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# REMARKS

PREPARATORY TO

## THE ISSUE

OF THE

## RENEWED NEGOTIATION

FOR

# PEACE.

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negotiation at Lisle.

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## REMARKS,

Ec. Ec. Ec.

*Mr. Hay. 97*

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**T**HE circumstances under which the negotiation for peace is now renewed, are such as seem to portend a different issue from that which we lately witnessed; and this difference calls upon us for a course of conduct, adapted to the issue which we have now in expectation. If the prospect of an aggravated war required, on our part, a full display of the means we possessed for preventing or lessening the calamities that necessarily attend it, the contemplation of approaching peace, under circumstances entirely new and untried, discovers to us the high importance of exerting every faculty to secure and improve the advantages it may afford, and to repel or control the inconveniences it may very possibly cause us to encounter. The union of the public  
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force, directed by firmness, enabled us to attain the former object; the national wisdom, exerted with vigilance and fidelity, can furnish us with the only means for accomplishing the latter. Two things that we have principally to consider are, *what it is* that we are desirous of acquiring by means of *a peace*; and *how far* the diplomatic arrangement that we call "A PEACE," is *capable of procuring it?*

In wishing to make *a peace* with France, we have no wish to assimilate Great Britain to France, nor to favour the success of any project tending to introduce that revolutionary system, which our arms have so long and triumphantly opposed. By means of the war, we have hitherto prevented that assimilation; let us consider how, when the means furnished by the war shall be removed, we may *still continue* to guard against that effect.

If a cause of such enormous magnitude as the terrible conflict that we are on the eve of terminating was alone capable of defeating that effect, and if, as soon as that cause shall be removed, the adverse cause shall be left to operate without control, it becomes a question of sound and necessary policy to inquire, what means may be substituted in order to continue that salutary resistance. For it will certainly not be denied, by the great majority of the nation, that, if the

corruption of the rising generation, or of the constituted system of our government, were to become the necessary consequences of peace, war, with all its attendant horrors, would be a far more salutary condition : because, the issue of war affords always a *chance* of success ; whereas such a produce from peace would fix *the certainty* of ruin. If we examine the operation of the war in respect of the point of view here presented, we shall perceive that it has been productive of two marked and unequivocal effects ; first, it has operated *externally* as a bulwark raised along the limits of the empire, by which every means of political assimilation with France has been prevented from entering ; and secondly, it has operated *internally* as a fortress, in which a desperate and active conspiracy of traitors have been immured, and by that means disabled from corresponding to any material degree with the external enemy, or of extending beyond their own individuals this system of assimilation. Let us suppose this bulwark dismantled, this fortress razed, the intercourse unimpeded, the enemy free to enter, the conspirators at home free to converse, consult, co-operate with the revolutionary tribes, which no diplomatic arrangements whatever can possibly reach, either to extirpate or reform :—and can we dare, on this view of

the case, to affirm that a *peace* will be the restorer of happiness to the nation ; of that only happiness to which the British people can aspire, the safety and perpetuity of their constitution, as their only solid security for preserving life, freedom, and property ?

Let it not be said, that the cessation of war will of necessity cause all our troubles to cease ; that peace will replace us where peace on all former occasions has been used to place us : let us deprecate the adoption of an error so dangerous and illusive ! It is impossible, without deserting every principle of sound reason, to argue from past pacifications with France to that now before us : they differ in every essential and constituent principle. The kingdoms of England and of France, though founded upon bases substantially contrary to each other in their qualities, yet grew up side by side. The long process of events that modified their absolute characters, determined also their mutual relations ; and the collision of interests, during a lapse of ages, produced a correspondence of harmony, which war might interrupt, but which the discontinuance of war, or the restoration of peace, suffered to return. That case is distinctly different from what is now before us. The correspondence between that ancient fabric of govern-

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vernment and our own has ceased, because the fabric itself has altogether ceased to exist. With its successor, we have no relations of peace *to restore*. The only relations that have ever subsisted between the French Republic and the British Monarchy, are relations not of harmony but of discord ; they have never met but as belligerent powers, who have never known the relations of peace ; their only correspondence has been as adverse parties in a war the most fierce and resolute that the world has seen, because instituted from principles the most hostile that have ever given action to political force. When this relation shall be discontinued, it must be succeeded by *a novelty*, by an unproved and questionable condition, of the harmonious character, of which men will affirm little, in proportion to the depth of their wisdom and the solidity of their knowledge. The old relations with France cannot revive ; they were those of her monarchy, produced (as we have said) by experience and time : that monarchy is now destroyed, and it is succeeded by a republic, in which many things are far more changed than the form of the government.

The distinction here made may perhaps be scouted ostensibly by the secret enemies of the state, as a mere sophism ; but they know that it  
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is, nevertheless, a distinction that intimately concerns our welfare : that in truth is the sophism, that would seduce us to reason of the republic of France as of its monarchy, merely because they both have borne the name of France. The constraint produced by the war has been the great and insurmountable impediment to the extension of those corrosive principles in England, which have dissolved so many governments, and have so widely relaxed the moral bonds of European society. France is the exhaustless source of those principles, emitted and propelled with effervescent vigour, from her central station, in every direction throughout Europe. Between that England and that France, peace is to be restored, or, to speak with correctness, war is to be discontinued ; for it cannot be too strongly inculcated, that the *restoration of peace* supposes peace once to have existed ; and that, by discontinuing the war, we regain a former position ; but where peace has *never existed*, there it cannot be *restored*. On discontinuing the present war, therefore, we shall have to *create*, and not merely to *restore*, relations of peace between our new neighbour and the constitution of England ; a work which must suggest to the mind of even the most hasty observer, something far more arduous than the ordinary routine of diplomatic pacification. Re-  
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lations of peace signify that relative position of two powers, in respect of each other, which shall enable each, without molestation from the other, to preserve, cultivate, and enjoy, whatever either nation esteems to be the means of producing its own internal social happiness. It is the business of France to concern herself with the means of procuring her social happiness, and it forms no part of our speculation ; but the means of establishing our own, the method by which it is to be preserved, cultivated, and enjoyed, as it constitutes the whole of that for which life can be desired, so it forms also the most interesting object to which we can direct our contemplation.

In speaking collectively of the British nation, we can have no hesitation in affirming that these means consist in the *integrity and perpetuity of the British Constitution* ; of that fruitful and unequivocal source of all our public happiness and prosperity. To preserve, to cultivate, and enjoy our constitution, as the cause of that public prosperity and happiness, and at the same time of our individual tranquillity which necessarily results from thence, is therefore the object to be sought for in peace ; and, in our avidity to procure a peace, it greatly behoves us to take care that we insure this object.

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Upon all former occasions this was the necessary consequence of peace, because the removal of the constraint and harassment of war left each country to its own quiet and its ancient habits ; and neither country, in those times, comprehended within itself a permanent cause operating externally against the security or tranquillity of the other. But the revolution of the French Government has discovered, in France, the existence of such a cause as is here described ; a cause, which (acting either in the government, or independently of it) is hostile and powerful in its effects against all foreign establishments ; and to prevent the ruinous consequences of which, war, as the only possible mode of prevention we could employ, became our indispensable security.— With *this cause* we are to be *at peace* ; that is to say, we are to discontinue the opposition of war. To make peace with essential hostility, appears to be almost a contradiction in nature ;—assuredly, then, we ought not to esteem it a transaction unattended with difficulty.

In discontinuing the war, we remove a strong and massive buttress, which our ancient fabric and the moral convulsions of Europe had rendered necessary. If those convulsions appear to *intermit*, (for no one is qualified to affirm that they begin really to *subside*) if we become dissatisfied

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Tied with this rude but solid and safe support, and demand something more elegant and light, let us at least beware, that with all its beauty the substitute be still a *support*. That if we chuse to alter the external *form*, the internal *principle* may be preserved. Above all things, let us not order that propitious and faithful prop to be removed, until whatever is to succeed it be ready to take its place; lest the failure of the edifice produce a mound of ruin, the everlasting monument of our weakness, our abjectness, and folly.

What specific power ought to be substituted to the vigour of war, is a question that surpasses a common calculation; the legislative wisdom alone is adequate to determine it. But, that some such power should be created, is obvious to common sense; and it behoves us all to be sensible of the extreme importance of maintaining, under pacific relations, the most effectual opposition to the progress of that evil, which the British Empire in arms has hardly been able to resist.

To render this great truth the more perspicuous, let us survey with some attention this hostile principle, this grand foe to the principles on which all the ancient governments of Europe depend, that is to say, to the peace of those several governments; let us examine both its internal nature, and its external proportions; let

us impress upon our minds the character and history of that *Jacobin Confraternity*, which a peace with the government of France must in a great measure restore to the free exercise of all its powers. To do this, we shall not work a work already so well prepared to our hands, but shall borrow the forcible remarks of a writer, whose just sense of the calamities threatening every society, and every communion of Christians, has directed him to trace the origin and growth of this tremendous confederacy :

“ At the commencement of the French Revolution (says this philosophical inquirer) a sect appeared under the name of Jacobins, propounding, that all men are free and equal ; but, in the name of *that equality*, of that principle of licentious dissolution, they trampled upon altars and thrones ; and in the name of *that liberty*, they summoned all the nations of the earth to embark in the miseries of rebellion, and the horrors of anarchy.

“ At the first instant of its appearance, this sect consisted of not less than three hundred thousand adepts, supported by two million arms, obeying its authority in every part of France, and equipped with fire-brands, pikes, axes, and all the horrible armory of the revolution.

“ Who then, were these men who seemed to spring, as it were, suddenly, from the bowels of the  
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the earth, but yet in truth were ready provided and furnished with all their doctrines and weapons, their concerted plots, and their savage determinations? Whence could have proceeded this army of adepts, those schemes of desolation directed against every religious and every civil establishment of our ancestors? Whether did the revolution produce them, or they the revolution? And if, as is manifest, the latter be the case, what were they before they displayed themselves in union? Where was their school, and who their masters? What are their ultimate designs? And, when the French Revolution shall be concluded, will they then cease at length to be the torments of Christendom, the assassins of princes, and the fanaticisers of mankind? These are questions which are every thing but indifferent, either to the nations themselves at large, or to those who are charged with the conduct of public happiness, or the maintenance of social order."

"The French Revolution (he justly observes) was only a trial of the strength of the confederacy; their ultimate projects extend over the whole civilized earth,"\*

\* *Memoires pour servir a l'Historie du Jacobinisme*; or, *Memoirs serving to illustrate the History of Jacobinism*.—Preface. By M. Barruel. We have been obliged here to compress some of his arguments; but we strongly recommend the whole work to the consideration of the English reader.

To oppose this formidable enemy (rendered indeed at that time more powerful from acting in the organ of the usurped authority of France,) we were compelled to have recourse to war. We are now to desist from war ; the question is, by what means shall we continue to oppose its inroads ?

When the force which the state of war lodges in the hands of government shall be withdrawn ; when the constraint produced by the pressure of this force shall be relaxed ; and when the destructive principle now controlled, abroad and at home, shall gain strength and liberty for operating its natural effects ; the public interest will peremptorily require, that a supplemental energy be found, compatible with the state of peace or disarmament to which we shall be reduced, yet capable of coercing that evil principle, and keeping it still in check. There is but one method by which this can be done ; namely, by investing the laws with an accession of vigour, proportioned in some degree to that reduction of the public strength which must then necessarily take place. If the military force is to be reduced, and if the function which the military force now discharges has been found necessary for the security of the constitution, we must supply its place, in some degree, by a functionary capable of filling it ; and, in that event, the civil  
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power is the only candidate to succeed. If we relax the former without invigorating the latter, if all we do is to facilitate the entrance of mischief by removing the impediments which at present obstruct it, instead of taking measures to perpetuate its exclusion; we shall negotiate in a peace nothing more nor less than the easy admission and ultimate ascendancy of Jacobinism and French reform.

That peace, therefore, calls for some wise and strenuous measures, in order that the sheathing of the blade may not become the surrender of the sword, must be manifest to all who will suffer their minds without prejudice to dwell in contemplation of this subject. And these measures can only have for their object those antagonists, whom the discontinuance of the war will not disarm but invigorate; that is to say, the internal and external adversaries of our established government. Against the latter no method of guard, however indispensable, as yet subsists; yet it must form one of the relations of peace that we have to create with our new neighbour on the Continent.

If Jacobinism were an appropriate instrument or faculty of the French republican *government*, and if it were to be exerted in war only, as a national and very formidable method of attack, we might then flatter ourselves that the faith of treaty could

could suspend its operation, and that it might be laid up in the political arsenals of France until a future war should again call it forth. But its union with the power of government is entirely casual; it may act in that power, or it may act without it. The French government can therefore pledge nothing capable of constraining a cause, whose operation may either elude its vigilance or defeat its power.\* It is beyond any yet experienced, *imperium in imperio*; a usurping system counteracting all regular authority and public treaty, absolving from all bonds of allegiance, and authorising even perjury in prosecuting the great end of subverting existing governments. Unless then, when war shall be discontinued an adequate force of constraint be substituted, this principle must become in the first instance the haraſſer of the public peace, and eventually its destroyer.

With respect to the internal enemy, a feeble guard has indeed been raised in the civil power, but which owes its real efficiency to that energy with which a state of war necessarily invests the supreme executive authority. When that energy

\* The truth of this remark appears with the most brilliant evidence in the actual condition of France, where the revival of the revolutionizing clubs has raised the apprehensions of that very government who are to be contracting parties with us in the present negotiation for peace.

shall be reduced, that guard will be enfeebled, and the enemy whom it has hitherto controlled will acquire a proportionate enlargement.

It is the crafty and ingenious resource of treason, and not declined even by less criminal faction, to exclaim against every new constraint of law, however salutary, as if it were an effort made to enthrone tyranny; and our natural abhorrence of tyranny disposes the unthinking part of mankind to resist, without examination, every object on which the charge of tyranny has been laid. By this artifice, the passage to civil commotion and rebellion is kept perpetually open, the imaginations of the multitude being industriously engaged to attend exclusively to those evils which grow out of tyranny. But there is a well known fable that may be aptly produced here, to exemplify the simplicity and fatal dullness of this method of persuasion. We shall give it in the language in which it is current:

“ A doe that had but one eye, used to graze  
 “ near the sea; and that she might be the more  
 “ secure from harm, she kept her blind side  
 “ towards the water, from whence she had no  
 “ apprehension of danger, and with the other  
 “ surveyed the country she fed. By this vigi-  
 “ lance and precaution she thought herself in the  
 “ utmost security; when a *fly fellow*, with two  
 “ or three of his companions, who had been  
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“ poaching after her several days to no purpose,  
 “ at last took a boat, and fetching a compass  
 “ upon the sea, came gently down upon her, and  
 “ shot her. The doe, in the agonies of death,  
 “ breathed out this doleful complaint : *Oh hard*  
 “ *fate ! that I should receive my death's wound*  
 “ *from that side whence I expected no ill ; and be*  
 “ *safe in that part where I looked for the most*  
 “ *danger !*”

Had the author of this short but instructive tale designed to bequeathe to the British nation the most valuable compendium of advice, adapted to the arduous crisis in which we at present stand, he could not have done it more ably, or brought it home more acutely to our feelings, than in this little paradigm. The moral is not difficult to extract, and its quality is inestimable.

We possess all the experience necessary to enable us to apply the moral. We have so long and so watchfully surveyed the side from which alone we have hitherto suspected danger to proceed, and we have in consequence guarded so thoroughly against its approach, that we have there nothing left us to apprehend. On the other hand, we have received some severe and formidable notifications of the existence, or possible advance, of danger from that other side ; where our suspicions, engaged in a contrary direction, had never leaned.

leaned. And we have also been witnesses of events on the great theatre of the world, which cannot be better exemplified than by this fable of the doe. With all this warning light, this preparatory notice, then, it will be the sole fruit of our own abject folly, if we are finally reduced to make that melancholly and silly avowal: “ *Oh! hard fate! that We should receive Our death’s wound from that side whence We expected no ill, and be safe in that part where We looked for the most danger!*”

It is a character that marks the imperfection of human knowledge, that we are ever liable, from the narrow compass of our view, to consider as an *absolute* truth, that which in fact derives its quality entirely from *comparison*. And we accordingly establish a maxim upon that truth, and apply it as a general axiom, when a subsequent and more enlarged view of the matter shews us, that what we at first esteemed to be general is only partial, and subsists by relation to some still more comprehensive principle. We shall endeavour to render this more clear by an example. During a considerable part of the early history of mankind, the sun’s station at noon was considered as marking out the south so *absolutely*, that *the south* and *the meridian* were assumed as terms convertible; and to go southward of the meridian, would have been held a contradiction in language. But

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when the restless activity of man had passed the equatorial line, it was then discovered that the popular and prevailing apprehension of the sun's path and southern station was unsound, and that what was true in relation to the northern hemisphere, was not true absolutely or with general application to the whole earth. This is the analogical character of all our knowledge ; and of no part of our knowledge more strikingly, than of that on which, as the foundation, we raise the complicated superstructure of political science. In the dawn of history, and throughout its long career, we read with indignation of the force of tyranny, exercised either by individuals or by united chieftains : we observe the tranquillity and prosperity, sought for by man in every circumstance of life, thwarted or subverted by the vigour of that tyranny : we see with admiration the various examples of manly and virtuous resistance exercised against that tyranny : we exult in their success, we exclaim at their frequent failure :—and, from this view of human history, we do not hesitate to pronounce that tyranny is intrinsically hostile to every scheme of social happiness.

But, not satisfied with this wise and just conclusion, we extend it a degree beyond what its premises will warrant ; and because that history has presented no experience of an evil principle  
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that could rival tyranny, in the hideousness of its character or the atrocity of its effects, we ventured to pronounce *absolutely*, that tyranny was *the* grand foe of social security and comfort ; and that every civil establishment ought to be constructed with exclusive reference to that object, as the only one that could require a principle of constant and systematic resistance. Such was our inveterate error on this important subject, similar in quality to that which supposed, that the sun was absolutely and for ever to the southward of the earth. But the chain of events which compose the sum of knowledge by which our judgments are instructed, has of late days contributed a prodigious accession to that knowledge. We have lived to see an æra, analogous to that which undeceived our forefathers on the meridian station of the sun. As they discovered the two-fold aspect of the earth, so have we discovered the two-fold aspect of society. WE have passed the POLITICAL LINE, as THEY did the EQUATORIAL ; and the event of the passage has equally extended our philosophical horizon, and essentially altered our view of things. It has shewn us, that the rule we supposed to be general and absolute, is only partial and relative. It has taught us to ascend to the first and governing principle, to which we were before unable to attain. It has proved to us,

us, that what we held of the hostile and mischievous character of tyranny was true, because the same is true of that more *general* principle which that event has brought out to light; and which comprises tyranny as a *species*. It has demonstrated, that *the* grand foe and mortal bane of social life is, THE ABUSE OF SOCIAL POWER; or of the power resulting from the natural energies of man consolidated in society, and producing an aggregate force capable of working the mightiest effects: and which becomes good or bad, only according to the rule by which it is directed. That this pernicious principle is the same, whatever be the mode, or whoever be the persons, through which the abuse takes place. That tyranny is only *one mode* of this abuse: that although tyranny is that mode of which the former history of man, down to the present times, offers the most frequent examples, yet that there are *other modes* and instruments, by which the abuse of that power may be effected. And lastly, that the recent events attending the great moral revolution in Europe have exemplified, by instances equally strong with any furnished in history, the modes and instruments by which the abuse of social power may be accomplished, independently of that which has hitherto been understood by the designation of *tyranny*.

In this state it is that we now stand. It is for us to use our experience, and with expedition; and to impress upon our minds that new and eventful truth, that the ABUSE OF SOCIAL POWER, (whatever be the order in the state that conspires for that abuse), is the real and ultimate source of all civil calamity, and that which it is the duty and the interest of all to unite in repressing. Our enemies are forward to exclaim, that our principles and system are antiquated, and require a salutary renovation. Let us so far agree with their doctrine, though not with their practice in this instance, as to desist from their stale and antiquated *hue and cry* after an imaginary preponderance of the Crown, and direct it against the really formidable power of the Confederacy, that has succeeded in subverting every government where their principles could be established with success. The times have been, no doubt, when the liberties of England were menaced from the Crown. Those times are now gone by; and we owe to our illustrious ancestors that wise and strong defence against the Crown, the solidity of which a century's experience has only served to establish. The present times are radically different. The antiquated cry of *tyranny*, in the present state of society, is like that of *raw-head and bloody-bones* to children. Among the *perfect ignorant*, such a word may produce a  
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transient effect; but, to present such a ground for serious alarm to the great body of the nation, in the present state of their experience, is the highest effrontery of impudence—it is the ruffian who would direct our fears upon a shadow, that he may the more securely cut our throat. Society moves now in a very different course, and is actuated by a combination of principles widely different from what was the case when the Crown was the just object of alarm. To borrow a sea phrase, *We are running on a different tack*. We have other shoals to clear, other rocks to shun. And we may add, it is a tack on which nothing but extreme skill, caution, and activity at *the helm*, can prevent the vessel of the State from upsetting.

From these general remarks, we shall deduce the following particular ones :

1st. That in order to constrain, or defeat, the machinations of an external enemy with whose government we are to be at peace, it will be absolutely necessary to render the subjects of that government liable to regulations not hitherto found expedient.

2dly. In order to enable the Law, or its executive ministers, to maintain that superiority over the internal activity of sedition, which can alone establish general confidence and tranquillity throughout the nation, it will be necessary that  
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the Legislature should invest the law with an accession of vigour, bearing a proportion to the strength of the adversary it must coerce, and to the diminution of energy which the reduction of the military establishment must cause the government to sustain.

3dly. In order to promote the salutary effects of this provision, it will be no less necessary that the sound and upright majority of the nation, who now feel the importance of being in continual readiness to lend their personal services to the exigencies of government, should not desist from that spirit of vigilance and activity upon the establishment of a peace; but should, on the contrary, make every effort to *perpetuate* the practice, and even the *fashion*, of such loyal co-operation; and endeavour to reduce, to a more regular system, the means by which a prompt and general resistance may be at all times formed, to any future trains or conspiracies of sedition. Ever keeping in our minds the awful lesson, that from the want of such a wise and spirited correspondence and co-operation throughout the French Nation, their ancient government was subverted in a moment, and themselves thrown into that fundamental ruin, from which they are only now beginning to emerge.

4thly, *and lastly*, That in order to secure and perpetuate all these good effects, and that national

tional honour and prosperity to the production of which they all tend, it will be principally important, on setting down in peace, to yield the most serious and unremitting attention to the minds and principles of the *rising generation*. To excite an anxiety for this great and affecting object, equal to its importance, and equal also to the indifference which appears too generally to prevail. To transfuse into the breasts of those, to whom in the advanced period of our life we must entirely consign—the active exercise of all the powers of government, those sentiments passions and attachments which can alone establish the salvation of the country. To revive, with sedulous care, and by example, the fainting fire of religion ; and to promote, encourage, and invigorate that venerable learning, which has in all times been her best and her most faithful handmaid.

The importance of attending with enforced diligence to the minds and opinions of our youth, in order to meet and counteract the strenuous efforts made to corrupt them, is exposed with equal wisdom and generosity of sentiment by a writer, to whom we have already had recourse :

“ If some of our readers (says he) should conclude, from what has been said, that either Jacobinism must be extinguished, or civil society perish, I shall reply—it is true ; we must  
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indeed prepare ourselves for this alternative, either to perish, or to extinguish that sect. But I shall hasten to add, that to extinguish the sect, we are not to imitate its atrocities, or the sanguinary enthusiasm with which it inflates its votaries : we are not to massacre its professors, or to direct against them every dreadful instrument which they employ.—To extinguish a sect, we must attack it in its schools ; we must dispel its delusions, expose to light the absurdity and inconsistency of its principles, the atrocity of the means which it resorts to, and the abandoned wickedness of its preceptors : we must annihilate the *Jacobin*, but we must preserve the *man*. The whole sect exists by its opinions ; that existence will be gone, it will be doubly extinguished, when they who have once adhered to it shall abandon it, and shall return back to the sound and genuine principles of reason and society. Altho' the sect itself is a monster, yet all its the disciples are not monsters. The very care it employed to conceal from the majority its ultimate projects ; the extreme caution it used in imparting them only to the elect of its elect ; shewed clearly how much it dreaded the *desertion* of the majority of its disciples, if they became able to fathom the horrors of its mysteries."

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The following observations from the same Author, may well conclude this subject :

“ If France (says he) is so enthralled, that she may listen to no voice but that of the Demons of the Revolution, there is yet time to give warning to other nations. They have heard of the crimes and miseries of that revolution; it is necessary they should also know the fate that awaits them, if the sect of the Jacobins should finally prevail. It is necessary they should be apprised, that the revolution of their respective governments constitutes no less a part of the grand conspiracy, than that of France; and that the horrors of anarchy resulting from the dissolution of the French Empire, are but a portion of that general dissolution projected for all. It is necessary they should be assured, that their religions, their ministers and churches, their altars and thrones, are no less the devoted victims of the Jacobin Confederacy, than the religion, and priests, the altars and the throne of France.”

“ When a phantom of peace shall seem preparing to terminate the contest between the Jacobins and the Powers at War, it will then be necessary for those powers to ascertain, how far they can venture to rely on the faith of treaties. Then, it will be more than ever necessary to review the history of these wars, promoted by a sect that sent forth its legions not so much to conquer

quer thrones as to subvert them; that did not promise to its followers to reward them with the Crowns of Princes, of Kings, and Emperors, but exacted from them an oath to extirpate all Crowns, together with all Princes, Kings, and Emperors. Then more than ever it will behove them to reflect, that with sects the least dangerous contests are those which are conducted in the field of battle. That when rebellion and anarchy constitute the ground work of a sect, the sectaries may be disarmed, but the opinion resists, and the war is carried on in the heart. That a sect compelled to seek concealment, or to suspend its activity, is still the same sect. It may appear to sleep, but its quiet is that of a Volcano. It no longer disgorges its flames and torrents, but the latent fires circulate within, working out new vents, and preparing fresh explosions."

" I am well aware that there are periods even in the midst of danger when the sword must repose, and when resources are nearly exhausted. To the Governors of Nations I therefore resign the question concerning the means of force. But this I know, that whatever treaties may produce, there is a species of war which the confidence placed in treaties may render more calamitous; and this is, a war instituted from plots and secret conspiracies, the vows and oaths of which no treaties are strong enough to efface. Woe to  
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that Power, who shall have made his peace without having first well ascertained, *why* his enemy engaged him in the war ! The course which the Jacobins pursued before their first explosion, is the rule of that which they will continue to pursue before they explode again ; they will prosecute in secrecy the grand object of their confederacy, and it will remain for new disasters to inform the nations of Europe, that the French Revolution was only the first instance of that universal dissolution which their conspiracy has projected.”

With this luminous body of experience before our eyes, let us be careful to advance by the severest rule of wisdom. Let us suffer our jealousy or our confidence to be excited only by the real and tried qualities of things, and not by phrases or prejudices. When peace shall arrive, let us receive her with caution and formality. Let us study her nature and scrutinise her character, before we allow ourselves any habits of familiarity with her. Let us long watch her countenance, and inspect all her dealings. If she should stand the test of this severe inquisition, then let us approach her with confidence, and unite with her in intimacy. But, if she fails under this test ; if any thing doubtful or questionable appears about her, let us stand uncommitted, and instantly resort back to the ground of our security,

riety. Let us in that event renounce her intercourse, and prefer a boisterous safety to a soft and effeminate perdition: let us learn to distinguish at length between real and imaginary dangers: and let us never have to proclaim our imbecility in those melancholy words—“ OH!  
“ HARD FATE! THAT WE SHOULD RECEIVE  
“ OUR DEATH’S WOUND FROM THAT SIDE  
“ WHENCE WE EXPECTED NO ILL, AND  
“ BE SAFE IN THAT PART WHERE WE  
“ LOOKED FOR THE MOST DANGER!”

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## SUPPLEMENT.

AS a SUPPLEMENT to the preceding *Remarks*, we are persuaded the reader will accept with particular pleasure the following abstract from the wise and excellent *Resolutions* unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the joint vestry of the United Parishes of ST. GILES in the Fields, and ST. GEORGE, Bloomsbury, held the 26th of June last; and which we have accidentally met with, whilst the foregoing pages were in the hands of the Printer.

They express, with singular conciseness and perspicuity, all that we have been attempting to inculcate, and in a manner that confers an equal honour on the heads and hearts of the authors; and we derive a peculiar consolation from the reflection, that they proceed from a parochial meeting of two of the most populous and central parishes in the Metropolis.

ABSTRACT

## ABSTRACT, &amp;c.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT we are at present engaged in a war with an active and enterprising enemy, who does not conduct hostilities as formerly, by force of arms only, but by attempting to seduce the soldier and sailor from his duty, the people from their allegiance, and men of all descriptions from their love and attachment to the constitution of their country.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT there exist in this, as in every other nation of Europe, some persons so deluded as to be ready to second the views of our enemies, in disorganizing government, destroying the security of property, and setting the people loose from every restraint of religion, and of law.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the duty of those entrusted with the public safety, or who devote a large portion of their time to the public welfare, to warn their fellow-citizens of impending dangers, as well as to suggest the most likely means of preventing them; conscious that mankind are not easily roused into action by the apprehension of dangers however great, when seen at a distance; whilst the dread of immediate danger too frequently counteracts the means, and lessens the fortitude necessary to resist it.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT the prospect of an approaching peace ought not to lull us into a false security, as the *prospect* is by no means the *certainty*. Besides, it is evident that the best and surest way of obtaining an honourable peace, is to shew to the nations with whom we are at war, that, if we cannot obtain such, we are prepared and determined to oppose, with manly spirit, our enemies, both foreign and domestic.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT THOUGH WE SHOULD BE SO FORTUNATE AS TO OBTAIN THE BLESSING OF PEACE, WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE DANGER OF ANARCHY AS ENTIRELY OVER, ESPECIALLY AS THE STANDING FORCE OF THE COUNTRY MUST IN THAT CASE BE GREATLY REDUCED, AND THE CITIZENS LEFT TO PROTECT THEMSELVES.

“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT as the benefit arising from armed associations of the citizens has already been sufficiently evinced, no man who feels for the prosperity of his country, or for the security and happiness of his family, can hesitate a moment to sacrifice so trifling a part of his time or fortune to obtain an object for which every good and brave man would willingly lay down his life.

THE END.







