

the universal heart of man, ascends the spontaneous tribute to that law, according to which we respond to the feelings by which we are addressed, whether of love or hate, of confidence or distrust.

It may be urged that these instances are exceptions to the general laws by which mankind are governed. It is not so. They are the unanswerable evidence of the real nature of man. They reveal the divinity of humanity, out of which all goodness, all happiness, all true greatness can alone proceed. They disclose susceptibilities which are general, which are confined to no particular race of men, to no period of time, to no narrow circle of knowledge and refinement—but which are present wherever two or more human beings come together, and which are strong in proportion to their virtue and intelligence. It is, then, on the impregnable ground of the nature of man, that I place the fallacy of that prejudice, in obedience to which, now, in an age of civilization, among Christian nations, in time of peace we prepare for war.

But this prejudice is not only founded on a misconception of the nature of man; it is abhorrent to Christianity, which teaches that love is more puissant than force. To the reflecting mind the Omnipotence of God himself is less discernible in the earthquake and the storm than in the gentle but quickening rays of the sun and the sweet descending dews. And he is a careless observer who does not recognize the superiority of gentleness and kindness as a mode of exercising influence or securing rights among men. As the winds of violence beat about them, they hug those mantles, which are gladly thrown to the earth under the warmth of a kindly sun. Thus far, nations have drawn their weapons from the earthly armories of force, unmindful of those others of celestial temper from the house of love.

But Christianity not only teaches the superiority of love over force; it positively enjoins the practice of the former as a constant primal duty. It says, "Love your neighbors;" but it does not say, "In time of peace rear the massive fortification, build the man-of-war, enlist armies, train the militia, and accumulate military stores to overawe your neighbors." It directs that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us—a golden rule for the conduct of nations as well as individuals; but how inconsistent with that distrust of others, in wrongful obedience to which nations, in time of peace, seem to sleep like soldiers on their arms! But this is not all. Its precepts inculcate patience, suffering, forgiveness of evil, even the duty of benefiting a destroyer, "as the sandal wood, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe which fells it." And can a people, in whom this faith is more than an idle word, consent to the diversion of such inestimable sums from good works and all the purposes of Christianity, in order to pamper the spirit of war?

The injunction, "Love one another," is as applicable to nations as to individuals. It is one of the great laws of Heaven. And nations, like individuals, may well measure their nearness to God and to his glory by the degree to which they regulate their conduct by this duty.

In response to these successive views, founded on considerations of economy, of the true nature of man, and of Christianity, I hear the sceptical note of some defender of the transmitted order of things, some one who wishes "to fight for peace," saying, these views are beautiful but visionary; they are in advance of the age; the world is not yet prepared for their reception. To such persons I would say, nothing can be beautiful that is not true; but these views are true, and the time is now come for their reception. Now is the

day and now is the hour. Every effort to impede their progress arrests the advancing hand on the great dial-plate of human happiness.

The name of Washington is invoked as an authority for a prejudice which economy, wisdom, humanity and Christianity all declare to be false. Mighty and reverend as is his name, more mighty and more reverend is truth. The words of counsel which he gave were in accordance with the spirit of his age,—an age which was not shocked by the slave-trade. But his lofty soul, which loved virtue, and inculcated justice and benevolence, frowns upon the efforts of those who would use his authority as an incentive to war. God forbid that his sacred character should be profanely stretched, like the skin of John Ziska, on a militia drum to arouse the martial ardor of the American people!

Let the practice of Washington, during the eight years of his administration, compared with that of the eight years last past, explain his real opinions. His condemnation of the present wasteful system speaks to us from the following table:

YEARS.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.	NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.
1789-91	\$ 885,000	\$ 570
1792	1,223,594	53 1
1793	1,237,620	
1794	2,733,540	61,409
1795	2,573,059	410,562
1796	1,474,661	274,784
Total during eight years of Washington	\$10,078,092	\$487,378
1835	9,420,313	3,564,939
1836	18,466,110	5,800,763
1837	19,417,274	6,852,060
1838	19,936,412	5,175,771
1839	14,268,981	6,225,003
1840	11,621,438	6,124,445
1842	13,903,898	6,246,503
1843	8,248,918	7,963,673
Total during eight years	\$114,283,244	\$49,053,473

Thus it appears that the expenditures for the armaments of the country, under the sanction of Washington, amounted

to about \$11,000,000, while those during a recent similar period of eight years stretch to upwards of \$164,000,000 — an increase of fifteen hundred per cent! To him who quotes the precept of Washington I commend the example. He must be strongly possessed by the military mania who is not ready to confess that in this age, when the whole world is at peace, and when our national power is assured, there is less need of these preparations than in an age convulsed with war, when our national power was little respected. The only semblance of an argument in their favor is founded in the increased wealth of the country; but the capacity to endure taxation is no criterion of its justice, or even its expediency.

The fallacy that whatever is is right is also invoked as an apology. Our barbarous practice is exalted above all those principles by which these preparations are condemned. We are made to count principles as nothing, because they have not yet been recognized by nations. But they have been practically applied to the relations of individuals, of towns, of counties. All these have disarmed. It remains only that they should be extended to the grander sphere of nations. Be it our duty to proclaim the principles, whatever may be the practice! Through us let truth speak. The bigots of the past, and all who are selfishly concerned in the existing system, may close their minds and hearts to her message. Thus it has been in all ages. Nay more; there is often an irritation excited by her presence; and men, who are kind and charitable, forget their kindness and lose their charity towards the unaccustomed stranger. Harshness, neglect, intolerance, ensue. It was this spirit which awarded a dungeon to Galileo, when he declared that the earth moved round the sun — which neglected the great discovery by Harvey of the circulation of the blood — which bitterly opposed the divine phil-

anthropy of Clarkson, when first denouncing the wickedness of the slave-trade. But truth, rejected and dishonored in our day, shall become the household companion of the next generation.

Auspicious omens from the past and the present cheer us for the future. The terrible wars of the French Revolution were the violent rending of the body which preceded the exorcism of the fiend. Since the morning stars first sang together the world has not witnessed a peace so harmonious and enduring as that which now blesses the Christian nations. Great questions between them, fraught with strife, and in another age sure heralds of war, are now determined by mediation or arbitration. Great political movements, which, only a few short years ago, must have led to forcible rebellion, are now conducted by peaceful discussion. Literature, the press, and various societies all join in the holy work of inculcating good will to man. The spirit of humanity now pervades the best writings, whether the elevated philosophical inquiries of the "Vestiges of Creation," the ingenious but melancholy moralizings of the "Story of a Feather," or the overflowing raillery of "Punch." Nor can the breathing thought and burning word of poet or orator have a higher inspiration. Genius is never so Promethean as when it bears the heavenly fire of love to the hearths of men.

In the last age Dr. Johnson uttered the detestable sentiment that he liked "a good hater." The man of this age must say that he likes "a good lover." Thus reversing the objects of regard, he follows a higher wisdom and a purer religion than the renowned moralist knew. He recognizes that peculiar Christian sentiment, the brotherhood of mankind, destined soon to become the decisive touchstone of all human institutions. He confesses the power of love, des-

tinued to enter, more and more, into all the concerns of life. And as love is more heavenly than hate, so must its influence redound more to the true glory of man, and to his acceptance with God. A Christian poet — whose few verses bear him with unflagging wing on his immortal flight — has joined this sentiment with prayer. Thus he speaks in words of uncommon pathos and power:

"He prayeth well who loveth well
All things both great and small.

"He prayeth best who loveth best
Both man and bird and beast,
For the dear God, who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

Surely the ancient law of hate is yielding to the law of love. It is seen in the manifold labors of philanthropy and in the voyages of charity. It is seen in the institutions for the insane, for the blind, for the deaf and dumb, for the poor, for the outcast — in the generous efforts to relieve those who are in prison — in the public schools, opening the gates of knowledge to all the children of the land. It is seen in the diffusive amenities of social life, and in the increasing fellowship of nations. It is seen in the rising opposition to slavery and to war.

There are yet other special auguries of this great change, auspicious, in the natural progress of man, the abandonment of all international preparations for war. To these I allude briefly, but with a deep conviction of their significance.

Look at the past; and observe the change in dress. Down to a period quite recent the sword was the indispensable companion of the gentleman wherever he appeared, whether in the street or in society; but he would be thought a madman or a bully who should wear it now. At an earlier period the armor of complete steel was the habiliment of the knight.

From the picturesque sketch by Sir Walter Scott, in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," we may learn the barbarous constraint of this costume.

"Ten of them were sheathed in steel,
With belted sword, and spur on heel;
They quitted not the harness bright,
Neither by day, nor yet by night;
They lay down to rest,
With corselet laced,
Pillowed on buckler cold and hard;
They carved at the meal
With gloves of steel,
And they drunk the red wine through the helmet barred."

But this is all changed now. Observe also the change in architecture and in domestic life. The places once chosen for castles, or houses, were in savage, inaccessible retreats, where the massive structure was reared, destined to repel attacks and to enclose its inhabitants. Even monasteries and churches were fortified, and girdled by towers, ramparts and ditches, while a child was often stationed as a watchman, to observe what passed at a distance, and announce the approach of an enemy. The homes of peaceful citizens in towns were castellated, often without so much as an aperture for light near the ground, but with loop-holes through which the shafts of the cross-bow might be aimed. From a letter of Margaret Paston, in the time of Henry VII of England, I draw a curious and authentic illustration of the armed life of that period. Addressing in dutiful phrase her "right worshipful husband," she asks him to procure for her "some cross-bows and wyndnacs [grappling irons] to bind them with, and quarrels" [arrows with a square head],—also "two or three short pole-axes to keep within doors;" and she tells her absent lord of the preparations made apparently by a neighbor—"great ordnance within the house"—"bars to bar the door crosswise, and wickets in every quarter of the

house to shoot out at, both with bows and hand-guns." Savages could hardly live in greater distrust of each other. Let now the poet of chivalry describe another scene:

"Ten squires, ten yeomen, mail-clad men,
Waited the beck of the warders ten;
Thirty steeds, both fleet and wight,
Stood saddled in stable day and night,
Barbed with frontlet of steel I trow,
And with Jedwood axe at saddle bow;
A hundred more fed free in stall:
Such was the custom at Branksome Hall."

This also is all changed now. But the principles which have caused this change are not only active still but increasing in activity. They cannot be restrained to individuals. Nations also must soon confess them, and, like individuals, abandoning martial habiliments and fortifications, enter upon a peaceful unarmed life. With shame let it be said, that they continue to live in the very relations of distrust towards their neighbors which shocks us in the knights of Branksome Hall and in the house of Margaret Paston. They seem to pillow themselves on "buckler cold and hard;" and their highest anxiety and largest expenditure are for the accumulation of new munitions of war. The barbarism which individuals have renounced nations continue to cherish. So doing, they take counsel of the wild boar in the fable, who whetted his tusks on a tree of the forest, when no enemy was near, saying that in time of peace he must prepare for war. But has not the time now come, when man, whom God created in his own image, and to whom he gave the heaven-directed countenance, shall cease to look down to the beasts for examples of conduct? Nay; let me not dishonor the beasts by the comparison. Man alone of the animal creation preys upon his own species. The kingly lion turns from his brother lion—the ferocious tiger will not raven upon his kindred tiger—