

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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TENDENCIES OF THE AGE TO PEACE:

*An Address delivered at the late Anniversary of the Am. Peace Society, by
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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

Civilized and Christian men, who have reflected upon the subject, will concede that war is a great evil, and that it can never be trusted as an arbiter of right. They will admit all we can say of its prodigal waste and stupendous crimes ; they have heard the wailings it has caused ; they have measured the breadth and depth of its seas of blood and tears ; they have counted the cost of its preparations, and the still greater cost of its prosecution ; they have seen the havoc it has made in the world, felt the crushing burdens it has imposed upon peaceful industry, and mourned over the moral desolations which attend and follow its march. We can say nothing of its bad economy, bad morals, or bad consequences, which they have not already observed and lamented.

Yet they tell us that, so long as human nature shall remain as it is, that is, so long as avarice, ambition and revenge shall exist among men, so long will occasions arise when injustice must be repelled by force. While they admit that the advocates of peace have reason, religion and humanity on their side, they insist that more men are impelled by passion, than directed by reason ; that more will be subservient to those instincts and impulses which lead to violence, than to religion and humanity which dissuade from it.

These opinions, though less prevalent than they were a few years since, are doing harm to our cause. I have therefore thought that

I might do some humble service to your Society by attempting to show, that international peace is not only greatly to be desired, but reasonably to be expected ; that it is the normal condition of mankind, from which war is a departure ; and that, when this departure takes place, all moral forces exert their attractive power to draw the parties back into the equilibrium of peace. If it can be made to appear that the Providence of God in History aims at peace, and that Christian civilization tends toward peace, it may be hoped that our objects will no longer be deemed impracticable, and that more of our statesmen will vote for peace measures without fearing that their constituents will question their sanity.

We see proofs every day that men of action distrust the conclusions of men of thought, whom they call philosophers and theorists ; while men of thought, intent upon the discovery of abstract truth and absolute right, often fail to provide for the practical difficulties which intervene between their premises and their conclusions. A machinist would err, if he should estimate the working effect of an engine by calculating the motive power, without allowing for resistances ; and an artizan would commit an equal error, if he should count only the effect of friction and other resisting forces, without determining the motive power. Philosophers and reformers make a similar mistake, when they reason upon human affairs as they *should* be, and as they *would* be if men would do right, while they leave out of view those disturbing forces which the ignorance, prejudices and passions of men as they are, throw in the way ; and the statesman would make as wide a departure from truth in the opposite direction, if he should form his conclusions by reasoning on men and things as they are, without regard to what they should be. In consequence of these errors, the two parties seldom comprehend, and never satisfy each other.

All political and moral reforms which are destined to endure, and to change the face of society, must recognize both the infinite and the finite, the perfect and the imperfect, God and man ; and while they are in harmony with the designs of Providence, and the aspirations of humanity, they must also make allowance for the frailties and vices of men. It is one thing to show men how they ought to live ; it is another and more difficult, to persuade them to live as they ought. To accomplish the first, we have only to convince the understanding ; but in attempting the second, we encounter the prejudices of education, the force of habit, the stubbornness of pride, and the violence of passion. If we had only men's heads to

deal with, there would be no occasion for our meeting this evening ; for wars would have ceased long since, and the occupation of the Peace Society would be gone. But the metal to be fused and tempered, is more refractory ; and yet, if we have the full assurance that God is working on our side, we shall work on in faith and hope

We must admit that the ultimate triumph of peace is certain, or we must deny Providence, and declare Christianity a failure and a falsehood. For if God reigns in history, good must at length prevail over evil, and love over hatred. In a word, there must be a moral progress of the race. The mission of Christianity is "peace on earth, good will to men ;" that is, Christianity is love ; and, as it is the expression of God's love to men, so will its proper fruit be love among men. If this fruit is never to ripen, Christianity becomes the barren fig-tree ; but, if it is to ripen, wars must cease.

I am a believer in Providence and Progress. I think we may clearly perceive, in the past movements of history, the action of two conflicting forces. We see bad men pursuing selfish interests, unscrupulous of means, regardless of all rights but those of the strongest, and trampling justice and mercy in the dust ; and close behind this dismal picture we may perceive the hand of the Beneficent Ruler building a fairer fabric on the ruins which man had made, sowing the seeds of enduring good in the soil which lust of wealth and conquest had desolated, and employing the strength of the strong to cultivate and reap the harvest of good for the benefit of the weak, whom a little while before it had crushed beneath its iron heel. We see the hand of God directing human instruments to repair the work of human wrong, and we listen to that voice which was first heard along Judea's hills proclaiming peace to the nations.

When I speak of the progress of mankind, I do not confine the word to partial and temporary reforms, which are too frequently succeeded by violent reaction ; nor would I claim that the platform of our Society is the stage of the world's drama. Our orbit, and that of all other benevolent associations, must have one common centre, or like a comet moving in a parabola, we shall be lost in space. That centre is Christ ; and nothing deserves the name of Progress which does not gravitate toward that centre, and tend to bring men into subjection to the law of love.

As a proposition contains all its corollaries, so Christianity contains all moral reforms. Mankind have been rather clumsy in drawing correct inferences from its spirit, and in applying these practic-

ally ; but, whenever they shall enter into its holy of holies, instead of disputing about the best way of coming thither, they will perceive and proclaim that honesty, justice, mercy, temperance, charity, purity and peace, all flow from its pervading spirit of love ; that this love will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, cheer the depressed, and raise up the down-trodden ; that it has coals of fire to melt off the manacles of the bondman, and warm to kindness the cold heart of an enemy. All this power God has put into the religion he has given us. When shall we learn to comprehend and use his gifts ?

Yet we are learning, slowly indeed, as children learn their rudiments, but still we are learning the depth of the riches of the religion of Jesus. We should greatly err, if we supposed that no progress had been made before our day in the study of that noble corollary of Christianity which occupies us this evening. The peace movement began long ago ; before a Peace Society was instituted, or a Peace Congress held ; before Channing, Ladd or Worcester gave their warm hearts and eloquent voices to the cause ; before Fichte, Kant, Rousseau and St. Pierre became its far-sighted advocates in Europe ; before Henry Fourth and his minister conceived their scheme of uniting together all Christian nations, the first step of which was to be, inconsistently enough, the humiliation of Austria by war ;—I say that through periods long anterior to these, the preparation of the world for peace was going on, even from the time when our Saviour delivered that first and best of Peace Addresses on the Mount of Beatitudes, and from the time that he gave that emphatic rebuke to the war-spirit—“ Put up thy sword again into its place ; for all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.”

The earth is geologically old ; but, as the habitation of men, it is young, and morally considered, the human race is still in its childhood. The oriental schools educated the imagination and speculative intellect. Greece and Rome were the school-masters of the practical intellect and will. The training of the religious sentiments received a new impulse at the dawn of Christianity. We are in the midst of a material and physical movement, the purpose of which is to teach man the uses of nature, and make him master of her powers. The last step in the pupilage of the race will be moral education, or the training of the heart by the combined agency of reason and Christianity, and the highest earthly triumph of both.

Of course, it is not meant that these different departments of the

education of the race have been strictly confined to the successive epochs named. What I mean is, that while all these departments have been cultivated together to a certain extent, the advances in each have been more rapid and successful in some periods than in others. For example, men have always studied nature, and have always applied some of her forces to practical use; but it is only within the last three centuries that these researches have taken the right direction, and produced the most decisive results. So the moral relations of men were studied as earnestly before the Christian era as since; but Socrates and Plato failed to educate man's moral sensibilities so as to bring forth the fruits of good living. And though the true discipline of the heart is the work of Christianity, he who would see that work finished in the triumph of fraternal love between man and man, and between nation and nation, must look forward to a better age than the present. As the natural world, after centuries of conflict between warring elements, has attained to material order, so the moral world is now passing through analogous changes, and, slowly emerging from turmoil and strife, tends steadily toward peace. And this process will continue until

“The stormy clangor
Of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease;
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace.”

And this better time coming, if I may hazard the prediction, will not be the prelude to the destruction of the earth, and the extinction of mankind in the final catastrophe, but it will be the proper manhood of the race. As the six days of creation are supposed to represent long periods of time, so every day of the Millennial reign of Christ may be expected to extend through as vast a cycle of years.

In an address delivered before this Society five years since—an address of which it would be difficult to speak in adequate terms of praise, Mr. Sumner makes the following pregnant observations:—‘It seems in the order of Providence that individuals, families, tribes and nations should tend by means of association to a final unity. A law of mutual attraction, or affinity, first exerting its influence upon smaller bodies, draws them by degrees into well established fellowship, and then continuing its power, fuses the larger bodies into nations; and nations themselves, stirred by this

same sleepless energy, are now moving towards that grand system of combined order which will complete the general harmony."

You will remember that Mr. Sumner proved this proposition by historical examples, and by the analogies of the material world. The subject is very suggestive; and, though I hazard much in meddling with the work of one who finishes whatever he begins, and adorns whatever he touches, I may be permitted to say that the eloquent speaker evinced a deep and clear insight into the ways and workings of Providence. Vague traditions of a once existing chaos in the natural world, were rife among the earliest men whose opinions have come down to us; and these have been confirmed and expounded in our day by Geology. Science has proved that the earth has passed through a state of disorder and conflict, in which chemical and mechanical forces contended with each other, light with darkness, heat with cold, divellent with quiescent affinities, and commingling elements produced convulsions which have upheaved, and rent, and scarred, and twisted the crust of our globe. But over this wild scene, when the earth was as yet without form and void, the spirit of God moved. It was not the disorder of dissolution and ruin, but of construction and organization. Matter, endowed with attractive and repulsive forces, sought combination through conflict; then continents and islands emerged into air through water, into light through darkness; and the earth attained the equilibrium of peace, through the commotions of war. The tornado, the earthquake, and the volcano still sometimes remind us that the process is not quite completed; but we have the assurance, that so long as the bow of promise shall span the clouds, the fountains of the great deep shall no more be broken up; and we know that the craters and lava-scorched slopes of many an extinct volcano have yielded to fertile culture, and where the sulphur fumes of nature's battle once poisoned the air, now the rich harvest waves, the reaper's song is heard, and generous grapes grow purple and mellow in the sunshine.

For six thousand years the moral world has been struggling to emerge from chaos into order through similar changes. Reason has contended with passion, right with wrong, justice with injustice, truth with falsehood, mercy with cruelty, love with hatred; and ever, yet slowly, as the long train of generations has passed away, there has been a giving way of the forces of evil before those of good. And this is progress; the gradual evolution of moral order from moral chaos. Here, too, no less than in the material creation,

the spirit of God has moved, and does still move upon the face of the waters; here too the voice of the Almighty has said, "Let there be light;" and here, though faith at times may stagger, when the storm is on the sea, and hope may fail as the ship begins to sink, and the Master is asleep, yet when humanity cries, "Save, Lord, we perish," the Master will awake, and will speak once more to the angry waves, "Peace, be still," and there will be "a great calm."

Are we told that this is mere declamation; that all things remain as at the beginning; that we have no reason for the faith that is in us, nor any solid ground for our hopes? There are many who say such things; many who tell us that man is a quarrelsome animal, and that he will indulge his belligerent propensities to the end of time. They tell us that the sound of violence pervades every department of animated nature, and that even before man was created, the creatures that dwelt in the primeval ocean, or weltered in the mud of rising continents, preyed upon each other. War, then, they say, is a universal fact—not merely, as Burke would make it, an institution of civil society, but a law of living beings. In the struggle for existence, every creature fights for itself against its species, and for its species against every other.

"Two fledgling sparrows in one nest
Will chirp about a worm;"

and, while they contend with each other, the serpent swallows both, the hawk pounces upon the serpent, the eagle swoops the hawk, the arrow of the savage transfixes the eagle, and the bullet of civilized man pierces the heart of the savage.

Aye, so long as men are governed by the instincts and appetites of brutes, they will act like their brethren of the field and flood. But when they obey that higher part of themselves, whose right it is to rule, may we not hope that they will act like rational beings? Why have we reason, if not for use? Why has human society been constituted? What is the meaning of laws, courts, juries, trials except to ascertain right by reason? What are constitutions made for, unless to protect reasonable rights against passionate wrongs, the minority against the majority, the low against the high, the weak against the strong? What is the purpose of leagues, unions, federations, alliances, and treaties, except the substitution of friendship for hatred, right for might, peace for war? Why have private wars and trials by battle been thrown among the rubbish of bar-

barism? In a word, why have we a sense of justice, mercy and humanity—a perception of the immutable distinction of right and wrong? Are not these higher principles of our nature implanted in us to subjugate and chastise the impulses and appetites of our grosser being? Do we not find in the command to love one another, and to do to others as we would that they should do to us, a certificate under the Divine signature, that men are made for peace, and can find their true life nowhere but in peace?

Again we are told that the old and bad will never give place to the new and good without resistance, and that war is therefore an inseparable condition of progress. Wealth, age and privilege, office, sinecure and abuse, are always conservative, for they have every thing to lose; while poverty, youth, obscurity and lowliness are destructive, for they have every thing to gain. The *outs* will make aggressions upon the *ins*, and the *ins* will stand on their defence, against the *outs*. How are old abuses to be removed? If effete particles accumulate in a living body, the organic forces are marshalled to expel the poison. There is fever; and fever is war. Diseases must be expelled from nations in the same way as from individuals.

In reply to this argument, we need only say that resistance and aggression have other means than physical violence. "The pen is mightier than the sword." Let truth and error encounter each other with the only weapons which can decide their controversy. But on what principle of therapeutics can blood-letting cure foolish prejudices in an individual, or bad institutions in a State? What effect have cannon balls upon men's convictions of duty? And how will chopping off men's heads make them chop logic better? There is no changing men's opinions but by enlightening their minds, and the worst way to gain admittance for this light, is trying to force it through apertures made by sword-thrusts and grape-shot. There was a time when it was the fashion to torture and burn men's religious heresies out of them. Now the method appears absurd, because we perceive that the means and end are incompatible. We may hope that after awhile governments will cease to prescribe mutual throat-cutting as a specific for political heresies.

Let us next consider some of the signs of the times, and observe how far the omens are auspicious for peace.

Look first at California and Australia. Why has their gold

been locked up until these latter days of ours? What means the fact that these new gold-producing countries belong to the two most enterprising and progressive nations on the globe, both champions of the purest of the existing forms of Christianity? What consequences are to follow the discovery of these long concealed treasures? It is impossible to foresee them all; but some have already appeared, and we can estimate their importance. It is no small matter that people of every hue, tongue and faith are attracted to these points, and by intermingling learn each other's speech and customs. This is the first step toward removing prejudices. If you would make people friends, you first introduce them to each other's acquaintance. But this is not all. The increase of gold is stimulating commerce to a degree hitherto unknown, and commerce is a conservator of peace. It is a potent humanizer and civilizer. Capital has discovered that more is to be made by bartering with men, than by butchering them. Your Rothchilds and Barings perceive that there is more safety in making loans for enterprises which are to augment the wealth of the world, than for those which are to diminish it. Even the wild Bedouin has learned that when a traveller is to be fleeced, he can relieve his pockets more advantageously by driving hard bargains, than hard blows. If then the rude traffic of the desert is a bond under which the Ishmaelite will keep the peace, what an antagonist to war must be the honest and mutually beneficial commerce of civilized nations. Time was, when the appearance of a ship in the offing of a port, was a cause of alarm; men sprang to their arms, and lined the shore in battle array; women and children, money and jewels were sent away and concealed. As the strange sail drew near, a boat was sent to hail her, and the question of the herald was, "are ye peaceful traders, or robbers?" Now, the white-winged messenger may come from all points of the compass, and the only questions are, what effect will the news have on 'change, and how much can be made by the purchase of the cargoes?

By affording a field for enterprise as wide as the world, and offering rewards equal to those which military success brings, commerce directs the activity of the restless and aspiring into peaceful channels, and binds nations together in sympathy by the cords of reciprocal interest. It is a common platform of mutual benefit, on which all people may stand side by side as brethren, and shake hands as friends.

But commerce stimulates industry, and industry promotes security, comfort, science, art, literature, morals, religion, all the elements of a high civilization ; while a high civilization re-acts upon commerce, extending and enriching it, until peace becomes not only a desirable luxury, but a business necessity.

There are certain forces in nature which appear to have been designed to check and neutralize one another. These are the forces whose unrestrained action would become destructive. The intense heat of summer induces a rapid evaporation of water, by which the excess of heat becomes latent. By the cold of winter, vapors are condensed and liquids congealed, and these are warming processes. Noxious gases in the air stimulate the growth of plants, whose leaves decompose them. Great conflagrations are said to cause a fall of rain to extinguish them. The acceleration of a planet's motion is checked by a corresponding increase of its centrifugal force. The same law pervades the moral world. Love of pleasure checks avarice ; love of ease, ambition. Violent anger is excessively painful, and this pain is one of its remedies. So it is with all forces which tend to disorder and disorganization. The bane excites to action its antidote. Discordant elements waste their power on each other, and

“ All nature's difference makes all nature's peace.”

War is one of these disturbers and disorganizers, and, like the rest, it calls into action its own destroyers. It exhausts the strength and resources of the parties engaged in it, and they must make peace at last from inability to fight longer. Like pugilists out of breath, they must sit down and rest. But before they come to this, the world's indignation is aroused to rebuke the breakers of its peace ; public opinion turns against them ; productive industry protests against a longer sacrifice of the interests of all to the revenge of a part ; humanity sends up her remonstrance in tones which must be heard and heeded ; and religion, whenever a cessation of the din of strife permits her to plead, whispers in the secret soul of both parties, “ ye are brethren ; love one another.” All moral forces are marshalled to shame them into truce, and then reason them into peace. Thus the maxim of Napoleon, “ the war must *support* the war,” is reversed ; the war must *destroy* the war.

What is true of any one war, is also true of war as an institution.

Its atrocities and waste, its violation of every principle of justice, its antagonism to the spirit of the gospel, and its impotence as an arbiter of right, are setting the reason, the religion, and the common sense of Christendom against it. After every successive war, men perceive more and more clearly that the whole system of appeal to arms in national disputes is evil in its inception, barbarous in its prosecution, destructive in its consequences, and that in a choice of evils it is madness to choose the greater. Earnest men are asking what is gained by it, which might not have been more easily gained without it? What question of right or justice has it decided? What problem of international law has it solved? What disputed boundary has it settled? And the answer is, that every such decision, solution and settlement has been made by a few cool-headed men who had brains to think, after the fiery masses of hot-headed men had had their brains knocked out on the battle-field. Even "bayonets think," and they think more deeply than Kossuth imagined when he used the bold figure; and many who still wield the sword, are ready to ask, "shall the sword devour forever?"

War is destroying itself in another way. When an ancient veteran, who had been fighting all his life with arrows, slings and javelins, first saw the then new contrivance for throwing missiles, called a catapult, he exclaimed, "O valor, thou hast destroyed thyself." What would he say of the infernal machines which perverted ingenuity has devised in modern times for human destruction, and which science promises so to improve as to make every battle-field an *Aceldama*, and prevent the possibility of a victory of either party, by the annihilation of both? When this promise shall be fulfilled, as it will be, brute valor will indeed have destroyed itself, and war will "sheathe its sword for lack of argument."

War is also destroying itself by its enormous and increasing cost, and by its legacies of accumulating debt. It is not my purpose here to enter into the statistics of its wasted millions, nor to show what industrial and benevolent enterprises a wise expenditure of these millions might have achieved. The publications of our Society, from the beginning, have bristled with the long array of these marshalled figures, till our conceptions stagger under them. But when we consider that every improvement in the instruments of warfare increases the cost of equipment, transportation and use; that all nations are compelled to adopt the improvements of each, or fight at a disad-

vantage ; that the destruction of property in war, that is, the diminution of the actual wealth of the world, keeps pace with these improvements ; and when we add to this the fact, that every successive war adds to the debts of the fighting nations, and that these debts are not sensibly diminished in time of peace ; it requires no prophet to foresee that the time must come when the toiling millions will sink exhausted under their burdens, or arouse themselves to shake them off.

It is plain that all the money invested in the material of war, and in the subsistence and pay of armies, is abstracted from accumulated capital, and is never replaced. In the occupations of peaceful industry, capital changes its form continually, and is continually reproduced. So far from being lost, it appears in augmented values. But war reproduces nothing, and every dollar which is thrown into its bottomless gulf, sinks to rise no more. Soldiers, seamen, and marines cease to produce, and continue to consume, while they and the implements of their trade have no other purpose or use than to destroy as much of the accumulated wealth of the enemy's country as they consume of their own, and as much more as possible. Here then is a two-fold loss, felt equally at first by both parties, whether victors or vanquished, and felt afterwards by the whole civilized world.

When, some years ago, we talked of fighting Great Britain for the possession of some square miles of ice and rock in Maine, prudent people expressed an apprehension that with their superior steam navy, the British could enter every port, and burn or batter into ruins every city accessible from the sea. A naval officer admitted that this might be done ; but he said that it would cost the British Government more to destroy our cities than it would cost us to rebuild them, and that we should therefore have the advantage even in that game. What a commentary on war ! After Pyrrhus had beaten the Romans in a battle, he reviewed his shattered forces, and said, " one more such victory, and we are ruined." A greater General than Pyrrhus has said that, " next to a defeat, the worst thing that can happen to an army, is a victory." It is equally true that, if there should be war between England and the United States, next to the burning of Liverpool, the worst thing which could happen to England, would be the burning of New York.

In the light of a true political economy, men are learning that no nation can long thrive on the misfortunes of another. Each shares

in the prosperity, and in the suffering of all, and all in those of each. Community of interests is not confined to a family, a neighborhood, a city, a state, or a nation ; it embraces all the brotherhood of mankind ; and every blow which one nation strikes at another, recoils upon itself.

These truths are beginning to be understood ; and soon the tongue of labor will speak out, and demand why half the products of its strong arms in one country, are taken to destroy half the products of its strong arms in another. Though the bold proposition of a distinguished member of Congress, that all war-debts ought to be repudiated, has been received with distrust, the time is not far distant when men will ask what consideration their ancestors received for the loans which are to be an incubus on them and their posterity to the end of time. The question will frighten the money-lenders, till heart and purse, which with them mean about the same thing, tremble together. Inasmuch as nations cannot carry on war without borrowing money, the gold-king at Frankfort-on-the-Main, will hold the war-kings at London, Paris, Vienna and St. Petersburg to their good behavior, by locking up their vaults, and the sinews of war will be broken. Whenever the war-system shall have ruined its credit with the bankers, it will die of collapse.

But there is another class of forces which so act and re-act as to strengthen one another. These are the forces which produce expansion, growth, health and vigor. The more air we consume in respiration, the more muscular exercise we are capable of, and the more muscular effort we put forth, the more air we consume. The young plant unfolds two or three leaves, and these drink in the air, the dew and the sunshine, and elaborate food for the stalk ; and in its turn the stalk thus strengthened puts forth more leaves to make more sap, and all the parts grow by the aid of each. In like manner commerce and civilization act and re-act, each becoming in turn both the cause and effect of the advancement and growth of the other. We may expect then that one of the more remote effects of the impulse which the influx of gold has given to commerce, will be an advance in civilization ; and every advance will be in the direction of peace. Civilization will not only extend horizontally over countries before barbarous but vertically also to a higher stage. There will be both expansion and elevation. While it diffuses more of physical comfort and material prosperity over the earth, it will draw more of its nutriment than ever before from the rich soil of Christianity ; and the purer the form of Christianity, the more largely it partakes of the

spirit of universal charity, the more fully it obeys the precepts and imitates the example of its Founder ; in other words, the more love to God, and love to man there is in it, the higher and more enduring will be the civilization which grows out of it.

Here, then, is a great work for America and England ; a work in which they have the means and the power to take the lead. Let them move hand in hand in an enterprise more glorious than any nation has ever achieved, to conquer peace by love. They have tried often and vainly, to conquer peace by war ; let them henceforward change their weapons. The Anglo-Saxon race has done enough to ravage and destroy ; let it now cultivate and repair ; let it make compensation to mankind for the mischiefs which its ambition and rapacity have inflicted upon them. Aye, the compensation it will give, the reparation it will make ; good measure, shaken down and running over, will it return to them. A better age is coming, laden with good-will to men, and smiling with peace on earth. The golden age of peace and love, though still veiled by the dusky future, yet like the sun below the eastern horizon, throwing up its rays upon the air, gives promise of the rising day.

Other signs of the times are no less cheering. The spirit of literature has become more humane. War-songs no longer stir as of yore the deepest fountains of the national soul. The military ballad is obsolete. We can no longer endure the clash and ring of the old Norseman's battle axe, hewing its way through quivering flesh, nor see with composure the rude victor's revel, as he quaffs huge draughts of beer from goblets of human skulls. The minstrel's harp and song of troubadour may catch our ear when they "sing of lady-love and father-land ;" but when they torture the parting soul of the Highland Chieftain with Clan Alpine's prowess and rout, we turn away, and refuse to listen. The age of epics is past. No new anger of Achilles shall fire a future Homer to wade in blood, deep as Scamander's stream, through twenty-four books. No praise of arms and a hero shall tempt another Virgil from the shade of the spreading beech, to sing the hoarse trumpet's clangor, the solid-hoofed steeds prancing on battle plains, or Tiber foaming with blood. It has been said, with as much truth as point, that both Napoleon and Scott fell at Waterloo, the first in fighting the battle, the second in singing it.

Formerly History was little more than a dark chronicle of human crimes ; now it is a record of the progress of civilization. Readers once omitted all the pages which did not reek with slaughter ; now

their taste is gratified with descriptions of the people, their social condition, their manners, habits and daily life, their arts, sciences and opinions. They find no progress in the marches and counter-marches of a battle ; no humanity in its charges and repulses ; no instruction in its shouts and groans ; no beauty in its smoke and flame, its mangled limbs and slaughtered hecatombs ; nothing ennobling or congenial in its sacking and burning, riot and lust, drunkenness and blasphemy.

We turn away from these, to converse with men and women at their homes and hearths among their kith and kin, in the sweet charities of friendship, in rural toils and sports, in the busy marts of trade, in the classic shades of learning, in the secluded walks of philosophy and letters, in improvements of art and science which make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, which gather in the harvest with less wear and tear of the sinews of the producer, and transport it with less cost to the consumer. We love to talk with the chemist, the engineer, the machinist, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant ; to meet the smile of thrift, and listen to the glad voices of children playing in the streets. We demand histories which tell us of these, and give us a picture of a people's life ; and writers are responding to the call. They are providing a better literature to instruct our youth, to nourish our manhood, and to solace our age ; and while they minister to a finer taste, they are also cultivating a higher morality, and inspiring humanity with nobler aims.

Again; in this country at least, somewhat of the prestige of military heroism has departed. Recent political events have taught all parties a useful lesson. We shall not hear again of the availability which mere success in arms has been supposed to confer upon a candidate.

“ That spell upon the minds of men,
Breaks never to unite again,
Which led them to adore
Those pagod things of sabre sway,
With fronts of brass, but feet of clay.”

Our sons will never again so eagerly crowd into the army and navy as the surest ladder of political preferment ; the student will look forward and upward with a more hopeful eye than before ; he who serves his country faithfully in a civil capacity, till long years of patriotic toil have gained him the nation's confidence and the world's esteem, may hereafter permit his name to go before a nominating con-

vention, with some hope that there is availability in political experience, and eminent public services; the scholar and statesman will work with more faith, and wait with more hope than before; and when you begin to confer civil distinctions upon the heroes of peace, you will do much to discourage war by taking away the strongest motive of those who engage in it, and humanity will rejoice.

Again; I think we may perceive in the progress of popular institutions, some powerful influences adverse to war. The war-system is essentially and intensely undemocratic. Democracy tends to equality and individualism, and it makes every man think himself as good as the General, and about as competent to command. Some of our volunteers in Mexico gave practical exemplifications of these unsoldier-like opinions; but war soon annihilates such heresies. True democracy elevates every man into a self-governing, responsible being, and teaches him his value, his dignity, and his duties. War depresses and degrades him; makes him a spoke in a wheel, a brick in a wall, a plank in a ship, a pawn upon a chess-board, an appendage of a gun-carriage or of a war-horse. It robs him of the power and right of private judgment, and reduces him to the condition of an atom in a great deadly organism, having a head to which all other heads yield unreasoning obedience, and a will in which all other wills are merged, but destitute of heart and conscience. He must touch his cap at the right moment, bedizzen himself with the requisite quantity of tinsel and trimmings, braid and bear-skin, fuss and feathers; stand where he is posted, wheel right, left, backward or forward as he is bidden, and go whithersoever, and against whatsoever and whomsoever he may be sent, with as little discretion or volition as a cannon ball; and like the same cannon ball, his only appropriate function is to crush and destroy. To such a condition does the war-system reduce millions of living, thinking, morally accountable men! How suggestive are the words which an aged French father recently uttered, as a regiment of soldiers was embarking for Constantinople:—"There goes my only son to fight for a cause which he does not understand, against people with whom he never had a difference." The old man saw that a great wrong was done to his son, and felt that, under the war-system of Europe, such wrongs have no remedies.

But in the United States, where conscription and impressment are not practiced, and would never be submitted to, a service in which American citizens must surrender their individuality, their personal freedom, their ideas of equality, and their power to control, through

the ballot-box, those who command them, cannot long be popular. Young America is a brave fellow; but he likes to do as he pleases, and to make every body else do as he pleases. If the government should engage in a long war, it will be found, as soon as the nature of military service becomes known, that popular enthusiasm will subside; and then it will be much easier to find officers, than to fill up the rank and file.

But we are asked, if the signs of peace are so favorable, what means that portentous cloud whose thunders are now bursting upon Europe and Asia? Are the principles of our Society gaining ground, when two continents are bristling with bayonets, and shaking with the tramp of armies? Can the still, small voice of love be heard while the clash of steel, and the shout of mustering squadrons echo from the Thames to the Volga, and from Egypt to Siberia? We cannot foresee the results of this war, nor its ultimate effect upon any of the parties engaged in it now, or to be drawn hereafter into its insatiable maelstrom; but we may safely predict that mankind will gather some useful lessons of instruction from it, and some conclusions in favor of peace.

Russia is a progressive, and Turkey a decaying despotism, placed side by side. All history teaches, that when two such nations are so situated, the active, enterprising and progressive will absorb the indolent, apathetic and retrograding one. The catastrophe may be delayed by foreign intervention, but it cannot be averted. The interests of humanity, and the purposes of God, require the nations to move forward towards unity by the gradual and peaceable combination of the weaker with the stronger. If the Czar had been content to await the silent action of moral influences, he would have gained the prize he covets without bloodshed, and without arousing the jealousy of the Western Powers to open hostility. But he was impatient; he would not wait for the tardy process of absorption and assimilation, and the war he has provoked will impair his digestion while it will sharpen his appetite.

I am aware that the sympathies of many of our people are enlisted in favor of the Turks, partly because they appear to be the weaker side, and partly because Russia is the champion of despotism. In 1824, we felt differently. We who shuddered then at the massacre of Scio, and the fall of Missolonghi, are now willing to see the Greek Christians annihilated. We who then wrote verses to celebrate the praise of Marco Bozzaris and his Suliot band, as they "piled the ground with Moslem slain," are now jubilant at the prowess

of Omer Pasha, and his turbaned hordes. We who exulted at the thunders of Navarino, execrate those of Sinope. What change has come over us? Have freedom and Christianity any thing to gain or hope from the Turks? Let History, and the doctrines of the Koran answer.

There is something in the character of this war which will cause future statesmen to pause and reflect, before plunging the world into similar calamities. It is a war of false pretences; and History will record and condemn it as such. Under the pretence of zeal for Christianity, the Czar devises a scheme of gigantic robbery abhorrent to all religion. Under the pretence of an earnest desire for peace, he stirs up the Montenegrins and the Greeks to insurrection, tampers with Persia, and summons to arms the hordes of central Asia. Professing to act only in self-defence, he pushes forward his front to the Danube, and destroys the Turkish fleet in their own harbor of Sinope. Pretending that his adversary is sick, and about to die, he proposes in strict confidence to England, to strip him of his property without waiting for the last gasp. And finally he caps the climax by claiming to be a very sincere Christian as Nicholas, the individual, while he proves himself to be any thing else as Nicholas, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias. Just as if a man who happens to be elevated to a public station, could fold up his moral and religious character, and leave it safely at home, and, after perpetrating any convenient number of political frauds and villainies, could return and put it on again, clean and bright as ever. Away with such amphibious religion as this. The distinctions of right and wrong are immutable. They cannot be bent, or stretched, or shortened to conform to the varying conditions of time, place or office. Antecedent to all conditions, and surviving all, they run parallel with the existence of God who established them.

But the false pretences of this war are not confined to the Czar. While professing friendship and mutual confidence, France and England are suspicious of each other, and the fires of their ancient hatred smoulder beneath deceitful ashes. The cord of their alliance is spun of glass, and will not bear rough usage. While arming to preserve the independence of the Sultan, they are ready to join hands with Austria to crush any uprising of the oppressed millions of Italy and Hungary. While making a display of disinterested friendship for the Turks, England has really at heart the safety of her Indian Empire, and France is watching her opportu-

nity to make conquests in the East for herself. While repelling an assault upon their ally, they mean to be in at his death to claim the lion's share of his spoils. Under the pretence of preserving the balance of power, they are illustrating the fable of the dog in the manger; if they *cannot* get possession of Old Byzantium themselves, they are determined that the hungry beast who stands over it, *shall not*.

And what, after all, is this balance of power, for which Europe has shed so much blood, and is about to pour out so much more? Lord Bacon thought that the principle required every nation to take care that no other should become able, by increase of territory, trade or force, to annoy its neighbors more than before. If this be the meaning and purpose of this boasted principle, it is the offspring of fear and envy, and it aims at the equilibrium of weakness. It must strike down whatever is high, and obstruct whatever is progressive. Its spirit is the same which, in private life, would maim a man's person to prevent his growing taller or stronger than his neighbors, and burn his house to prevent his becoming richer than they. It assumes that men are governed by motives exclusively selfish, and that every nation will injure its neighbors, which has the power. As a theory of statesmanship, it is as short-sighted in policy as it is traitorous to humanity. It levels downward, not upward, and seeks the safety of each in the impotence of all.

If, then, there must be war, the friends of peace can desire nothing better for their cause than that it should be a war commenced under pretences so shamefully dishonest that a respectable man would blush to avow them in the transactions of private life, and prosecuted for purposes at which the deeper political insight of the next age will laugh, and its higher morality weep over.

Another noteworthy fact in this war is, that France and England have none but an indirect and hypothetical interest in it. Neither their institutions, their commerce, nor their colonies were menaced. The Czar would have been very careful not to meddle with them. But they became entangled in their own net of diplomatic intervention, and public clamor has compelled them, much against their will, to cut its meshes with the sword of armed intervention. Russia intervened in the same way between Austria and Hungary; and now the poisoned chalice is commended to her own lips. Hereafter, England and France may intervene in the affairs of Cuba between Spain and the United States, as they might have

done a few years ago between the United States and Mexico. Intervention is double-edged; let our country beware how it touches the treacherous weapon.

Again; there is little probability that Russia can be compelled to yield that to force, which she refused to friendly remonstrance. While her powers of active resistance are formidable, the inertia of her passive stubbornness is unconquerable. Charles XII. could defeat her armies in many battles; but Pultowa's day was in reserve for him. The taking of Moscow cost Napoleon more than its destruction cost Alexander. Russia is not vulnerable in any vital part. There is no joint of her harness through which her enemies can strike at her life.

We may therefore expect, that after one, seven, or thirty years of mutual devastation, Russia will not be sensibly weakened, while the debts of France and England will be increased to hopeless insolvency, Turkey will be exhausted and prostrate, and all parties will compromise on some new basis. "Let not him that putteth on his armor, boast as he that taketh it off." And when the sober pen of history shall enter up the record of a war thus begun in falsehood, continued in crime, and ended in shame, mankind will mark well the lesson, and con it thoroughly. They will demand, in more imperative tones than before, that the rulers of nations shall adjust their differences by methods more rational and humane.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY,—Among the harbingers of peace, your organization stands foremost. In the philanthropic enterprise whose anniversary we celebrate, you have taken the high position of God's co-adjutors. You know that the great movements of history may be accelerated or retarded by human instruments, and you have made the line of your action coincident with that in which Providence moves. Cheered by the divine approval, and conscious of the dignity of your vocation, you have toiled through good report and through evil report. You have spoken to the people and their legislators in the language of earnest persuasion and Christian remonstrance. Your brethren in Europe have pleaded boldly in behalf of humanity, in the ears of ministers and sovereigns. Men at first wagged their heads in derision, then listened to your arguments with distrust; but now they admit that you are right, and bid you God speed.

Your memorials to the State Legislatures and to Congress have elicited reports and discussions which have attracted public attention.

You have scattered good seed in the minds of the young, which will spring up, and, with patient culture, will in time bring forth fruits of peace for the healing of the nations. Be not disheartened that the harvest ripens slowly. When evil customs and erroneous opinions have been interwoven with the frame-work of society, more than the time of one generation will be required to eliminate them. The head of Serapis did not fall in Egypt, nor the throne of Jupiter at Rome, till the fourth century after Christianity was first proclaimed in the streets of Alexandria, and on the Seven Hills.

Go on, then, with courage and hope, in your noble enterprise. Humanity, reason and God are with you; and though now the day is dark, and you stand up to plead for peace in the face of war, yet you may work in faith, for ancient prophets predicted a reign of universal justice, and Christianity has promised a Millennium of universal love.

MISCELLANIES.

COST OF TRANSPORTING SOLDIERS.—It appears from the statements in English journals, that “the conveyance of every British soldier to the seat of war costs about £100, (\$500); \$10,000,000 for the mere transportation of only 20,000 troops! Paying rather dear for the whistle; and if other expenses are at the same rate, the result will soon be a most enormous amount. Those large fleets of war-steamers on the Baltic and the Black Seas—how much must they cost every week and every day? Those leviathan fire-eaters will soon devour the surplus earnings of many million laborers in France and England.

WAR AND RAILWAYS; Or the Effect of War in diminishing the Value of Property.—A London Railway Journal says that the effect of the Eastern War already upon the Railroads in Great Britain, has been a depreciation of £60,000,000, (\$300,000,000) in the nominal value of their stock. If we assume the railways to be one-tenth part of all the property in England, and suppose the general depreciation to be at the same rate, the loss for the time would be no less than \$3,000,000,000! An astonishing sum; but the actual loss can hardly be less than half this amount. A species of loss by war that is seldom taken into account in estimating what it wastes. John Bright could not have been far out of the way in reckoning the depreciation and loss last fall at \$1,000,000,000.

BANKRUPTCY OF AUSTRIA.—The deeply embarrassed financial state of Austria renders a war exceedingly difficult for her to undertake. Austrian fiscal mismanagement has been, for over half a century, the wonder and problem of the rest of Europe. In profound peace, from 1816 till 1848, her debt had increased from 300,000,000 florins, paying an interest of 5,400,000 to 1,500,000,000 at the present time, paying an interest of 70,000,000—nearly half of the whole income of the empire! There is no nation in the world which seems so inextricably involved. Specie payments have long been suspended; and, at the last accounts, silver and gold were at a premium of from 33 to 40 per cent.! Even in time of peace there is a yearly deficit. A year