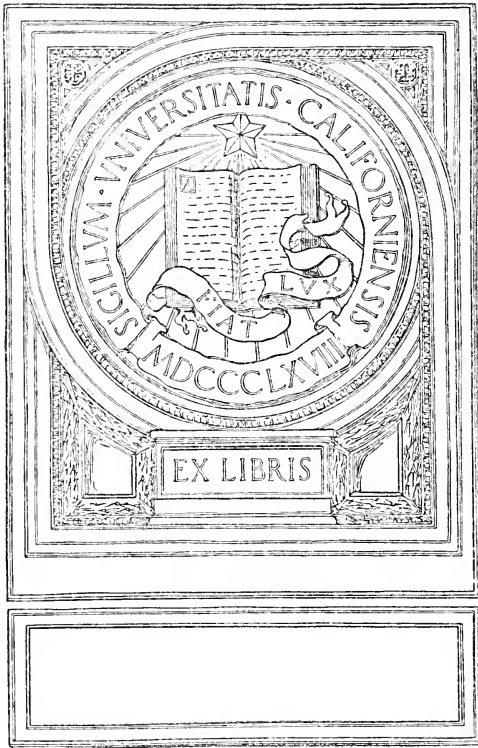


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ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

AT THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY,

December 25th, 1820.

=====
BY HON. JOSIAH QUINCY.
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ADDRESS.

THE records of history embrace a period of six thousand years, abounding in war, in battle and slaughter, with occasional and local intervals of short and feverish peace ; in which, nations seem to stay rather than rest ; stopping to pant, and to gain breath for new combats, rather than to form a business state of permanent tranquillity. In whatever condition, on whatever soil, under whatever sky, we contemplate man ; be he savage, or be he civilized ; ignorant, or enlightened ; groping amid the darkness of nature, or rejoicing in the lamp of revealed truth ; be it island, or continent ; sea, or shore ; wherever multitudes of men are, or have been, there will be found traces of human blood, shed in inhuman strife ; there will be found death, scattered among the races of men, by the hand of—brother-man !

It is now more than eighteen hundred years, since “the author and finisher of our faith,” came, ushered in by an angelic host, proclaiming, PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL AMONG MEN ; since the Son of God descended from the right hand of the Father, for the great, and almost special purpose of enforcing the voice of reason, by the solemn sanction of the com-

mand of the Most High, that "men love one another." Yet, strange to tell! wonderful! passing wonderful! scarce three centuries had elapsed from his advent, before the cross, the emblem of his peace and his love, became the standard and escutcheon of wars, as fierce and as bloody, as the crescent, the emblem of hate and of strife, ever waged. And, in these later days, notwithstanding science has, now, for almost four centuries, been pouring its mild and radiant stream of light into every sense and upon every land, yet, as it were but yesterday, sixty thousand men, dead on the field of Waterloo, terminated, probably only for a short, passing period, a war of twenty years' continuance, of which, at the least estimate, two millions of human beings were the victims!

Such is the scene, which the mind seizes, as it casts a bird's eye glance, along the horizon of human history.

In this actual condition of our nature, you, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Massachusetts Peace Society, have united to try the strength of public associations against this natural tendency of our race to war; to attempt by combination and cooperative exertion of the mild, the virtuous, the religious, and humane, to calm this turbulent scene; to limit the causes and evils, or, if heaven so pleases, annihilate altogether the influence, of that propensity to mutual destruction, so universal and scarcely less than innate, in our species.

Under what auspices? With what hopes? From what circumstance in the social, moral, or intellectual condition of man do your endeavours derive encour-

agement, or even countenance? Is man less selfish, less craving, less ambitious, less vindictive now than formerly? If all the old ingredients, which compose human nature, are still boiling in the crucible, what reason to expect that future experiments will materially differ from the past? If in every nation, under heaven, there be, at this day, ten thousand times more swords than ploughshares; more spears, than pruning hooks; if every where, war be taught as a science, and success in it be the theme of the sober applause of the few, and of the mad exultation of the many; on what ground rests the opinion that any, much more that every, nation of the earth will abandon a system, which, from the beginning of the world has been, and to this hour is, among all nations, a chief object of pursuit, and the principal foundation of pride and of glory? If all, or at least, if the greater part of nations do not concur, in abandoning this system, can any one nation abandon it safely?

These are questions, which the spirit of patriotism asks, half doubting, half consenting, as it ponders purposes such as yours, noble, generous, elevated, in their conception and principle, yet apparently repugnant to the known propensities of our species, and contravening the established course of human conduct in every period of history.

These are questions, which the spirit of war asks, half fearing, half sneering, as it stands, like its great progenitor, "with nostril wide, upturned, into the murky air, scenting its prey."

To some of these questions I shall attempt an answer, and to all of them allude, while on this occasion

I consider the causes of war among nations, and the circumstances in the condition of the civilized world, which afford better ground of hope, than ever before existed, of greatly limiting its ravages, and even of restraining them altogether; and thence offer to you, gentlemen, some encouragements for perseverance, and to your fellow-citizens some reasons for cooperating in the objects and labours of your society.

“In all experience and stories,” says the great Bacon,* Lord Verulam, “you shall find but three things that prepare and dispose an estate for war, the ambition of the governors, a state of soldiery professed, and the hard means to live among many subjects; whereof the last is the most forcible and the most constant.”

In reference to these causes of war, it may be asserted, without any of that overweening zeal, which men call enthusiasm, and independent of the character, or the promises of our religion, that three facts exist in the nature of man and in the condition of society, which give rational ground for the opinion, that they will be gradually limited in their influence, and may be made ultimately to cease altogether.

The first fact is, that man is a being capable of intellectual and moral improvement; and that this is true both of the individual and of the species.

The second fact is, that the intellectual and moral improvement of our species has already advanced in this very direction and on this very subject; wars being, in fact, far less bloody, and conducted on principles, more mild than was the approved usage, in former periods of society.

* On the true greatness of Britain.

The third fact is, that the intellectual and moral influences, which have arisen and are extending themselves in the world, necessarily lead to a favourable change in all the enumerated causes, on which the existence of war depends ;—repressing the ambition of rulers ;—diminishing the influence of the soldiery ; and ameliorating the condition of the multitude.

As to the first fact, I shall not undertake to prove that man is a being capable of intellectual and moral improvement ; and that this is true both of the individual and the species. It is the voice of all history and all experience.

Nor will the second fact require much more elucidation. A very short recapitulation of the temper and principles, prevalent in war, at former times, will make its truth apparent. The earliest record of wars is that of the Israelites, about fifteen centuries before the Christian era. On taking a city,* they destroyed utterly men, women, and little ones. Sometimes† the people were made tributaries and slaves. At others, nothing that breathed was left alive. Notwithstanding this, it does not appear, that there was any thing peculiarly savage in the character of the Israelites. Although they acted under a sense of the divine command ; yet there can be no doubt that the principles, on which they conducted their wars, were perfectly in unison with the general rules of warfare, recognized by all nations, at that period of society.

Homer, who, next to the sacred writers, is deemed to give authentic accounts of the manners of the earliest times, witnesses that our species had made no ma-

* Deut. ii. 33.

† Ibid. xx. 10, 13.

terial moral improvement in the principles, regulating the state of war, during the three or four centuries, which elapsed between the invasion of Canaan and the siege of Troy. Chieftains steal into each others camps, and massacre the sleeping, in cold blood. Captives are immolated to the manes of Patroclus. The dead body of Hector is dragged in triumph about the walls of his native city, in the sight of his bereaved parents, consort, and countrymen.

During the entire period of ancient history, the rights of war included the right of extermination, as inherent in the conqueror, and in the vanquished there inhered no rights; neither of life, or liberty, or property. The form of ancient society made no difference in the efficacy and universality of this principle. Kings, emperors, consuls, were all occupied in one chief concern; that of training and fleshing their followers to the sport of destroying the human species, under the name of enemies; and for this purpose, enlarged on all sides, and to their utmost extent, the rights of conquest. Republics were, in this respect, no better than monarchies, and precisely for the same reason; because in those, as in these, the many were needy and ignorant; and the few, cunning, ambitious, and interested.

It is necessary only to state these facts to convince every mind that war is conducted in a better temper and is of a milder aspect, in present, than in former times. It is, however, important, and will be illustrative of the general scope of my argument, to remark, that the amelioration, effected in the conduct of wars, has, chiefly, resulted from the improved intellectual

and moral condition of mankind, rather than directly from the military class itself. Almost all the amelioration in the art of war may be traced to the effect of domestic influence upon the warrior ; his regard for character at home ; and the fear of incurring contempt and shame among his own countrymen. As far as we can form any opinion of the conduct of European armies, at the present day, when in the field, they are nearly, if not quite, as wanton and licentious, as formerly. Love of plunder is as strong in the breasts of modern, as it was in those of ancient warriors. They have no more shame now, than in former times, at growing rich on the spoils of the conquered ; but think it, as much as ever, a great and glorious matter, if going to war beggars, they return from it nabobs. The chief restraint, which has been laid, in modern days, on the spirit of ancient warfare, may be traced to the improved moral sense, and the direct moral influence of men in civil life. This moral sense is not as yet sufficiently elevated to be offended at the bringing home, by military men, of gold, silver, and merchandise, plundered from enemies. And accordingly, the military, at the present day, grasp at these with avidity.

But the moral sense of the period does reluct at entailing, in perpetuity, the miseries of conquest upon the persons of the vanquished. In consequence, military men bring home no more captive females as mistresses and servants ; nor do they reduce vanquished males to the condition of slaves for life ;—except, indeed, they happen to be black ; a case, for which the

moral sense of the age has not, as yet, every where, provided.

An exception, indeed, must be made to these remarks, in relation to that strange, mysterious, semi-savage code, called "the law of honor." However criminal, in a moral, and however ridiculous, in an intellectual point of view, this code of unwritten law is, yet it has had, unquestionably, a favourable effect, in softening and elevating the military character. The necessity of killing, or being killed, which this law prescribes, at the call of any one, who may deem himself injured, or insulted, has had a direct tendency to curb the insolence and overbearing humour, natural to men, exposed to the temptations inseparable from a life merely military. It is a law of restraint calculated to influence those, who, recognizing no law contravening the will of their officer, are only to be kept in awe by the apprehension of personal danger. The law of honor, therefore, by putting every military man, at the mercy of every one, who chooses to call him to combat, results in this, that those, who are, professionally, without law, become a law to themselves, through fear of the consequences. The operation of the law has been conformable to the anticipations of the iron-clad legislators, who promulgated it; the perpetual appeal to personal danger, which this law establishes, being found, in most cases, to operate, like a charm, on these fighting spirits. For, although fear is a term, not admitted into the military code, yet it is found by experience, that, in all dangers, except those, which are included in their contract with their commander, and in those, to

which habit has made them familiar, this class tremble quite as much as other philosophers.

Another effect of this code has been that, under its influence, fighting and killing one another, is, no longer, even in the field, a matter of blood, but a matter of business. Military men are cool, when they contract to do the work of slaughter ; and as cool as nature and nerve will permit, when they are performing the task. Under this law ancient friends, when engaged in opposite service, meet and endeavour to kill one another, without any impeachment of mutual love and friendship. If both survive, their harmony is unbroken, by this mutual attempt on each other's life. If either fall, the survivor, perhaps, builds a monument to his memory, and mourns for him as a brother. Military men, and those, who occasionally adopt their practice, in civil life, no longer slay one another, in a passion. And, though their business is, as much as ever, to stab, to shoot, and to kill, yet this is not done with savage looks and barbarous rites, but with a fashionable air, and in a gentlemanly way. They meet ; are measured and civil in their deportment ; they kill ; or are killed. When the life of either is gone, the affair is over. They do not, as formerly, deny honourable burial. They cut off no hands, or ears. They take no scalps. They thrust no thongs through the feet of the dead, and drag the body in triumph at their chariot wheels.

These advances, although not great, are yet somewhat. As far as they extend, they indicate a degree of moral improvement ; some mitigation of the calamities of war ; some diminution of its causes and its inducements, proceeding from the military class itself.

But the great and only sure ground of hope of amelioration, in relation to these objects, rests on the improving moral and intellectual condition of mankind.

The third and most material fact to be illustrated was, that such intellectual and moral influences are extending themselves, in society ; and necessarily lead to a change, in all the enumerated causes, on which the existence of war depends.

But first, is it true, that moral and intellectual influences are extending themselves, in society ? Is it true that we enjoy a brighter intellectual day ; and a purer moral sky, than anterior periods of the world ? Can any ask ; dare any ask ; whose hands hold the page of history, and whose minds are capable of receiving impressions from surrounding objects ?

At what previous time did the world exhibit the scenes, we, at this day, witness ? When did science ever, until this period, present itself to the entire mass of the community, as their inheritance and right ? When, for the purpose of arresting the general ear, and promoting universal comprehension of its precepts, did it before adapt its instructions, to every form of intellect ; to every stage of human life ; to every class of social being ? Science, indeed, existed, in former times. But, where ? In the grove of Academus with Plato ; dreaming concerning the soul of the universe. In convents, among cowed monks and fasting friars. In colleges, accessible, only, to the favoured few. Iron-clasped, and iron-bound, in black letter folios. Locked in dead languages. Repelling all, but the initiated.

Where exists science now ? No more immured in cells ; no more strutting, with pedant air and forbidding looks, in secluded halls ; it adapts itself to real life ; to use ; and to man. It prattles with the babe. It takes the infant on its knee. It joins the play of youth. It rejoices with the young man, in his strength. It is the companion of manhood ; the solace and the joy of the hoary head. It is to be seen, in the field, leaning on the plough ; at the work-bench, directing the plane and the saw ; in the high places of the city, converting, by their wealth and their liberality, merchants, into princes ; in the retirement of domestic life, refining by the aid of taste, and knowledge, the virtues of a sex, in whose purity and elevation man attains, at once, the noblest earthly reward, and the highest earthly standard of his moral and intellectual nature. Science no more works as formerly in abstruse forms, and with abstract essences ; but, in a business way ; seeking what is true and what is useful ; purifying, elevating, and thus producing, by degrees, slow indeed, but sure, a level of intellect in the whole mass ; suited to the state, and illustrative of the relations and duties, of all the parts, of which it is composed.

If this be true of the intellectual state of the period, what shall we say of the moral ? Can knowledge advance and virtue be retrograde ? Grant that this is sometimes the case in individuals ; are these instances examples of the general rule ; or exceptions to it ? Are such unions of corrupt hearts, with elevated intellects, not rather monsters, than natural forms of being ? If knowledge be a right comprehension of nature and of the actual relations of things,

can this exist without establishing the conviction of the eternal coincidence of happiness with duty? Is it not as plainly the voice of nature, as it is of scripture, that “the paths of wisdom are pleasantness and peace?” If a wise and good Deity has formed that structure of things, which we call nature, can acquaintance with that structure result in any thing else than a perception of those attributes, which constitute his character, and of the eternal connexion, which subsists among them; and of consequence, which subsists among like attributes, belonging to man, feeble, indeed, but yet, in kind, emanations and prototypes of those of the Deity?

These, however, are general reasonings. Let us advert to facts.

There was a period in which men worshipped stocks and stones; and birds and beasts; the sun, moon, stars and clouds; when they sacrificed human victims to their gods; when trees, and the canopy of heaven were their coverings and they contended with wild beasts for food, shelter and existence.

“In Greece, in civilized, intellectual Greece, three fourths were slaves, holding even life at the capricious will of their masters; those proud masters themselves the slaves of ignorance and dupes of priestcraft—fluctuating between external war and internal commotion; anarchy and tyranny.

“Rome, in its best days, polluted by the abomination of domestic slavery, waging eternal war with the world, offering only the alternative of subjection, or extermination; rude in arts; with no philosophy, and a religion, whose gods and ceremonies make one blush, or shudder.

“ In more recent and modern times, what scenes of confusion, persecution and distraction! Kings tyrannizing over people! Priests over kings! Men the property of every petty chieftain! Justice perverted. Christianity corrupted.”*

Detail is needless. It is enough to state the facts. We all feel the moral advancement of the present period of society.

How have the useful and elegant arts been advanced! With what skill nature is made subservient to the wants, conveniences, and refinement of life! It is unnecessary to recapitulate. We all realize the change; and that it is great and wonderful; not sudden, but progressive.

If such be the fact, why should not the future correspond with the past? Why should not the species continue to advance? Is nature exhausted? Or is there any evidence of failure, in the faculties, or of diminution in the stimulus of man? On the contrary, what half century can pretend to vie, with the last, in improvement in the arts, advancement in the sciences, in zeal and success of intellectual labours? Time would fail before all could be enumerated. Let one instance suffice, and that in our own country.

Scarcely ten years have elapsed, since the projects of Fulton were the common sneer of multitudes both in Europe and America; and those not composed of the most ignorant classes of society. He, indeed, has already joined the great congregation of departed

* See Fox's lectures on the corruption, revival and future influence of genuine christianity. p. 239.

men of genius ; but where are his inventions ? Penetrating the interior of this new world ; smoking along our rivers ; climbing, without canvass, the mountains of the deep ; carrying commerce and comforts, unknown and unanticipated, to inland regions, and already establishing a new era in navigation, and new facilities for human intercourse ; incalculable in benefits and in consequences.

So far from having any reason to believe that the progress of human improvement is stationary, or that it is henceforth to be retrograde, there is just reason to believe, that intellectual and moral improvement and social comforts are to advance, with a rapidity and universality, never before witnessed.

There are two coexisting facts, peculiar and characteristic of the present age ; which encourage this belief. The first is that universal diffusion of knowledge, to which allusion has been already made. The second is the facility, with which this diffusion is effected.

All the improvements of man's social, moral and intellectual condition, in former ages, occurred, under the existence of a state of things, in which intellect, morals and comforts were, almost exclusively, the monopoly of the few. In every country, the mass of society were oppressed by thrones, and dominations, and military despotism. At the present day, the many are every where rising, gradually, into influence and power. Moral and intellectual cultivation are no more restricted to a few favoured individuals ; but proffered to the whole species. The light and warmth of science are permitted to penetrate the

lowest strata of society ; reaching depths never before explored ; and there expanding seeds of improvement, not only never before developed, but whose existence was absolutely unknown.

The press, also, by its magic power, almost annihilates time and space, in its rapid spread, pervading every class and every climate ; making, more and more, mutual acquaintance, commercial interchange, and intellectual intercourse, the strong ties of peace among nations ; approximating the world to a state of general society ; in which the bond of man to man is recognized ; and humanity is becoming, every day, less and less the dupe of intrigue and artifice. States touch each other, no longer, only at those corrupt and irritable points called king, noble, or chieftain. Mind embraces mind, in spite of intervening seas, or wildernesses. An allegiance to intellect, to morals, and religion, begins to be acknowledged among multitudes, in every land, which is undermining that false and artificial allegiance, by which mankind have, at former periods, in the train and at the beck of statesmen and warriors, been dashed against each other ; contrary to the law of their God and their nature.

If these views are true, do they not justify the opinion, that the progress of moral and intellectual improvement will continue ; that it is advancing ?

If advancing ; in what course ; and in what direction ? Can it be doubted that the first and necessary effect of this progress of society must be the amelioration of the condition of the multitude ; in other words, removing that “ hard means to live,” which is declar-

ed by Lord Bacon to be “the most forcible and the most constant of all the causes, which prepare and dispose an estate for war?” That this must be the first and necessary effect of a high moral and intellectual state, generally produced, is self-evident.

Nor is the tendency of such a condition of knowledge and virtue to repress “the ambition of rulers,” less palpable. It is impossible but that, in proportion as a people become wise and virtuous, they must incline to be ruled by men of this character. Indeed rulers, themselves, must necessarily partake of the renovated condition of mankind. In elective governments, none but the good and wise would be elected; or if elected, continue in influence, but a short time. In hereditary governments, monarchs and nobles would be influenced by the virtues of their subjects; or at least be compelled to pay to them the homage of hypocrisy. Thus the second enumerated cause of war “the ambition of rulers,” must, by necessary consequence, find its antidote, in the moral and intellectual condition of the people.

As to the third cause of war, “a state of soldiery professed,” in other words, the influence of the military class, a state of society, such as I have described, and as we have reason to anticipate, will not so much diminish its influence, as annihilate the whole class, by rendering it useless; when there is no employment and no hope of it, for the military class, it can have no continuance.

A people highly moral and highly intellectual, would not endure the existence of such a distinct class. They would realize that the principle of military life result-

ed, in making moral agents, machines ; free citizens, slaves ; that a soldier, as such, can have no will but his officer's ; knows no law but his commands ; with him, conscience has no force ; heaven no authority ; conduct but one rule, implicit, military obedience. It requires but a very small elevation of the moral and intellectual standard, at present, existing among mankind, to make them realize the utter incompatibility of the existence of such a class, with long continued peace, or with that higher moral and intellectual state, to which both nature and duty teach man to aspire.

If it be asked, how a nation, destitute of a military class, can be safe from foreign violence and invasion, it may be answered, first, that the existence of such a class is ever a main inducement both to the one and the other. For either your military force is weaker than your neighbour's, in which case he is insolent ; or it is stronger, in which case, you are so ; or it is equal, in which case the very uncertainty begets, in both, a spirit of rivalry, of jealousy and of war. Second, that all experience has shown that a well appointed militia, defending their own altars and homes, were competent to every purpose of repelling foreign violence, and invasion. Third, that a society, which should engage in no intrigues, covet no foreign possessions, exemplify in all its conduct a spirit of justice, moderation, and regard for the rights of others, would assume a position the most favourable to predispose its neighbours to adopt, toward it, a kind and peaceable demeanor. Should it fail, its conduct would be effectual to concentrate around it the affections of

its own citizens ; and thence produce unanimity and vigor in the use of all the means, to which it might be necessitated to resort, for the purpose of repelling actual invasion.

The amelioration of the moral and intellectual condition of man, is not, however, at this day peculiar to any one nation. In a greater, or less degree, it is incident to all. By commerce, by the press, by a very general acquaintance with each other's language, by identity of pursuits, similarity in the objects of religious faith, and by coincidence of interests, the various nations, composing the civilized quarters of the globe, have mutually elevated and instructed, and are, every day, mutually, elevating and instructing one another. Thought and invention, in any one nation, exist for the common benefit of all. Every where the same scenes are passing. People growing more enlightened ; more resolved ; more powerful. Monarchs more wise ; more timid ; less arbitrary. In all nations, the multitude are grasping after a representative control, in the management of state affairs ; and sooner, or later, they will be successful. Kings begin, already, to realize the necessity. They must feel it more. They cannot choose but to yield to it. The light is too powerful, it cannot be shut out. Knowledge too penetrating, it cannot be excluded. Let emperors and kings league ; let the North pour forth its military hordes. These are only the obstacles appointed by Providence to ensure greater certainty to that universal amelioration of the human condition, to which man is destined, by rendering it slowly and gradually progressive. The enormities of

the French revolution evidence the guilt and crime, in which a nation may be involved, by having light and freedom put into its possession, before it is prepared to receive them. Monarchs and their hosts are but instruments in the hands of Providence; destined to check the rapidity, not forever to terminate the intellectual progress, of our species. To be effectual and permanent, this advance must be slow. Fetters must be broken off, by degrees, from nations, which have been, for ages, in chains. Light must be poured gradually upon the eye, which is first introduced to the day. This is the law of our nature. This is the course of Providence.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the extension of these influences, among the mass of mankind, must, even in Europe, tend to diminish the recurrence of war, not only from the reasons and consequences, already urged, but also from the actual state of European soldiery; the necessary result of their education, their habits and their relations to society. In our own country, accustomed as we are to associate, whatever there is of the military character in it, with the services and interests of our revolution, or to see it, little separated from the virtues and innocence of civil life, we can scarcely form an idea of the degraded moral and intellectual condition of the mere soldiery of Europe. Their own statesmen and historians seem at a loss to express their abhorrence of the whole class. "War makes thieves," says Machiavel, who was himself no enemy to the profession, "and peace hangs them.* For those, who know not

* Art of War. B. 1.

how to get their bread, in any other way, when they are disbanded and out of employ, disdaining poverty and obscurity, are forced to have recourse to such ways of supporting themselves, as generally brings them to the gallows.”

The experience of our own day is not very different. From the revival of the ancient system of buccaneering in the West India seas, and the crimes, committed in every part of Europe and America, since the cessation of hostilities, it is apparent that those, who can no longer rob and murder, under the sanction of civil society, have, at length, set up for themselves; and are carrying on their old trade, at their own risque and under their own authority. What better can be expected from men, sold like slaves, from one despot to another; contracting to do the work of murder, for hire; careless, for whom; indifferent, against whom; or for what; expecting pay and plunder; these assured, asking no further questions.

It is impossible, without recurrence to feelings and sentiments of a higher and purer nature, than those, induced by common life, to do justice to the deep moral depravity and the cruel bloodstained scenes of ordinary warfare. Alas! How must they be viewed, by higher intelligences and virtues!

Science and revelation concur, in teaching that this ball of earth, which man inhabits, is not the only world; that millions of globes, like ours, roll in the immensity of space. The sun, the moon, “those seven nightly wandering fires,” those twinkling stars are worlds. There, doubtless, dwell other moral, and intellectual natures; angelic spirits; passing what man

calls time, in one untired pursuit of truth and duty ; still seeking ; still exploring, ever satisfying, never satiating, the ethereal, moral, intellectual thirst ; whose delightful task it is,—as it should be ours,—to learn the will of the Eternal Father ; to seek the good, which to that end—for them and us to seek,—he hides ; and finding, to admire, adore, and praise,—“ him first, him last, him midst and without end.”

Imagine one of these celestial spirits, bent on this, great purpose, descending upon our globe ; and led, by chance, to an European plain, at the point of some great battle ; on which, to human eye, reckless and blind to overruling Heaven, the fate of states and empires is suspended.

On a sudden, the field of combat opens on his astonished vision. It is a field, which men call, “ glorious.” A hundred thousand warriors stand in opposed ranks. Light gleams on their burnished steels. Their plumes and banners wave. Hill echoes to hill the noise of moving rank and squadron ; the neigh and tramp of steeds ; the trumpet, drum, and bugle call.

There is a momentary pause ;—a silence, like that, which precedes the fall of the thunderbolt ; like that awful stillness, which is precursor to the desolating rage of the whirlwind. In an instant, flash succeeding flash pours columns of smoke along the plain. The iron tempest sweeps ; heaping man, horse, and car, in undistinguished ruin. In shouts of rushing hosts,—in shock of breasting steeds,—in peals of musquetry,—in artillery’s roar,—in sabres’ clash,—in thick and gathering clouds of smoke and dust, all human

eye, and ear, and sense are lost. Man sees not, but the sign of onset. Man hears not, but the cry of—"onward."

Not so, the celestial stranger. His spiritual eye, unobscured by artificial night, his spiritual ear, unaffected by mechanic noise, witness the real scene, naked, in all its cruel horrors.

He sees—lopped and bleeding limbs scattered,—gashed, dismembered trunks, outspread, gore-clotted, lifeless ;—brains bursting from crushed skulls ; blood gushing from sabred necks ; severed heads, whose mouths mutter rage, amidst the palsyng of the last agony.

He hears—the mingled cry of anguish and despair, issuing from a thousand bosoms, in which a thousand bayonets turn,—the convulsive scream of anguish from heaps of mangled, half-expiring victims, over whom the heavy artillery-wheels lumber and crush into one mass, bone, and muscle, and sinew ;—while the fetlock of the war-horse drips with blood, starting from the last palpitation of the burst heart, on which his hoof pivots.

"This is not earth,"—would not such a celestial stranger exclaim ;—"This is not earth"—"this is hell ! This is not man ! but demon, tormenting demon."

Thus exclaiming, would not he speed away to the skies ? His immortal nature unable to endure the folly, the crime, and the madness of man.

If in this description, there be nothing forced, and nothing exaggerated ; if all great battles exhibit scenes, like these, only multiplied ten thousand times, in every awful form, in every cruel feature, in every

heart rending circumstance ; will society, in a high state of moral and intellectual improvement endure their recurrence ? As light penetrates the mass, and power with light, and purity with power, will men, in any country, consent to entrust their peace and rights, to a soldiery like that of Europe, described as “ a needy, sensual, vicious cast, reckless of God and man, and mindful only of their officer ? ”

Even in Europe, is not a brighter and purer day breaking ? Even there, though overwhelmed by the weight of mightiest monarchies, public opinion heaves and shakes the mountain mass, by which the moral and intellectual developement of human nature is oppressed. Already the middling classes of society have burst the ancient feudal chains, and priest-craft manacles, and vindicated for themselves, a glorious day ; under whose light, knowledge and virtue are expanding, and checking the crimes of courts, as well as of the crowd, and pointing with the finger of authoritative scorn at the vices of the high and the noble, not less than at those of the low and ignoble.

“ Revolutions go not backward.” Neither does the moral and intellectual progress of the multitude. Light is shining where once there was darkness ; and is penetrating and purifying the once corrupt and enslaved portions of our species. It may, occasionally, and for a season, be obscured ; or seem retrograde. But light, moral and intellectual, shall continue to ascend to the zenith until that, which is now dark, shall be in day ; and much of that earthly crust, which still

adheres to man, shall fall and crumble away, as his nature becomes elevated.

With this progress, it needs no aid from prophecy, none from revelation, to foretel that war, the greatest, yet remaining curse and shame of our race, shall retire to the same cave, where "Pope and Pagan" have retired, to be remembered only, with a mingled sentiment of disgust and wonder, like the war-feast of the savage; like the perpetual slavery of captives; like the pledge of revenge, in the scull-bowl of Odin; like the murder of helots in Greece, and of gladiators, in Rome; like the witch-burnings, the Smithfield-fires, and St. Bartholomew-massacres, of modern times. At every new moral and intellectual height attained, man looks back on the darkness of the region below, with pity and astonishment, mingled with contempt. And future times shall look back upon the moral and intellectual state of man, at the present day, proud and boastful as we are, with the same sentiments and feelings, with which, in manhood, we look back on the petulance of infancy; and the weak and toyish wants and passions, which disturbed the tranquillity of our childish years.

If these anticipations have any colour of hope, amid the antique customs and thronged population of Europe, how just and how bright are they, in this favoured country, where God and nature combine to invite man to lay the foundations of a new and happy era, for our race! How does the moral, intellectual, and local condition of the United States combine to repress all the three causes, "which prepare and dispose states for war." First, by elevating and improv-

ing the condition of the people. Second, by restraining the ambition of rulers. Third, by rendering it easy, if we will, to expunge the entire class of "soldiers professt."

Never did a nation commence its existence, under auspices, so favourable, as did the United States. Other nations advanced slowly from the savage state, or from a state, worse than savage, that of professed robbers and plunderers. On the contrary, the United States, educated, as colonies, under systems of liberty, as pure, as elevated, and as practical, as the wit of man had ever devised, became, as it were, a nation, in a day; without any of those wild excesses and bloody convulsions, which attended the foundation of other nations. Our citizens were, in fact, republicans, when they were, as yet, colonists. On assuming independence, they did little else than transfer the attributes of the monarch to the people; and provide the organs, by which the will of the new sovereign should be expressed. Forms were changed. But their principles, their habits, their manners, underwent no alteration. It is impossible not to perceive how admirably adapted our state of society is, for the cultivation of simplicity, truth to nature, to reason and virtue, in all our purposes, and in all our institutions.

Even our militia system, although regarded by many zealous advocates for peace, as stimulating war, is, in fact, the most powerful means of preventing its recurrence. In the present condition of the world, a well appointed militia is unavoidable, in every state, which would escape the necessity of "a state of sol-

diery professed." The right to defend its own territories against actual invasion is the last, which society can permit to be questioned. In such a state of moral sentiment, as at present exists among the nations of the earth, the possibility that a nation may be reduced to the necessity of resisting actual invasion is a reason, every where, for warlike preparations. As long as this possibility continues, those advocates for peace, weaken their own ground and narrow their own influence, who put preparations by the militia on a level, in point of moral offence, with preparations by standing armies. In its true character, a militia is a military force, effectual to repel invasion, and effectual for nothing else. Those, therefore, best consult the interests of the pacific system, who admit the necessity, in the present period of society, of preparations by a militia ; thereby depriving the advocates of a standing army of all pretence, grounded on the apprehension of invasion ; and yet, at the same time, adopting a mode of defence, safe for the liberties of the people, and inapplicable to every state of hostilities ; except one ; and that, beyond all doubt, the most unquestionable, in point of principle. The greatest advance to a condition of universal peace would be that, in which there were no " state of soldiers profest ;" no arms, but in the hands of the people ; and the authority to use them limited to the fact of actual invasion.

The local relations of the United States are, in the most extraordinary manner, adapted to limit and decrease the influence of all the causes of war. Our rulers are responsible to the people at short periods. The

extent of our territory is such, that ages must elapse, before our numbers can exceed the productive powers of our soil to support. Of consequence, extreme poverty, which Lord Bacon calls "the hard means to live," will scarce, for ages, be the condition of any important portion of our citizens. With militia power, enough to make all fear of foreign invasion idle, we have territory enough to render all desire in us of foreign acquisition, little less than frantic. What then have we to do with a standing army? Of all nations, under heaven, the United States have the least apology for possessing even a shadow of such an institution. If any nation was, or ever can be safe, with a militia alone, that nation is the United States.

Such are the answers to the questions, relative to the auspices, which attended the foundation of your society, and the hopes, which accompany its progress. They are neither few, in number; nor doubtful, in type. They are as certain as the capacity of man for moral improvement; and as positive as the development of that capacity is unquestionable. Societies, like yours, are at once evidences of the fact, and instruments to ensure the fulfilment of the hope. They are the repositories of that moral and intellectual armory, which is destined to be the means under Providence, of breaking in pieces the sword, the spear and the battle-axe, and every other implement of war, in like manner as the rays of light and of truth, concentrated by the magic mirror of Cervantes, melted into air and dissipated, the dwarfs, the knights, the giants, the enchanters and battlements of ancient chivalry.

These means are as plain, as their tendency is noble. Whatever there is in the circumstances of the time, tending to make war, less frequent, less probable, or more odious, on that seize; that analyze, display and enforce. Bring the principles, connected with those circumstances, home to men's business and bosoms; not by discoursing on the beauty of moral truth and on the bliss of a tranquil state, but by exhibiting those facts and relations, existing among men and between societies, which, if cherished and multiplied and strengthened, give rational grounds of belief that brighter and calmer days may be made to dawn and be perpetuated on our tempest-torn race.

The reasons of this belief, take with you into life. Carry them into the haunts of men, press them upon all, who guide and influence society. Make, if possible, a recognition of them a condition of political power. Above all, satisfy the people of their true interests. Show your fellow-citizens of this, and the men of every other country, that war is a game ever played for the aggrandizement of the few, and for the impoverishment of the many; that those, who play it voluntarily, do it always for selfish, never for public purposes; that war-establishments are every where scions of despotism; that when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch; and never fail to finish by withering every branch, except their own.

Be not then discouraged, gentlemen. True it is, yesterday's sad event has filled all our hearts, with a deep sorrow. He, who at your last anniversary, on this occasion, in this place, and at this hour, was ad-

dressing you, now lies low, in death. Heaven has willed; and Gallison* is gone. His warm heart is cold. His mortal light is quenched. His pure example lives only in remembrance. He is gone;—

* JOHN GALLISON, Esq. who died on the 24th December, 1820.—On the 26th instant, the Bar of the county of Suffolk, at a meeting holden, to consider what measures had become proper in consequence of his decease, unanimously passed the following votes—

Voted, That the members of the Bar will attend the funeral of Mr. Gallison :—and that crape be worn by the members, until the end of the present term of the Supreme Court.

Voted, That the following notice of Mr. Gallison's decease be recorded in the books of the Bar.

“The members of our association have been assembled by their common sorrow and sympathy occasioned by the bereavement which the profession and the community have sustained in the decease of Mr. Gallison.

“As a fraternity, our strength is impaired;—as members of society, we are sorrowers in common with all who respect learning, integrity, fidelity, piety, and whatsoever tends to adorn and elevate the fellowship of men.

“The emanations from Mr. Gallison's mind and heart were so familiar to us and of such daily experience, that like some of the most common, though most precious of blessings, it is only by unexpected and irretrievable loss that their just value is perceived.

“Professional learning, in Mr. Gallison, was scarcely a subject of remark. We all felt that he must be learned, for we all knew that he severely exacted of himself to be competent to whatsoever he undertook;—diligence and fidelity were his peculiar qualities; his moral sense made them so;—he could never inspire a confidence that he could not fully satisfy.

“It is not only a learned, a diligent, a faithful minister of justice, that is lost to us; the public have lost one of the purest and most indefatigable and most capable of all men who have attempted to illustrate the utility of professional learning; to prove the beauty and fitness of morality, and to give new attraction to the truth of revealed sanctions. It was among the favorite pursuits and objects of our deceased brother, to trace the connexion and dependence which exist between learning, religion, morality, civil freedom, and human happiness.

“The very virtues which we admired are the cause of our present regret. His labours were incessant—and through these his course is terminated at an early age. However brief, his life has been long enough to furnish a valuable commentary on our professional, moral, and political institutions. He lived long enough to prove that an unaided individual, of such qualities as those which we are called on to regret, will find a just place in the community. He has proved that an unassuming citizen of chastened temper, amiable deportment, indefatigable industry, incorruptible integrity, and sincere attachment to the public welfare, will always be felt, known, and honoured. He has proved that a man who was never known among his contemporaries, associates, and rivals to have refused to others what belonged to them; or to have assumed to himself what was not his own, cannot go down to the tomb unattended by general and heart-felt regret.”

A copy of the records.

W. J. SPOONER, Sec'y.

the pious, the excellent ; the learned man ; an ornament of our bar ; a model for our youth ; the delight of the aged ; one of the choice hopes of our state ; whom all honoured, for his worth was at once solid and unobtrusive ; whom none envied, for his acquisitions, though great and rare, were but the fair harvest of his talents, of his labour and his virtues.

Let not this Providence discourage. Your brother has only taken early possession of the promise to the "pure in heart." He now "beholds his God." Could his spirit speak, it would be but to repeat to you the language of his Redeemer—"BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS, FOR THEY SHALL BE CALLED THE CHILDREN OF GOD." Like him make yourselves worthy of the hope, and heirs of the promise. Set before your eyes the glorious nature of the object, at which you aim. Absolute failure is impossible, because your purposes concur with all the suggestions of reason ; all the indications of nature ; all the testimony of history ; and all the promises of religion. They are pure ; elevated ; divine. Your end is the honour and happiness of your race. Your means are the advancement of the moral and intellectual character of man.

What though the image you assail, be great ; and the form thereof terrible ; and its brightness, dazzling ? What though its head be of brass, and its arms and legs and body of iron ? Its feet are but clay. The stone, which is cut out of the mountain without hands, shall dash it in pieces ; and shall, itself, become a great mountain, and cover the whole earth.







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