents and Proportions; as two Merchants, of very unequal Property and disproportioned Debts, may enter into Partnership of Profit and Loss in Trade. Perhaps, among all the Works of Nature, there never were two Bodies perfectly equal in Bulk, Weight and Figure; certainly never among the Works of Art, as all political Bodies are. But that Bodies most unequal may, with mutual Advantage, be united, there are numberless Instances, both in Nature and Art.

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Let us now endeavour to prove, that by the Union we propose, a new national Interest may be formed, productive to both Nations of more numerous and greater Benefits, than either of them can separately enjoy.

The principal Objects of the Attention of *Great Britain* are the Protestant Religion in general; her own present Establishment, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the Preservation of that Balance of Power among the Nations of *Europe*, which can alone maintain their common Liberty. Let us now consider, what Advantages she can

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can propose to herself with regard to the first of these, the Protestant Religion, by her Union with *Ireland*.

The present Inhabitants of that Island are computed at somewhat less than two Millions; but were it cultivated, as it certainly would be under the Influence of an Union, it would be capable of maintaining at least six Millions; and consequently, according to the political Maxim, That Numbers of Inhabitants are the Wealth of a Nation, it would become three Times richer than it is at present. This Maxim, it is confessed, like another among the Learned, who tell

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us, That a Number of Words are the Riches of a Language, must be understood in a restrained Sense. It must necessarily mean, that these Inhabitants are honest, frugal and industrious; for a Number of idle, extravagant, dishonest People is the Ruin of a Country, as a Number of Words, if not expressive, harmonious and precise, rather oppresses a Language with a Superfluity of Sounds, than enrich it with Abundance and Variety.

But we are told, that the *Irish* Natives, who are a great Majority of the present Inhabitants, are an idle, lazy Generation; so perversely, obstinately

nately idle, that the Encouragements of an Union, and the Examples of Industry among the Foreigners, who might settle in the Country, would be lost upon them. The Charge of Idleness is acknowledged, but we cannot acknowledge that it is absolutely, like some national Diseases, incurable.

No People are by Nature either idle or industrious beyond the Necessities of Life. What we call Conveniences (generally a larger Term for Luxury) add a new Spirit to Labour, and encourage us to bear the Fatigue, that enables us to purchase them. The *Hollanders*, oppressed and enslaved by

by the *Spanish* Tyranny, had little of that Spirit of Industry, which hath since made them the most powerful Republic in the World. But without relying upon Examples, we may venture to assert, as a Maxim founded in human Nature, that Man will never work for Man, if he does not find his own, proper Advantage by his Labour.

If this Reasoning appear just, let us apply it to the present State of *Ireland*. A very large Proportion of the Lands there is let from Year to Year, or rather is held at the Will and Pleasure of the Landlord: If he will not take the Trouble
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of letting his Estate in little Parcels himself, which however is often done, he gets what is called a substantial Farmer, who venturously takes five or six hundred Acres. These are too many for his little Stock to manure, to plow, or to graze. He therefore divides them, and lets some of them to poor Cottagers. Thus the Landlord receives his Rent, the Farmer gets a moderate Subsistence, the Farm, in general, is uncultivated, and the poor Cottager is oppressed. He usually pays thirty Shillings a Year for his House of Clay, with a Garden, so it is called, for his Cabbages and Potatoes, his only Food; and in Proportion for a little Land to graze

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a Cow, or perhaps half a dozen Sheep. The Rent of his wretched Tenement he pays in Labour, at five or six Pence a Day, while his only Security for the next Year's Possession, is not to improve his miserable Farm, or seem to grow rich in the Cleanliness, or Cloathing, or Food of his Family. If Providence hath not created some Nations to Slavery, and the very Supposition is Impiety, surely no People will labour upon such Terms. Will not human Nature resent such Treatment? It were a very contemptible Being, if it did not.

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However, from this Manner of acting, there are, generally speaking, but two Ranks of People in *Ireland*, the very Rich and the very Poor. From hence the two Extremes, perhaps not to be found in any other Country, of Luxury and Poverty. But when the Union shall increase the Number of Inhabitants, the Landlord will not be under a Necessity of letting a greater Number of Acres, than the Farmer is able to cultivate. When he shall find it his Interest to grant longer Leases; when the poor Natives shall be restored to the natural Right of human kind, a Property in their own Labour,

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bour, if there be not some physical Causes of Idleness in their Climate, they will surely become as industrious, as their Neighbours of *Great Britain*.

As the Benefits of Trade will probably encourage Foreigners to settle in *Ireland*, so Merchants and Manufacturers, being Protestants, should be invited by a general Naturalization. The Popish Interest there would then become inconsiderable, and *Ireland* would in a few Years be a Protestant Nation. When in the Spirit of religious Liberty they shall have thrown off the Yoke of Transubstantiation and the Pope's Infallibility, they will at the same

same time disclaim the no less bold Absurdity and Contradiction to common Sense, that of Hereditary Right and Passive Obedience. Thus will they, at once, become the Disciples of the purest Church, that professes the Doctrines of Christ, and Subjects of the best Constitution of Government, that ever blessed Mankind. How great a Support they will be to each, we need not say. Only this; the same Strength, which would thus apparently maintain the present Establishment of *Great Britain* in Church and State, would certainly with equal Zeal engage in Defence of the Protestant Religion in general, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

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A great Objection against the Settlement of Foreigners in *Ireland*, is the Unhealthiness of the Climate. But as the Bogs, which occasion this formidable Objection, were once firm Land, so when the natural Drain for the Water, upon which they lie, can be found, they will sink again to their proper Soil, and become as fruitful as any other Part of the Island. The Sun draws its Vapours from this unwholesome Mixture of Earth and Water; those Vapours fall again in almost perpetual Mists and Rains, so that the Inhabitants of that Part of the Country may be said to breathe Water. But

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when these Bogs shall be wholly reclaimed (a necessary good Effect to *Ireland* of a Union) the Sun will draw a far less Quantity of Vapours, and those from a cultivated Soil, which impregnates the Air with Particles of Health. A sufficient Progress hath been already made to insure the Success of the Whole, and not without some considerable Effect upon the Climate. When this great Work can be brought to Perfection, and the Lands of *Ireland* universally cultivated, we may venture to say, it will be as healthy a Country, as any in *Europe*, especially as it is more temperate than any other with regard to Heat and Cold.

Another

Another very popular Objection there is against the Union, that *Ireland* would soon rival *Great Britain* in her most valuable Branches of Trade. He seems to me to know very little of the Circumstances of either Nation, who pretends to compute in what Century this dreaded Rivalship may happen. *Ireland*, it is confessed, is much improved, but, if compared to *England*, her Lands may truly be said to be still uncultivated, and her Manufactures unimproved. Her Ports, which Nature hath opened to the Trade of almost the whole World, are not known even to the Natives,

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excepting those, who live in the neighbouring Counties. Indeed, it would be greatly useful to the general Navigation of *Europe*, to have a Chart of the Western Coast of *Ireland*, and its Harbours.

But allowing this formidable Objection of Rivalship to be just, which it certainly is not, of what Consequence will it be to the great Whole, in what Part of the united Kingdoms any particular Branch of Trade shall flourish? What matters it, for Instance, and that the popular Instance, whether the Woolen Manufacture continue in the West, or whether it travel Northward, as it really does,

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or whether it shall go to *Ireland*, when united to *Great Britain*?

We are not ignorant how disagreeable this Language will be to the common People of *Great Britain* in general, and especially to some particular Counties in *England*. But if it be the Language of Truth, let us not be afraid to speak it. We are not proposing a partial Union. We do not write to any Set of People, whose private Interests will engage them against the Measure we propose. We are not sanguine enough even to hope for their Approbation, or so ignorant of human Nature, as to expect it.

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Our only Design is the Public Good, the mutual Advantage of both Kingdoms; while we write only to them, who are able, impartial, disinterested Judges of this great Scheme; some of whom may probably be appointed to carry it into Execution. We trust, they will have Abilities to answer all real Objections, and Spirit enough to despise a meerly popular Clamour. To them we may without Apprehension repeat, that it is Matter of pure Indifference in what Part of the united Kingdoms, any particular Branch of Trade shall flourish.

But

But the People need not be alarmed. The Fact is not yet become a Matter of Dispute, and to prevent all future Apprehensions, we shall endeavour to prove, that whatever Trade *Ireland* shall gain by an Union, will not be gained from *Great Britain*, but from other Countries, her Rivals in Trade, or her natural Enemies.

Let us then suppose the Trade of the whole World divided into twenty Parts. Let us suppose (a very large Supposition in favour of *Great Britain*) that she hath five of these Parts. Will it not plainly follow, that *Ireland* will gain

a Proportion of three fourths from other Countries, and only one from *Great Britain*. Let us then compute the great additional Duties, which *Ireland* must pay for the Liberty of Trade, and it will clearly appear how considerably *Great Britain* must gain by this dreaded Article of an Union,

If indeed she were able alone to supply every foreign Market with her Woolen Manufactures ; if no other Nation had already, or might hereafter take from her any Part of it, she would then very wisely forbid *Ireland* to meddle with it. But since the *Dutch* and the *French* have already a great Share of
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it, and are every Year gaining yet greater ; since there is a larger Demand in foreign Markets, than *Great Britain* can possibly supply, were it not worthy of her Wisdom to give, at least, some Part of it to *Ireland* ? The *Irish* would, in Truth, only become her Factors, since all their Wealth, after a little Circulation at home, would certainly fix at last in *Great Britain*.

The *French* have already got Possession of the *Turky* Woolen Trade, nor is it said in the Spirit of Prophecy, that it will never be recovered, until the *Irish*, whether united or un-united, be permitted to manufacture
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facture and export their Wool for that Purpose.

But, in Truth, this Branch of Trade seems to be lost for ever. Even the *Irish*, with all their Advantages, will not be able to recover it. The *French* are much better situated. Their Port of *Marseilles* opens to the main Ocean, and they sail directly to *Turky*. The Voyage from *Ireland*, without reckoning Accidents of Wind and Weather, is at least five Weeks longer; consequently the *French* go so much cheaper, and so much earlier to Market. However, it would greatly distress them, were the *Irish* allowed to manufacture their Wool,
since

since it would effectually stop that unhappy Practice of running it, by which the *French* Trade is in a great measure supported.

But in a far more valuable Branch of the Woolen Manufacture, that of Stuffs and Camblets, the *French* a few Years ago were able to underfell the *British* Merchant in *Portugal*. This Trade was wholly lost. The *Irish* attempted it, and in spite of all Prohibitions effectually recovered it, and even at this time possess it, although apparently at the great Discount of sixteen *per Cent.* to maintain it. This is not meer Reasoning; it is more; it is
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Matter of Fact, and the Consequences attending it are equally manifest as the Fact itself, and equally shew how very far from Rivalship, how greatly serviceable *Ireland* may be to *Great Britain*, if she were allowed some Part of this Trade.

But when *Ireland* shall know her true Interest, she will not employ her People in the Woolen Trade, beyond her own Home Consumption, nor suffer such extended Tracts of her best Land to lie uncultivated in Sheep-walks. She will rather improve and extend her Linen Manufacture, as far more profitable, and in which she would probably soon excel the whole World.

World. This Assertion may require some Proof.

Let us therefore suppose a thousand Acres of Land stocked with Sheep; let us compute the Losses by Death, with all Expences of Shepherds, Sheering, Dressing, Spinning, Weaving, Dying, Pressing, the Wool they produce. Let us again suppose the same Number of Acres manured and cultivated for Flax; let us compute the Expence of Dressing, Spinning, Weaving, Whitening, and when we carry them both to Market, we shall find the Linen will produce at least two thirds more than the Woolen Cloth.

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Yet in whatever Degree, or in whatever Manner, *Ireland* shall increase her Wealth, we shall find a large Proportion of it annually coming to *Great Britain*. The List of her Absentees is already very numerous. The Sums expended here by her People of Business, or her People of Idleness, and by her Youth for Education, are considerable. But if we suppose the Lords and Commons, chosen to be her Representatives in Parliament, residing here, perhaps the whole Year, certainly during the Sessions, with their Wives, Children and domestics; if we compute the Numbers, whom Business and

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whom Pleasure (as they will then have no Court or Parliament in *Dublin*) will bring over hither, we shall be convinced how large a Part of the Treasures of that Kingdom will annually come hither, without any Possibility of returning. Even the Taxes, to be remitted hither, will make no inconsiderable Addition to the Account.

In what Proportion *Ireland* may be supposed capable of paying her Share of the common Taxes, must be left to the Wisdom and Integrity of the Persons, whom his Majesty shall please to appoint in each Kingdom, to make a fair and equitable

table

table Calculation. But it is apparent, that even immediately, upon the very first good Effects of an Union, she will be able to pay a considerable Portion of the necessary, annual Expences of the Government. Thus *Great Britain* will be greatly relieved under the Weight and Pressure of her Taxes. She may be enabled to support another War, when the Ambition or Injustice of her Neighbours shall make it necessary.

Even these Reasons, for it would be tedious to enumerate more, may convince us how advantageous an Union will be to *Great Britain*. Every Reader,
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in Proportion to his Abilities, will find other Arguments, and some, perhaps, better. We shall only mention one more, to prove, that this is the proper Time for proposing it.

The *Irish*, by a late Spirit of Improvement, and an Emulation of Industry, encouraged by Præmiums, however inconsiderable in themselves, are increasing the Wealth of the Nation. The Natives are growing more industrious; their Lands are a little better cultivated, and their Manufactures, of all Kinds, improving. Their Progress is indeed slow, but they are in the right Road, and every last Step is an Encouragement

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couragement to proceed. Yet as even a little Addition of Wealth, to them, who have lived long in extreme Poverty, is apt to inspire them with Insolence and Vanity, perhaps the *Irish*, influenced by such Motives, may hereafter unwisely refuse an Union, if offered to them, and certainly it will never be a wise Measure to force them to accept it. The People of *Great Britain* are too sincerely the Friends of Liberty to attempt it, and the *Irish* are of too warm a Spirit tamely to submit to it, although Resistance would be their Ruin. May the good Providence of God, which watches over the

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Happiness of these Nations, forbid even a Thought of it.

Let us now consider what Advantages the *Irish* may promise themselves by an Union. Let them then imagine their Country, within a few Years, improved in the Number of its Inhabitants, in the Health of its Climate, in the Cultivation of its Lands, in a Degree of Riches and Plenty, which they must not expect in Ages, according to their present Measures of Improvement. Let them see their lowest Natives reclaimed from Ignorance and Superstition, and animated with Sentiments of Liberty, which do Honour to human Nature,

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as well as best secure its Happiness. Let them see their Ports opened to the Trade of the World, and their Ships going abroad with their own Manufactures, and returning with the Blessings, which Providence hath divided to different Countries, as if with Design to promote an universal Commerce of good Offices among Mankind, for their mutual Happiness. If Ambition have any Effect upon them, let them seize this Opportunity of entering into the Affairs of *Europe*; of having an honourable Share in determining the Fate of other Nations, and fixing their own for ever.

At

At present *Ireland* hath no Character, not even a Name in the Affairs of *Europe*. Her little Regalia, her Parliaments and their Debates are confined within their own Kingdom. And however the Gentlemen of *Ireland* may love to talk of Freedom and Independance; however warm they are in their Sentiments of Liberty, yet these Sentiments (altho' hereafter they may be of Use to the great Cause of Liberty in general) with regard to them are purely imaginary. No Nation is truly free, that cannot resent the Insults, and repel the Violence of her Enemies; but *Ireland* hath really no Being,

F 2 as

as a Nation ; neither domestic Trade, nor foreign Influence, but under the Protection of *Great Britain*. Should she withdraw that Protection, *Ireland* must fall a Prey to the first Invader, without even the Power of chusing herself a Master.

When *Ireland* considers her own Poverty, she must naturally be alarmed at the Names of Taxes, Customs and Excise. But let her recollect, that although she should be obliged to pay all Duties of Import and Export equally with *Great Britain*, yet the Sum of the Duties of Exportation will always be proportioned to her Degree

Degree of Trade, which will sufficiently enable her to pay them, and that those of Importation will in a great measure depend upon herself.

All Duties, in general, of Importation, may be divided into those upon Goods, that contribute to Luxury, and those, of which we have the same kind, although in less Perfection, manufactured in our own Country. We might frugally live without those of the first sort, such as Wines, &c. or might in part supply the Want of them at Home ; or as they are generally used only by the Rich, the Payment of them is a Tax only upon Folly and
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Extravagance. The second kind of Duties is laid upon the Importation of Goods, in some measure necessary, such as Silks, Velvets, &c. but which, in tolerable Perfection, may be manufactured at Home. The Duties upon this Kind can never be laid too high, that the Poor of the Country may be employed, and the Rich may be punished for their Luxury in encouraging foreign Manufactures.

From hence it is manifest, that the *Irish* will have it in their own Power, in some measure, to fix the gross Sum of their Duties of Importation, nor can they ever be greatly oppres-

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oppressive, but by their own extreme Wickedness and Folly. The same Reasoning is equally just with regard to the Excise.

We might here congratulate the *Irish* upon one Duty, which, it is hoped, may effectually put a Stop to their ruinous Trade with *France*, and amount almost to a Prohibition of *French* Wines. Their Lands will soon be better employed, than in grazing Cattle for foreign Exportation; or whatever they shall think proper to feed for that Purpose, besides what may be necessary for our own Colonies, *Jamaica*, and the *Leeward* Islands,

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Islands, the *French* will be obliged to purchase at their own Price. Whereas at present they not only send their Beef and Butter and Money, but, it is to be feared, even their Wool, for a most destructive Commodity. Such Trade is not merely unprofitable. It is pernicious in a moral, as well as mercantile Sense. Wines, in large Quantities, are not a simple Commodity. They bring with them every Excess of Luxury, Riot, and Diseases. And although the Gentlemen of *Ireland* will lose many jovial Hours of Mirth and Good-humour, yet we think too highly of their Patriotism to doubt, that they will cheer-fully

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fully resign them to the Good of their Country.

But however the Duties of Import and Export may be rated, the Land-tax, the most formidable of all others, will be laid according to the present Valuation of Land; consequently the raised Rents, which may be justly expected from an Union, will never be liable to be taxed. Yet as no public Benefit, however great, should be purchased, without absolute Necessity, by doing Injury to private Persons, there is one particular Distress, which deserves to be considered. There are some Estates in *Ireland*, which are let upon Leases of

G Lives,

Lives, renewable for ever; consequently, whatever Advantages the Tenants may gain by an Union, the Landlord will be obliged to pay the Land-tax, without being able to raise the Income of his Estate.

Among other Schemes to redress such Grievances, the following may merit some Regard. The Crown-Rents, and Quit-Rents, which these Estates already pay, and which are in Truth a Land-tax, although under another Name, may be remitted. But such Distresses as this are inconsiderable. It is mentioned only to shew, with how much Equity this great Scheme may be executed.

It

It was not intended in this Paper to propose any Plan of Equalities, upon which an Union might be formed. They may, without Difficulty, be fairly and equitably stated. The Writer intended only to shew how desirable, how equally advantageous such a Measure may be to both Nations. Let him, however, be forgiven, if he presume, though with all due Modesty, to offer his Sentiments upon a very delicate Part of his Subject, that of bringing the Lords of *Ireland* into the *British* Parliament. When the Number shall be fixed, which can only be done by a Scale of Equalities formed

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on a Proportion of Taxes, let them not be elected every Parliament, as the Peers of *Scotland* are. If his *Majesty* shall be graciously pleased to consent to it, let the Honour of sitting in the *British* House of Peers, with all other Privileges of the Peerage, be granted for Life to the Persons first chosen in their own Country, whether they be chosen there by Ballot or Election. When any of them dies, let another be appointed in the same manner. Thus all Inconveniences of frequent Elections, Disputes, Quarrels, Animofities will be, in a great measure, avoided. The Peers of *Ireland* will be more united with those of *Great Britain*; they will

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will come over independent of the Caprice, Resentments and Inconstancy of their Electors; they will bring with them such unbiaffed, uninfluenced Sentiments, as are worthy of a *British* Parliament.

But indeed there is little Apprehension, that they will bring with them any other Sentiments of Loyalty and Liberty, than those upon which a limited Monarchy is founded. There is, in general, this Difference between the Subjects of the two Kingdoms, that the Protestants of *Ireland* are more clear and unmixed in their Zeal for the present Government. Their Loyalty to their Prince, and

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and their Love of their Country, are yet untainted with that unhappy Distinction between Court and Country. I had almost said, that unmeaning Distinction. A Prince, who knows our Constitution, if not irritated by an unnecessary, malignant Opposition to his Measures, and the People, if not inflamed by the bad Arts of a few designing, ambitious, turbulent Spirits, will easily distinguish, and naturally pursue the public Good. Their Interests are truly inseparable. They should not be supposed capable of being divided, and ought not to be distinguished away by Party or by Factions. At least, it is a Contradiction to the

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the Principles of Patriotism, certainly to those of Liberty, to enlist in a Party against the Court; to think it a Breach of Engagements ever to imagine it right in its Measures, or give a Vote in its Favour. As if his Majesty were the only Person in his Dominions, incapable of knowing his own Interests, and his Ministers were always most infallibly either weak or wicked. May we not hope, that the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who shall be chosen into either House of Parliament, as they will come disengaged and unbiassed, will have some Influence in preventing the fatal Consequences of these

unhappy

unhappy Divisions; this unnecessary Spirit of Opposition.

Let us now acknowledge, that there is one Difficulty, in the Execution of this great Plan, which yet seems insuperable. For if no private, single Person should be injured for the sake of whatever Advantages to the Public, it is with infinite Concern we mention a most venerable Body of Men, the Right Reverend the Lords Bishops of *Ireland*, as likely to suffer most essentially by an Union, and without any possible Equivalent to be paid them. Even the public Good must suffer with them. To their Eloquence in the House of

of Lords of *Ireland*; to their Wisdom, that Nation is in a great measure indebted for all the salutary Laws made there. They would, undoubtedly, bring with them, into a *British* House of Peers, the same Wisdom, the same Eloquence and Integrity; but it were an Outrage to their sacred Character, to propose bringing them so far from the better Business of their holy Function, as it would be Cruelty to expose them to Voyages and Journies, hazardous and fatiguing. I doubt not, that in a just Contempt of the Vanities of this World, they will gladly resign these troublesome Offices of Greatness, which their Obedience to the Laws
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alone could oblige them to accept, and hereafter place their true Dignity in *adorning the Doctrines* of the Gospel by the Influence of their Example, and Preaching.

Other Difficulties may probably arise in forming, and some in executing a Plan of such Extent. But when we consider, in how short a time the Union with *Scotland* was brought to Perfection, in Opposition to a national Dislike to it, an ancient Antipathy between the Kingdoms, a total Difference of Laws, Religion, Customs, and Manners, we should not be discouraged from attempting a Scheme, in which none
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of these Difficulties appear ; which promises such Advantages to both Nations, and so much greater than either can enjoy in a separate State.

Not that we mean to represent it as intirely free from Difficulty. It would not then do that Honour, which will continue as long as the Benefits it shall produce, to the Persons, who shall carry it into Execution. In Truth, it requires Men of Abilities and Probity ; of clear, dispassionate Tempers, who will meet together with a mutual Spirit of Condescension and Compliance with Circumstances and Necessities on either Side ; who can so far

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throw off the partial Affections and Prejudices of human Nature, as to look upon both Kingdoms, as their common Country, for whose Welfare they should be equally zealous. Clamours, Resentments and Reproaches they must expect from the Populace of both Nations; for a Scheme of this Kind is too large, and of too great a Variety of Parts for the Generality of People to take in at one View. Besides, Persons of partial Interests, disaffected Spirits, and weak Understandings, which are generally joined with warmer Tempers, will find abundant occasion to misrepresent it.

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However, let us, on the contrary, recollect, that there never was, there probably never will be a Time more proper for executing it. We are at Peace with the whole World, and his Majesty hath assured us, that he hath received from all the contracting Powers in the Definitive Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* the most full and clear Declarations of their Resolution to preserve the general Peace. No foreign Power will therefore interrupt or hinder the Progress of our Scheme.

This is a Reflection of such Importance, that if *France* had considered how much her Interests

terests were concerned, or rather had not her whole Forces been engaged in opposing the great Duke of *Marlborough*, had she thrown even a small Body of Men into *Scotland*, when the Union was proposed there, she would have effectually for that Time, and, perhaps, for ever, prevented it.

Let us add, that there never was a Period of Time, when *Great Britain* was more at Peace within herself; surely of more Consequence to her Happiness, than to be at Peace with the whole World. The late Rebellion hath convinced the Nation, in general, how much the Preservation of our
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Religion, Property, Liberty, and Laws, depends upon the Preservation of his Majesty and his Royal Family.

The Writer of this Paper would not flatter even a King, nor would he presume to praise Him, if he could avoid it. Some Characters and Persons are really above Praise. Were it not, therefore, absolutely necessary to our Subject, we would not presume to say, that his Majesty is equally the Father of all his People; and equally concerned for their common Happiness. To his Probity, as an honest Man, *the noblest Work of God*, according to an Expression of
Mr.

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Mr. *Pope*, the Happiness and Interests of Nations might be intrusted. What good Effects may we not promise ourselves in this great Affair from His Justice, Integrity, and Love for His People? Upon His Choice of Commissioners, the Success of it will in some measure depend, and, happily for us, there never was a Set of Men in both Kingdoms better qualified for this great Work. And although the present Ministry have given Peace to *Europe*; although they have restored to this Nation its † ancient Friendship and good Correspondence with *Spain*, which

† See the King's Speech.

neither

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neither the Treaties of twenty Years, nor a long, expensive War could recover; although they have already made, and are continuing to make a successful and happy Progress in the Reduction of the Interest of the National Debt, yet all these great things only make us expect yet greater. The present Scheme is truly worthy of their Abilities; and since Fame is the noblest Reward in this World for Virtue, next to its own Consciousness of well-doing, let them be assured, besides the Gratitude of the present Age, it will be remembered to latest Posterity, that the Kingdoms of *Great Britain*

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tain and Ireland were united,
when *GEORGE* the Second was
their King, and *Mr. Pelham*
was Chancellor of the *Exche-*
quer.

F I N I S.