

composed ; nor, perhaps, are all the members of Peace Societies aware how nearly it was realized at one time, and how it yet failed entirely, notwithstanding its plausibility, to work for any good purpose.

Nations can, of course, only act through their Governments ; and of the European Governments in the days of Rousseau, the greater number were arbitrary in their constitution. And in forming his Court of Arbitration, he had of course to admit as its members, Governments represented by monarchs possessed of irresponsible power, such as the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Naples, and Sardinia, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia. He had no other materials of which to form his General Arbitration Court. Of the nineteen European States in his list of arbiters, twelve were despotic, and the larger half of the remainder nearly so ; and yet, in order to secure the desiderated blessing of peace, he had to lay it down as a fundamental rule, that each State should be maintained by all the others in its internal rights and powers, and that its territories, at the time of the union, should be guaranteed to it entire. On other principles no union of Governments could have taken place. To put down war was the object of his proposed confederation,—internal as certainly as foreign war ; for of what use would a Peace Association be under which there could arise such a war as that which raged between Great Britain and its American colonies, or between Austria and Hungary, or as that which deluged the streets of Paris with blood ? Nay, under a Peace Association composed of despotic and semi-despotic Governments, no such invasion of one country by the troops of another could have taken place as that of England by William III., which produced the Revolution of 1688. Rousseau's project, if practicable, would have secured peace, but it would have also, of necessity, arrested progress. It would have cursed the world with a torpid, unwholesome quiet, a thou-