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THE  
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OF  
WAR.

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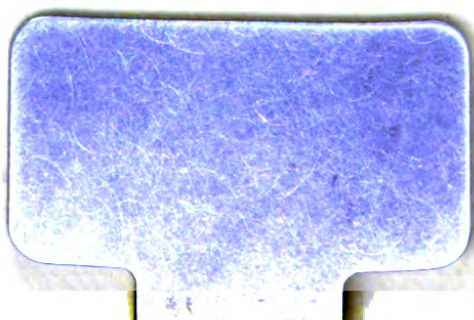
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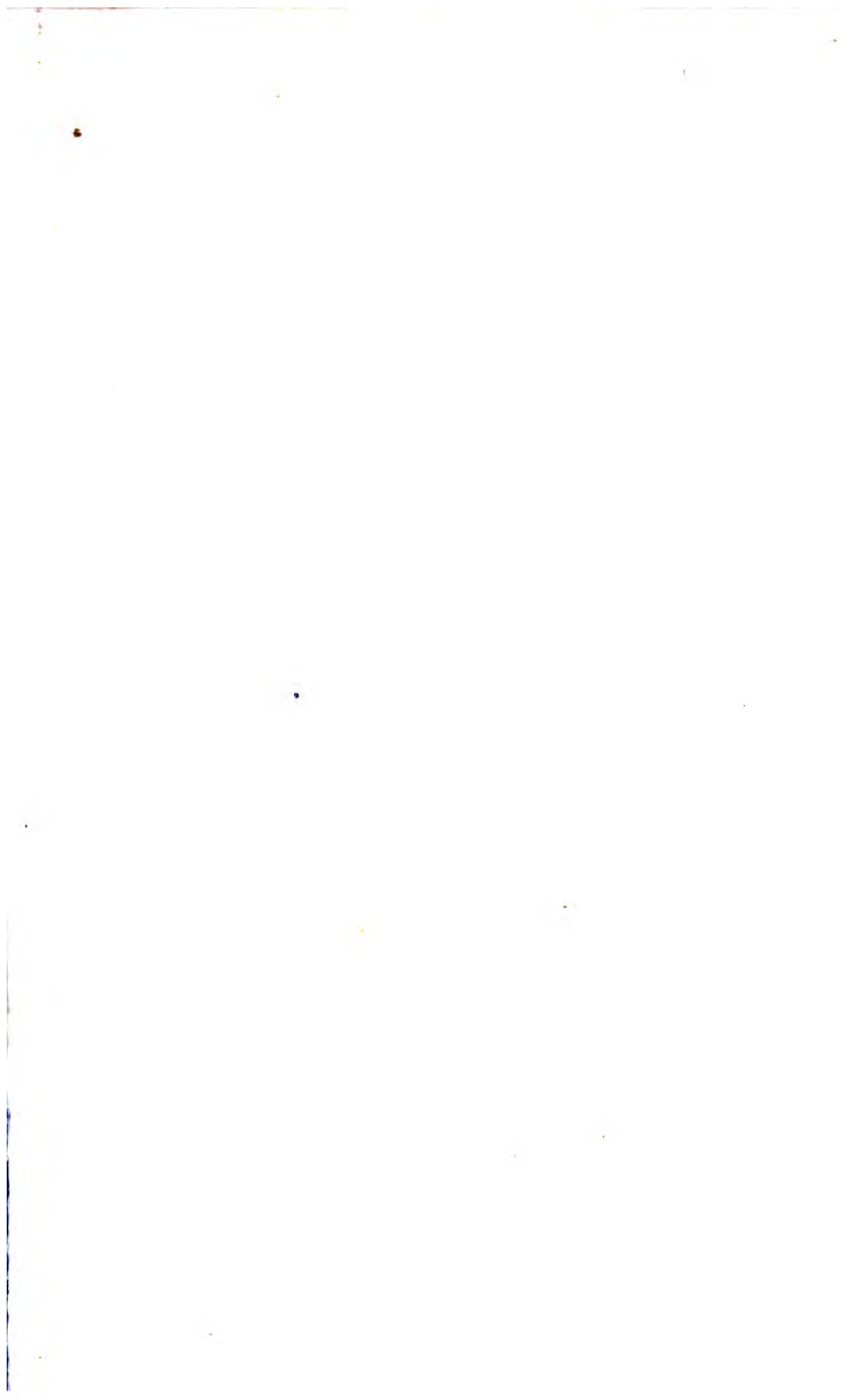
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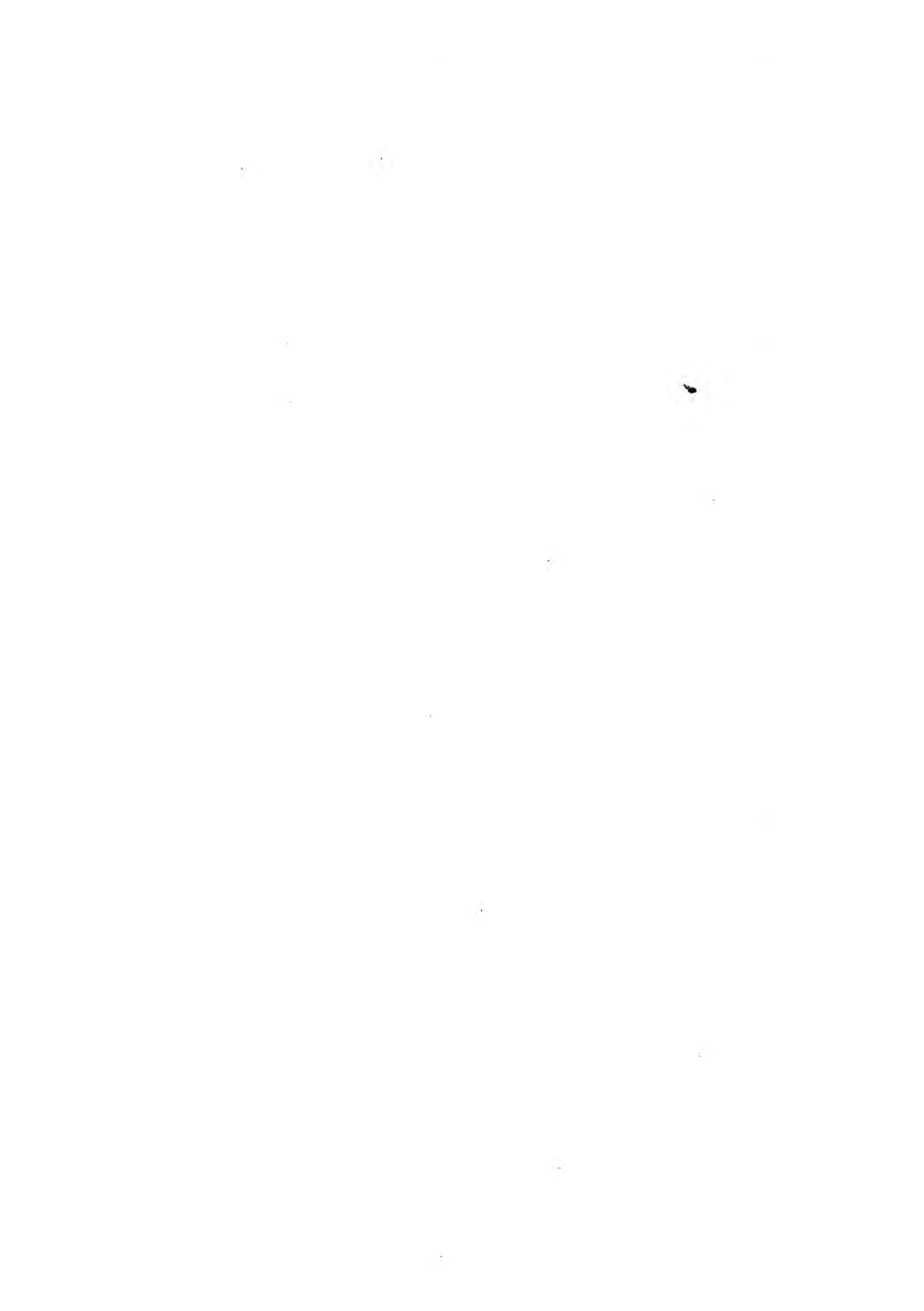
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THE JUSTIFICATION  
OF  
WAR,  
AS THE MEDIUM OF CIVILIZATION.

BY  
GEORGE STEPHENS,

AUTHOR OF "THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ERDELY," "ESSAYS," "DRAMAS," ETC.



*"Of all things tending to the greatness of any Kingdom or State, the principal is, to have a race of Military Men."*—BACON.

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1850.



TO  
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
THE LORD PALMERSTON,

THIS TREATISE UPON THE

*Δικαιώματα των πολέμων*

OF

ARISTOTLE,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.





THE  
JUSTIFICATION OF WAR  
AS THE  
MEDIUM OF CIVILIZATION.

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IT is unnecessary to dilate upon the importance of the thesis which is proposed for consideration in the following pages:—namely, the civilizing influence of the martial spirit on the state of manners, and of society at large. Few subjects can be more important. It has acquired an adscititious interest from certain modern doctrines that have been broached concerning it. I venture in the present treatise to lay my own views in refutation thereof before the public. They are the result of deep meditation upon the evils as well as the advantages entailed by War,—a science, the study of which in all its bearings I commenced long before the birth of the Peace Society.

Hobbes and others have contended, from much observation, that the natural state of man is War. The

first blood shed in the world was that of Abel. Probably the precedent of murder did not remain long without finding imitators. Tubal-Cain, to the grief of his father, became a fabricator of arms. The Abels of the earth stood on their defence—hence, War. Like most things under the sun, abstractedly considered, it is a great evil, but one that would seem to be inevitable. In the present state of society it notoriously is so in many cases.

It has, however, pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to educe good from this sad fact. “Out of the nettle,” War, mankind are led to “pluck the flower,” Civilization. I do not know that the subject has been proposed or considered in this view before, but the position cannot well be impugned with any success.

God has made a state of war auxiliary to the elevation of human nature, to its enlightenment, and to its exaltation to that point of perfection, when we are assured, by prophecy, man will be at peace under his own fig-tree. Providence, moreover, has so ordered the course of the events of this world, that meanwhile war upon the whole is conducive to the general prosperity, and consequently it should be regarded in the light of a Good, though, like all other good things, it is far from disseized of its original taint. The fuller exposition of this argument it will be the office of the following pages to unfold.

He who first reduced to rule that art which has for its object the defence of persecuted virtue, and the punishment of successful wickedness, to curb ambition, and to oppose the unjust claims and pretensions of superior power—

*“pacisque imponere morem,  
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos,”—*

employed his faculties on the most useful and necessary of all the sciences, and he should be ranked amongst the greatest benefactors of his species.

The calamities attendant upon war, as do all the calamities entailed by man's lost innocence, present undoubtedly a mournful subject of contemplation to any reflecting mind. Nevertheless, I am led to the conclusion, that it is often the duty of a Christian statesman, in the fluctuating and infinitely varying circumstances which affect a kingdom's relative welfare and safety, to take the initiative in venturing upon hostilities, when I consider, that the principles which should govern the conduct of nations are only one branch of the law of nature.

It will be found that self-preservation and self-defence are generally admitted to be a primary law—to be obligatory in their own nature. Even a Quaker, I presume, would resist a highwayman. If God, by means of right reason, imposes certain instinctive duties between individuals, it is evident he is likewise willing that

nations, which are only human societies, should observe the same duties, and act upon the same maxims among themselves. The law written in the heart of man is just as binding in the one case as in the other, though the civil state may impart to it a new degree of force and consistency.

Self-preservation is countenanced by the sacred oracles. It forms part of the law of Moses. Therefore, reasoning by analogy, not that nation who may be driven, by an enlarged view of what self-defence requires, to commence hostilities, but the one whose unjust pretensions or actual encroachment is the cause of the shedding of blood, will have to bear the whole moral guilt.

To kill a man is a bad action in a robber, but it is accounted laudable in a citizen or soldier who defends his life or country unjustly attacked. In this latter case, however, a notable distinction ought always to be retained in our thoughts.

Individuals who suffer their private enmity to vacate the unalterable laws of right are obnoxious to the judgment of human tribunals, and other parties have the option of referring their quarrels to the good offices of such as may be willing to compose the difference. It follows, that in the community of nature, no one is entitled to exercise the right of avenging injuries *a l'outrance*, except under circumstances where his own death would be the penalty of any truce to resentment.

But among different communities or states, all being alike governed by self-interest, there can be no impartial umpire ; or if impartiality were attainable, the nation, or power invested with supreme jurisdiction, can have no means or authority to secure or enforce the observance of its decisions. Therefore, arbitration being impossible, of the right of a nation to resort to arms in self-defence there can be no question. But the principle which admits of that right, infers, in many cases, the necessity of attacking, with a view to guard against some distant danger, or to prevent some remote contingency. Were that feasible, which is evidently an utopian fancy, that a *bona fide* league of potentates could be formed, bound to maintain the tranquillity of the world, it is certain, that it can only secure its object at the expense of the interest of one or other of the confederation, who would not be long ere he relieved himself from his false position.

Such an union, wherein *discordiæ tacitæ et quæ intelligerentur potius quam viderentur*, could serve no other end than to exhibit in the face of the world, by the inevitable violation of the compact, an appearance of vacillancy, selfishness, and dishonour. Their joint-stock alliance would be, as to its professed purposes, nugatory ; or, supposing, for the sake of argument, it were not so as respects the members of the league, it would have, at all events, to stultify itself by making



war on such nations as should violate the peace ; namely, within no long interval, upon the greater portion of the world, or, by remaining passive spectators of horror and wickedness, allow civilization to retrograde till " Chaos come again." Only for a moment contemplate the United States in this predicament ! Why the people of that Republic will have to be totally changed in character and temperament before they would refrain from pouncing like a vulture on another Texas, in deference to any sounding nonsense fulminated by a tribunal, neither armed with the authority of this world or the terrors of the next.

The same allegation holds true of the Russian Empire in regard to Circassia—of Great Britain likewise, when the general interest of India, at present closely linked with that of the dominant power, recommended the incorporating Scinde, or the Punjaub, or Nepaul with her Asiatic dominions—and it may be predicated of France when the pear shall be ripe as respects Morocco and other territorial development along the African coast.

The idea on which the Peace Society proceeds is nothing but an abstract fiction, and I will waste no more words thereon, agreeing in opinion, in that particular with J. J. Rousseau, who, in a letter to Mirabeau, sagaciously remarks, "*Il n'y a point de principes abstraits dans la Politique.*"

We have affirmed, that of the right of a government to

resort to arms in self-defence there can be no question. The observance of what Grotius calls the *Justitia expiatrix* may be extorted by force when a nation clearly perceives that it is the only way to prevent her destruction in the overthrow, either directly of her own liberty, or indirectly as a necessary consequence of the ruin of other states. I say of other states, for the same argument of natural justice that should induce a statesman to exert himself for the preservation of his own country from a condition of servitude or dependence, is equally cogent, so far as his opportunity and ability extend, with respect to the liberties of any other country. If any people be struggling with oppression it is the duty of Christian states to fly to their succour. In the long run it will be found to be no less their interest—for interest and duty eternally cohere. Nay, more, such an interference would be just and merciful, though it had no other end in view than the prevention or mitigation of tyranny; unless, indeed, it were certain that the defence of outraged nations—of Spain in 1808, for example; or of Hungary in 1849; or of Turkey in 1850—would tend to diminish those warlike energies among the patriots themselves, the exertion of which must contribute to their virtue and happiness.

There are persons in our days who will not discriminate between the deed of a homicide in self-defence, or to preserve the life of a neighbour, and the san-



guinary act of a cold-blooded murderer. According to them all shedding of human blood is without any justification, and, therefore, War, which involves the shedding of blood by wholesale, is villainous in the highest degree. They pause not a moment to reflect, that every thing in this world is only an adjustment and balancing of evils—that in God's moral government, so finely shaded down are the principles of action, that it is impossible to tell where the Good ends and the Wrong begins, or *vice versa*; and that COMPENSATION universally establishes an equilibrium of all that *seems* anomalous, though often only to be discerned by the eye of Faith.

The common sense of the Sciolists, to whom I allude, would appear to be shackled by abstract common places, till they are really incapable of raising their views to comprehensive principles of human wisdom. The antidote to the crotchets of these shallow thinkers must come from the same quarter with the disease. Popular reason can alone correct the superficial cant so widely disseminated by popular teachers.

With the view of assisting to destroy the web of sophistry, I have constructed such a besom as I hope will be found to answer the purpose; and in the present Essay shall endeavour, according to the measure of my humble abilities, to combine an investigation of the principles which should govern statesmen in deciding upon Peace or War, with as large induction of particular

cases as our space will admit, wherein those principles have been tested, and their truth borne out and exemplified by history.

In the course of my argument, I propose to submit a few practical observations upon the beneficial operation which I conceive the tendency to warfare, whether to oppress or to resist oppression, necessarily has upon the prosperity of a nation considered as a body politick, and likewise upon the community of nations.

In all the variety of governments and institutions, and under all the fantastic multitude of usages and rites which have prevailed among men, two fundamental comprehensive truths may, I think, be recognized as the master principles that, as regards the present question, actuate the politics of every government upon earth.

1st. Where the motive to engage in war is the lust of conquest, open or disguised, or where tyranny and oppression are to be the consequence of victory, such a war is morally unjustifiable.

But even so, war does not necessarily affect the nation governed by such sinister inducements injuriously, at least for many generations. “*The end is not yet.*”

2nd. In the common event of the aggression of another power, the having recourse to the *ultima ratio Regum*, is not only morally justifiable in a state, but often in the highest degree expedient, and it is even sometimes imperative upon a people not to remain at peace.

The arbitrement of arms may not have an immediate successful issue, and no tangible advantages may be discoverable, still the result will "show the heavens just." "Verily there is a God that governs the world."

Discomfiture in war, whether the *casus belli* be valid or otherwise, does not necessarily infer bad fortune; as it is obvious that, in computing consequences, it makes no difference in what way or at what distance they ensue. The disasters which Louis XIV. experienced were of more advantage to France than his successes. The Russians again made the war which Charles XII. waged against them serve the purpose of a military school. Every defeat they met with, only brought them nearer to victory.

To return.—The right of declaring War under certain circumstances, which right involves that of making conquests, is derived from necessity and strict justice. That it more often proceeds on the arbitrary principles of glory and expediency is a truth indicative of the depravity of human nature, and which leads to the inference, that the origin of the infraction of natural law is coeval or rather coincident with the first consequences of sin, and that both are destined to the same duration of existence.

War, however, has been made an instrument to effectuate wise purposes; and that it forms a part of the great scheme of the Creator, a cursory glance at the inanimate creation will testify.

The tempests, the hurricanes, the earthquakes, the volcanos, the monsoons, the inequalities of the earth's surface, in short, all the phenomena of the globe, are consonant to the irate propensity of living creatures, from man down to the lowest reptile.

This singular style or character in the physical as well as the moral operations of divine wisdom everywhere announces, amidst an infinite variety of detail, an inimitable congruity of design. Now guilt and misery too portentously disfigure the human soul, and imperfection is too objective in the external world to allow any thinking person for a moment to suppose that the position of the human race upon earth is intended to be one of peace until "the New Heaven and the New Earth which I will make, saith the Lord." All that is adverse to a pacific system throughout the world, has ever arisen from want of faith in God, and of obedience to his laws; and the analogy between moral and physical evil that has been hitherto, and is at present abundantly manifest, will not fail to hold good to the end.

War is neither good nor bad in itself. "It is the cause—it is the cause," it is the moral obliquity, or theologically speaking, the sin that produces War, and that must be first rooted out ere Peace be possible.

The extinction of every description of physical evil is only to be looked for when moral evil is removed.

"This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshing."—*Isaiah* xxv., 12.

There is, however, balm in Gilead. "The toad spotted and venomous, bears yet a precious jewel in its head." The general connection or parallel between the corruption of the physical and moral world clearly points out there must be wise and beneficent purposes to which both are subservient. The passion for war has contributed to the perfectionating of mankind ; for could we conceive a state of the world from which this passion were completely, universally, and for ever banished, not only would patriotism, loyalty, fidelity, courage, fortitude, emulation, magnanimity, and other ennobling qualities, under all their various appearances and in all their different degrees, be obliterated from the catalogue of virtues, but the very words describing those qualities would, upon that supposition, have no longer any meaning or significance.

If it were possible to strip a man of these attributes of his humanity, what were he, so far as respects his *status*, in this life at least, better than a mere mechanized superior brute ? He would and must become stupid and unimpassioned, having no care but that of procuring his food, and little other enjoyment save that of devouring it.

There is no human pursuit that has called to its service the whole accumulated aid of the arts and sciences so much as war has done. It gives an impulse without ceasing to the discoveries and inventions of philosophy,



and adopts with care every physical and mechanical improvement. The consequence is, that the art of war has ever been undergoing changes. In our days chemistry and mechanics have combined for obtaining increased means of destruction, and that with the sure consequence of giving to the means of civilization more formidable weapons. And relative to this point I would remark, that though War happens to be the *immediate* cause of the deaths of individuals, it does not follow it should be held in abhorrence. Man has no immortal heritage upon earth; he occupies the little spot of ground on which he stands by the frailest tenure. He is subject to death which by sin came into the world. That one hundred thousand soldiers perish opposed to one another on the field of battle, in defence of their country, or in obedience to their sovereign, is, in point of fact, no more terrible than their losing the breath of life during the same week or month in any other way, seeing that first or last all these individuals must in some shape or other have encountered their end. "Ripeness is all." For my particular individual taste, I confess, albeit neither soldier nor sailor, I should very much prefer to close my life on the field of victory to any other mode of "shuffling off this mortal coil."

But egotism apart, the truth is, if a man be about his duty, whether he be called to his account off Tra-

falgar, or at Marseilles, or at Portsmouth, matters not one rush. The human frame is every instant battling with such perils, that the prolongation of life is nothing short of a miracle. It is Omnipotence that prevents Death seizing his victim, and the only distinguishable difference is, that on the field of battle a man is more sensible of that fact.

To hear certain pseudo-humanitarians, one would conclude that death were not the life of good men, and that the grave were not the threshold of immortality. As for the suffering superinduced, far and wide, by the operation of war, I see not why it should be apprehended as more grievous than suffering from any other cause.

“ The slayer and the slain have sat together,  
“ In churches, council-chambers, and on thrones ;  
“ And there they are smitten though no gash be seen for it ;  
“ What’s he that is not stabbed at the core ?”

MARTINUZZI.

That we should undergo suffering is the cause why we came into this probationary sphere. The general law of nature is not to save us from trouble or misfortune, but to make us capable of going through it. It is the condition of our being ; and, united with difficulty and trial, is intended to be a school of discipline for acquiring the qualifications necessary for a future state of safety and happiness. We are to be “ made

perfect through suffering," and that man who has never experienced adversity knows nothing as he ought.—

Λικα δε τοις μεν παθουσιν μαθειν επιρρεπει.

ESCHYLUS.

For fear of misapprehension, wilful or otherwise, I would remark, *en passant*, I am far indeed from imagining, that it is not our bounden duty to imitate the good Samaritan, and to avert or relieve suffering wherever it is in our power. But the afflictions and calamities that are produced by war are only evitable, and often only to be remedied in one way, namely, by each individual sincerely praying to the Almighty to give him a heart of flesh, so that he may never come to hate his neighbour with or without a cause.

To recur to our argument. I will further undertake to say, that there would be no use in learning or in science if wars were totally unknown. The principal, if not the only object, of the learned, as well as of the brave, is *distinction*. The source of distinction is public utility. Public utility, after a very little tracing, will be found to rest at the point of public safety; and were it not for the occasional fact of unjust encroachment that eventuates in mutual hostilities, and for the continual possibility of the recurrence of wars, public safety would be a mere sound without sense.

To cavil at this constitution of things were only to impugn the wisdom of the Creator in the permission of evil.



There are spheres, it may be presumed, in illimitable space where the existence of moral disease, or wickedness of any kind, is unknown. But in our planet the scourge of war is one of the *media* permitted by the Almighty for the purification and chastisement of his creatures.

To speak, however, of war as being in all cases a blessing, would be as great an error as to stigmatise it as a curse, in all cases to be got rid of as soon as possible—as an evil to be abolished before civil and religious liberty is universally established—before principle is triumphant—before freedom, self-government, and independence are *everywhere* ascertained and secured—which is a folly on the other side.

There is no denying that it is a heinous crime to resort to arms from the thirst of conquest or the thirst of gain, or from any such iniquitous cupidity. Statesmen should hesitate—they are bound to try every expedient, every lenient art consistent with national honour—before they venture on such a desperate remedy as that of waging war. *Cuncta prius tentanda*. That is all right ; for thereby war may often be honorably averted. But as respects the possibility of its universal extinction, I can discern nothing in the religious, the moral, and intellectual aspect of our times to encourage that hope. So long as the disorderly passions of men continue to operate, their influence upon society cannot but be mischievous. Consequences will make themselves apparent

until the cause shall cease to subsist, and the word of God ascribes the existence of war to the cause I have assigned—the disorderly passions of men.

“Whence come wars and fighting among ye?”, saith Saint James, “Come they not from your lusts that war in your members?” The Apostle knew that nations, though they acknowledged no common superior, and cannot, as I have already shown, be subjected to the judgment of a human tribunal, for such horrors, for instance, as those perpetrated by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, are yet under the same obligations, by the law of nature, mutually to practise self-control and humanity which would have bound them as individuals. Linked together as members of the great society of mankind, they have been considered as bodies politic, and they receive the appellation of moral persons. They are consequently, in like manner, obligated by justice to the abnegation of selfish lusts, and to the fulfilment of certain duties. *Jus feciale* and *jus naturæ* were and are nearly synonymous phrases. Individuals indeed sometimes escape punishment in this world—*Nations never*; though centuries may elapse, ere retributive justice overtake them, ere they be dogged to their doom as if by the famed Spartan dog, or the slow-footed hound of Fate.

Κυνος Λακωνης ως τις ευρινος βασις.

SOPHOCLES.

From what we have already said it may be inferred, that commonwealths as well as private persons are liable to injury and dishonour, and are no less capable of benefit from each other. It is, therefore, the duty of more powerful states to reverence and practise, and if needs be enforce upon others, *vi et armis*, those rules of justice which control and restrain injury, and which equally preserve civilized states and individuals in a tolerable condition of security from wrong. But the very polity or reason of State which prescribes this duty to the universal commonwealth of the human race, involves the necessity of War, whenever a power like Russia, or a conqueror like Napoleon, would fain crush with giant strength the weaker brotherhood of nations.

It has already been remarked, that it is incumbent upon an independent power under such circumstances to interpose, and Providence has so identified our interest with our duty, that we can hardly punish those princes or republics who are bent upon procuring the advantage of their own people by infringing upon the rights of other nations, without at the same time making conquests, and aggrandizing ourselves by their retension.

*“L’objet de la guerre,” says Montesquieu, “c’est la victoire; Celui de la victoire la conquete; Celui de la conquete la conservation.”—De l’Esprit des Loix.*

The depravation of human passions, which with the

greater portion of mankind is untempered by even the appearance of humility and devotion, should be considered as a gangrene in collective life, for which fire and the sword are the only remedies. The appearance of the disease from time to time in one quarter or other is ever to be apprehended, and it is a contingency against which it is lawful for any people to guard by anticipating oppression ; and, where it is otherwise unavoidable, they must combat, if not exactly *pro aris et focis*, yet for the landmarks of their country or the limits of their empire.

*“Neque vero hoc solum jure gentium constitutum est, ut non liceat sui commodi causa alteri nocere,”* was the observation of the most eloquent of jurisconsults.

Therefore, in order to forelay injury, will reasons of State, so long as insincerity, inhumanity, and injustice are rife in the world, recommend and justify the enterprises of war. And these reasons of state are laid not in mere human polity. Governments, who through malice or from motives of self-interest break the band of the peace of society, can set up no plea before Heaven why others they have injured, or upon whose rights they contemplate infringing, should not proceed against them by forcible methods. The society of nations, to say nothing of the balance of power, could not subsist were acts of injustice tolerated.

Where a nation shall be convinced that there is a reasonable necessity to engage in war in defence of its rights or its liberties, this obligation constitutes its duty—

it is tantamount to the divine will. But in judging of this necessity, a statesman is not to be governed by his own transient and hasty opinion upon the tendency of every particular demand or act of a rival or friendly power, but by those fixed and unalterable rules, which are the joint result of the impartial judgment, the natural feelings, and the embodied experience of mankind. *Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna.* —CICERO.

The authority of these rules, moderated, matured, and improved, has its source in the *communis sensus*—the common instinct of the world. It is so deeply laid in human nature, in almost every imaginable variety in the character, opinions, feelings, and prejudices of mankind, that it may, as I have intimated, justly be accounted *sempiterna* and Divine.

It is a species of natural jurisprudence, which, as Burke predicates of every kind of prejudice, “is always in the right under the direction of reason.” Instructed by its lights, we are led to a further rule upon the duty of statesmen. We arrive at the conclusion, that the cheerful sacrifice of a large proportion of the value of the annual produce of the land, and of the industry of a country is required for the assurance of its lasting independence.

By such wise sacrifice, the remainder of the revenue is placed in security, and at the same time the integrity of the state and the freedom of the constitution, rendered unassailable. National parsimony, when a people’s well-



being is at stake, is only suicidal short sightedness—it is mistaking the means for the end. Nobody surely can make any question, but that to a nation of freemen, independence of a foreign yoke is cheaply purchased at any cost.

For such an end no expenditure of treasure, that the case demands, can be too great, nor effusion of blood, the shedding of which the love of country obligates, be too immense : for what, let me ask, were life or luxury in comparison with liberty and honour? Nay more, the growth of public opulence and of all other elements of power is alone consistent with the existence of these blessings in their perfect integrity.

When the inhabitants of a nation are religiously imbued with a spirit of self-sacrifice, they are prepared to resist encroachment from whatever quarter it may be threatened, by means of the ample defences they will have provided, and of their naval and military armaments. Only thus, under God, can the self-interest of other states be made a security against their injustice—only thus is the propensity of a selfish covetous people, of which states are for the most part composed, (and how many such have been and are scattered over the different ages and quarters of the world !) to break the peace and to engage in conflict, for the sake of a prospective advantage, whether of territory, treasure, navigation, or fortresses, to be held in check or rebuked.

And here it is not altogether unconnected with our general purpose to refer to the land we live in.

Thousands of millions have been cheaply laid out in making this country more habitable than any other upon the globe ; and thousands of millions would be even more productively expended—though capital itself were trenced upon—in insuring such a country to its inhabitants in peace and honour.

I say, though capital were trenced upon. The supposition of such a necessity of course is extravagant, but it is only by taking an extreme view, that I am enabled to indicate my sense of the relative value of immaterial and material things. I hold, that they are not the Lentuli or the Crassi who constitute the prosperity of a commonwealth, but the Fabricii and the Cincinnati.

In a mammon-worshipping country like England, this remark, which I throw out by the way, will not be without its use if it induces the reader to reflect, that “Man does not live by bread alone;” and that our soldiers and sailors, looking to ultimate results, are the most productive labourers in the country. The pay of our brave defenders is that portion of the national expenditure which purchases health, security, virtue, education, justice, science, and religion for the community. It conduces to a happiness superior to that of the brute. Their due rewards should not be distributed, and the

means of their subsistence be doled out, with a reluctant hand.

His saltem longi, non cum duce, præmia belli  
 Reddantur ; miles sub quolibet iste triumphet.  
 Conferet exanguis quo se post bella senectus ?  
 Quæ sedes erit emeritis ? Quæ rura dabuntur,  
 Quæ noster veteranus aret ? Quæ mænia fessis ?

If no sufficient part of our stock were set apart for the security of our freedom, for the means of guarding our fair and fruitful land against desolating incursions, we may rest assured that the grand stimulus to industry would be wanting. Great nations are only formed by great passions ; and I contend, that (strict economy in the administration of funds being premised and understood) it is almost impossible there can be too large a consumption of the surplus revenue of a country, on the purchase of the defence of the community—*in order to command peace.*

Independence and honour are the *termini ad quos* of all labour ; they are worth infinitely more than any stores of gold or silver, than gorgeous palaces, or splendid parks, or any amount or description of stock or revenue. In short, between such “ quantities,” no comparison can be instituted. They are “ incommensurable.” For the eradication of the natural tendency of states to engage in unjust wars, *which necessitate just ones*, the interposition of some agency far more potent than illusive arbitration is



needed. Man, each individual man, must first have learned to govern his temper, to sift and correct his prejudices, to walk humbly with his God, and refrain, for Godly charity, from ineuendoes that are practical falsehoods, or from levelling abusive and unwarrantable epithets at any institution of society, whether it be a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic. The inward nature of politicians will have to be changed.

All people must be imbued with that spirit of universal charity, which is the living principle of social duty ; and of justice, which is the permanent interest of every commonwealth. I say *all* people, for so long as there shall be an exception, the same conclusion results—that the knowledge and practice of the military art will continue as indispensable to civilization as it ever has been. When our sinful nature shall be renovated, and “divers lusts war not in” human “members;” that is, when Christians, at all events, become what they might, and ought, and are commanded to be, the universal reception of the Gospel would follow, (*John xvii.*, 20, 21) and at the same time will “wars and fighting cease upon the earth.”

A nation is only an aggregate of individual units. Each unit must auspicate the work of pacification by beginning at home. One public character, for example, will have to put a constraint upon himself, and be ashamed to affront the dignity or

reflect upon the honour of the House of Lords, and his friend must learn to harangue a mob without bitter and irreverend allusions to the Church. The motives of all mankind being grounded on the dictates of enlightened conscience, a nation will hardly plunge into strife and contention because an ultimate benefit, an opportunity of bettering her relative position seems to be afforded. When the golden rule shall be universally received and adhered to—that we ought to have the same dispositions in regard to other men as we desire they should entertain towards us, and to behave in the same manner towards them as we are willing they should behave towards us under the like circumstances—the medium of war no longer will be esteemed for any sinister object it is capable of acquiring.

Communities being principalled in the maxim which Revelation teaches, they would cease from bullying and cupidity, they would “seek peace and ensue it;” but with certain advocates of peace in these days, the pyramid is inverted; the first is last and the last first.

The more distinguished of those bred up to arms, I am ready to admit, affect the profession from motives approximating to self-interest, since the love of glory and the desire of riches are principles engrafted in the human heart. Some probably are allured by the “pride, pomp, and circumstance” of military life. Still these inducements are not inconsistent with higher objects.

There are, ( as we had occasion to observe before ) virtues to which only the medium of war can give birth, and which it has a tendency to bring to perfection. We recognise in the naval and military professions what Dr. Johnson has well called " the dignity of danger," and which distinctive quality accounts for the high estimation in which they are held.

War is the great school both for acquiring and exercising fortitude, manhood, and strength of mind. Men become familiar with death, and are thereby necessarily cured of that superstitious horror with which it is viewed by the weak and inexperienced. They learn, moreover, that with courage, activity, and presence of mind, there is often a good probability of extricating themselves with honour from situations where at first they could see no hope.

Such quiet dignity of mind, and habitual contempt of danger and death, ennoble the profession of a soldier or sailor, and bestow upon it, in the apprehension of mankind, a rank and consideration superior to what any other can pretend to.

And this consciousness touches on the chords of pride in the human breast, wherein nature seems to have enrooted an instinctive passion for naval and military fame ; it reverberates through the meanest village-hamlet of every people. You may draw forth tears of emulous sympathy by relating a single martial deed that reflects

honour on the kingdom or even on a private family. It is owing to the universal feeling here indicated, that the skilful and successful exhibition of genius in the vocation of Nelson or Wellington, in the service of their country, has constituted the most distinguishing feature in the character of the favourite "worthies" throughout all ages and in all countries. Nay more, such is human sympathy with magnanimity and the sublime virtues, that we are interested even in the exploits of the buccaneers, and read with some sort of esteem and admiration the history of the most worthless men, who, in the pursuit of their criminal purposes, endured greater hardships and encountered greater dangers than, perhaps, any which the ordinary course of history gives an account of.

Patriotism, loyalty, fidelity, however, noble qualities which would be unknown but for the occupation of war, and the chances and dangers it involves, are unsullied with any base admixture. There can be no question but that their exercise fits us for a higher state of being. This is especially the case when, throughout a campaign, the commander never admits of any relaxation of religious discipline. The great Gustavus invariably insisted upon it. Order, temperance, and humanity were virtues which he carefully required from his troops, and he had not shown himself so consummate a warrior unless he had been so good and pious a man. It has

been said that no army ever surpassed his in military worth, and it was because none has ever equalled it in moral constitution.

Let us for a moment contemplate the converse of the picture. In a condition of perfect peace, science would, as has been shown, gradually expire; the arts would be left uncultivated, emulation would die away, and every individual soon grow indifferent to national glory and public prosperity. Experience also proves that agriculture and commerce, after lingering awhile, would perish. Moreover, the physical and moral qualities of a people have uniformly been found to degenerate. They become effeminate; impatient under, and, indeed, unable to endure fatigue; they are accustomed to too much nourishment, besides probably being enervated with vice and its consequences.

These facts are substantiated by the history of every nation, who, relaxing in its vigilance, has omitted to take advantage of occasions of a just war, until at length its military reputation is foregone, and along with it, or shortly after, in due course, vanish independence and prosperity.

But surely that people buy their security from the dreaded expense and dangers of war at too dear a rate, who, in the language of the Satirist, save life by losing all for which a wise man would care to live. *Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.* Under such circumstances, the



energies of a community having no arena whereon to attest "the mettle of their pasture," are soon extinguished. *Vires et mentis et corporis sine laboris exercitatione torpescunt.* They invite injury upon injury by supineness, by submission, by postponing honour to expediency; they become *effete*, and at the same time—perhaps owing to the unnatural growth (inevitably transitory with a cowardly nation) of the manufacturing system—luxurious; which consideration, indeed, seems to supply one satisfactory reason of God's toleration of the continuance of war, as being by far the less evil.

In the scheme of infinite wisdom, the penalties of all deviations from goodness are but the means of blessing the transgressor. It is thus that during our sojourn upon earth our moral faculties are to be developed, strengthened, and purified by collision with the consequences of sin—danger, distress, and difficulty. They are, as has just been stated, prepared by WAR, even more than by other *media*, for the enjoyment of a more perfect state of existence. *Macte Virtute* is the noble maxim which governs the conduct of every warlike community.

These qualities, Fortitude, Valour, &c., must be forced out from man, as it were, in despite of himself, otherwise they will remain for ever inert; and such is our singularly constituted nature, that to that very condition of War, which certain Sciolists in our time

deprecate, nations have invariably owed not only their most valuable privileges, but highest attributes. Before we dismiss this point, I would remark, *par paranthese*, that when military discipline is founded on national character both are improved by it.

The code of military laws should, however, not be established on the weak, uncertain, and slavish principle of fear, but ever have a reference to human nature in general, and its various modifications, and be conformable to the customs which prevail in the respective countries and governments.

If nations are to have the benefit resulting from the moral discipline afforded to them by the exercise of valour, heroism, fortitude, magnanimity, privation, &c., then must the injustice, the rapacity, the ambition of other nations as an effective cause exist—in other words, War, *to the exclusion of something infinitely worse*, whilst this life continues to be a state of probation, is a necessary evil superinduced upon God's works, but which he mercifully overrules to the civilization of the world.

So long as man is possessed of the corrupt disposition, for the redemption whereof, rather than its eradication, our blessed Saviour descended from Heaven, will the position be incontrovertible, that, if not all men and nations, at least the greater proportion, love war; and they will engage in, or rather compel, hostilities on every favour-

able occasion for the sake of honour, rank, reputation, wealth, power and dominion. Nor will it elude the consequence of such *sitis cupiditatis* to say that this is wrong. Nobody doubts it ; and when the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, these inducements will cease to be operant, but not before. In the meantime, they who can complacently talk of crumpling the Czar of Russia and his empire in their fist, like a scroll, or who would fain coerce what they stigmatise as “ a quarrelsome, tyrannical aristocracy,” had far better, if they would hasten that blessed period of universal peace they profess to desiderate, crumple their own selfwill and coerce their own lust of agitation ; or exert themselves to shed abroad the light of the Gospel, and endeavour to inculcate upon distant lands the loveliness of the Church of England catechism, which, practically carried out, would destroy “ the world, the flesh, and the devil,” and evangelize this self-seeking generation, imbuing it with purer motives of conduct derived from the “fruits of the Spirit.”

But until the “desperately wicked” heart of man be changed, all the abstract diatribes of self-sufficient theorists upon the iniquity of war ought to be regarded as the merest verbiage—should “pass by us as the idle wind.” They may declaim loudly against politicians who incite mankind to slaughter ; they may enumerate the thousands who fell in the wars which precluded the treaties of Westphalia, of Oliva, of the Pyrenees, of Breda, of



Nimeguen, of Ryswick, of Utrecht, of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Paris, of Versailles, of Amiens, and of Vienna; but what are the events and what calamities do they involve compared with the incursions of the northern hordes into the Roman Empire, with the barbarities that followed the discovery of the new world, with the exterminating onslaughts which in Asia have so often desolated realms more extensive than half Europe? The Peace Society, and all who are carried away by their hallucinations, strongly remind me of a commonwealth of ants, who murmur at the wrack of the universe, because a passenger has inadvertantly trod on their habitations.

It is not by means of vain-glorious common-places addressed to vast assemblages of erring human beings like ourselves, that war, or any other consequence of man's depravity, is to be exterminated. The object can only be attained upon our knees in humble prayer to the Almighty, that he would please to hasten the number of his elect.

That future condition of being which religion ascertains, and for which its trials, promises, and trusts are meant to discipline us, is the ultimate end of empires and societies,—their final scope and object. To use the words of Massillon: "*La religion est la fin de tous les desseins de Dieu sur la terre;*" in comparison of which all the probationary wars and revolutions of nations and all the vicissitudes of time are light and transitory—

"Vain as billows on a tossing sea."

“The plant” of war our heavenly Father “hath not planted,” and therefore will it assuredly be “rooted up” when the “kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ.” (*Rev. xi. 15.*)

But until that consummation so devoutly to be prayed for,

“Let Hercules himself do what he may,

“The cat will mew, the dog will have his day.”

Till then our soldiers will continue to look forward to promotion, and fight for the approbation of their General, for the maintenance of their character, and more especially for the plunder they expect to achieve and enjoy. Until then, our sailors, brave, hardy, and perfect as they are, will not cease to contemplate the amount of prize-money they are in hopes of obtaining among the foremost advantages of their profession.

A man goes into the field or upon the main with the view to attain these objects by the means of war, and while the world is constituted as it is, he believes his mode of action to be just, necessary, and laudable; and whatever the Peace Society may opine, the persuasion will be inexpugnable till the advent of our Lord.

We may choose to imagine human society existing together in peace and tranquillity, and we may be tempted to ask why God has not so arranged it. The true answer would be, that it were to contravene the great object of our creation. War, including its con-

sequences and concomitants, forms a most valuable part of every Christian people's spiritual education and trial. By the predominating influence of the better principle, it is bent round, as it were, in a contrary direction, and made a most effective instrument of good. The objects for which mankind originally fought were sensual and fiendish.

Even so late as the Peloponnesian war, and for many years after its conclusion, all the different republics of Greece were involved in the most sanguinary contests, in which each sought, not merely superiority or dominion, but either to completely extirpate its enemies, or, what was not less cruel, to reduce them into the vilest of all states, that of domestic slavery; and to sell them—man, woman, and child—like so many heads of cattle to the highest bidder in the market. Yet, who would not prefer to have been a native of Greece, the most marvellous country of which history makes mention, than to have groaned, and have been ground down, heart, mind, and body, under the debasing system which prevailed in Asia—a system which comprehended the one tyrant and the millions of slaves.

After the several states of Europe were established upon the chaos of a desolating barbarism, and as civilization advanced by means of war being conducted by persons more regularly embodied, conflicts became less bloody and less brutal. The objects sought by belligerent powers grew to be more rational.

The profession of corsair or pirate had been by a kind of consent esteemed a long while lawful between nations. This custom, letters of marque, and similar barbarous practices, either are or will be shortly no longer authorized by any arbitrary law of nations.

The learned and humane Grotius hath blended maxims of humanity with military operations, and in modern warfare, in the majority of cases, they have been found to coalesce. Since the publication of the great work of that writer, a slow and silent, but very substantial mitigation has taken place in the practice of war and the modes of warfare. By our present system, when men are once engaged, magnanimity is displayed, every noble feeling is summoned into activity. Instead of being egged on, as in early times, by personal malice and ill will, each party strives to gain its end in a manner as little destructive to the other as it can.

In modern warfare, men act in masses, as machines, rather than with an individual feeling, and this has a direct tendency to repress their more savage passions, and to substitute noble virtues in their room. The motives in our time, moreover, are beginning to be of a different description—a higher order than of yore. We wage war not exclusively for selfish objects, but for the purpose of promoting civil and religious liberty. Principle, Freedom, Self-government, Independence, are likely for the future to be the portentous prizes at stake.

Since, however, war is unavoidable, mankind has discovered, it is better to fight by proxy—to carry it on by men who are capable of exercising discretion, of discrimination with judgment, and of acting with moderation. If armies were not instituted, or rather were they disbanded, mankind would not be at peace. Far, far from it. But war being abolished, along with those of war, all other improvements would decline. The very best and sublimest faculties of the human soul would remain, so far as we can calculate, for ever undeveloped. The passions of men would still be rampant as they have hitherto been, but science, trade, and the arts no longer would be protected, and the country wherein the abolition took place will have stultified itself, would be reduced to a state of abject dependance on another power not so infatuated or so besotted; or in the event, (which however every sane religious person when he comes to reflect, must allow to be impossible, I mean until the world shall be brought to the knowledge of our Lord) in the event of the principle advocated by the Peace Society being generally put in practice, mankind would gradually revert to its original situation of uncultivated ferocity.

It is as certain as that I write, and as capable of proof, that the heart of man remaining unchanged, to close the safety valve of war would be taking a backward step in civilization as well as in christianity. By



the dispensations of an all-wise Providence, civilization is made to result by degrees from a warlike spirit continually kept alive. New objects for engaging in warfare arise in order one after the other, and it is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that that Commonwealth will never make further progress with whom the acquirement of a single object suffices for any time to subdue the bellicose tendency. One luxurious and vicious generation (and such generation will always tread upon the heels of a timid, temporizing, expedient-loving, avaricious, or cowardly one) is fully competent to extinguish all the honour, and forfeit all the acquisitions, of their more warlike ancestry. Such a state will relapse in the interim, and subside into its pristine condition of barbarity. In the happy event of its being driven into hostilities, it may be enabled to recover its position; but if the realm we are supposing rest afterwards satisfied, it will assuredly again decline, and so alternately flow and ebb without advancing one jot beyond the point it had originally gained. Relatively speaking, therefore, it will have retrograded, because other nations are in a state of progression.

There have been in every period of history, and on different quarters of the globe, some very poor and very military countries, whose inhabitants possess no other road to riches or consideration but rapine



and invasion. No experience of the mischiefs either to themselves or others attending their incursions can affect a people of that character. Upon them all the declamation of the Peace Society would be of course thrown away.

It were ridiculous to caution a race of men against danger, wounds, and even death, who had no possible manner of subsistence but by encountering them. The only mode to hold such terrible communities at bay, is to be prepared, by taking up arms, for their aggressions. The only politic conduct of neighbouring states is to combine in their defence—to subjugate these disturbers of the peace of the world whenever an opportunity presented itself. Indeed, much false logic and fictitious humanity have been expended upon the conquests achieved by nations and heroes.

To rush to arms from any territorial cupidity, or for commercial advantages—to gratify ambition, or to support family compacts—sinks every other crime into insignificance: but, on the other hand, we see not how the progress of an enlightened conqueror among a barbarous people can be regarded otherwise than as beneficial. It was the ambition and the ardour of conquest of the Phœnicians and of the Egyptians that were the origin of the civilization of Greece; violence carried the first colonies of the Tyrians to Carthage. The misfortunes of war drove the fugitive

Trojans to Italy. Commerce urged the Carthagenians to the conquest of the Isles of the Mediterranean and the coasts of Spain and Africa. Necessity cast the enlightened Athenians upon Asia Minor—Prudence the turbulent citizens of Lacædæmon upon Tarentum. Urgent policy was the source of the numerous colonies of the Romans. The ardour for plunder sent the irruptions of the people of the North into the Roman Empire, and a romantic Piety, greedy of conquest, hurled half Europe upon the Holy Land. But all, though by very different processes, even the Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns, contributed to the advancement of the civilization of mankind.

Indeed, colonization and conquest are the two main instruments of humanizing the world; nor do I understand wherefore Ashantees, or Sikhs, or Caffres, or any other dominant tribes, wherever they may flourish, should be supposed to have a prescriptive right to murder and enslave their fellow creatures; much less why a Christian sovereign should be precluded by a spurious philanthropy from bringing these barbarians under the yoke, and thereby putting an end to all such enormities in the regions which they have for so many ages rendered miserable.

I would now, by way of illustration of what I have been saying, draw attention to the ruin which the corruptions of military institutions, and a consequent dis-

taste for the achievements of war, have effected for ancient and modern nations. A few of the more prominent examples will, I hope, sufficiently sustain my argument: and first I will take into consideration the practice of the Romans.

In the infancy of their establishment they were doubtless actuated by revenge. Having obtained their ends, and accommodated their differences with the Sabines, they did not rest at home in indolent possession of the objects victory had acquired for them—they did not give themselves up to what might then have been called luxury and ease, but preserved in all its vigour the spirit of military enterprise. In the reign of their sixth king, they found themselves in a condition to send out an army of thirty thousand men. As they advanced in civilization their strength increased; so much so, that Rome and Campania were able of themselves to muster in the invasion made upon them by the Gauls, a force amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand foot and twenty-three thousand horse.

Thus did Rome approve herself to be in the possession of a higher state of civilization than what centuries before she could boast of, and the grand fact is conspicuous throughout her history, that just in proportion as her military establishment increased, so did the virtue, the prosperity, and the intelligence of her people: until she attained her acme in the Augustan

age—a phrase used to designate the highest point of intellectual progress.

Here we have a signal proof, that a tendency to war, instead of generating immoral actions, or promoting vicious habits, according to the vulgar prejudice, elevates the mind, purifies human nature, and divests it of its sensualities. *Ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur.*

By means of their warlike prowess, the Romans raised themselves from a petty tribe of plundering shepherds to the position of a great and wealthy people who were at once the awe, the wonder, and yet the admiration of their contemporaries—who were truly *Romani rerum domini*, and who are even in these days holden up as being worthy of imitation, as exemplars of fortitude, dignity, and of valour, of all in short which they included in, and signified by the word *virtus*.

Now, mark the sequel.—By suffering their military spirit to decline, by abandoning themselves to the luxuries of peace, and by relinquishing pursuits of a martial nature (it may have been for want of objects sufficiently attractive; for, in point of dominion, they had arrived at their *ne plus ultra*), this terror of the world, this conquering race of heroes, who, in order to have instruments of slavery created kings in all parts, *ut haberent instrumenta servitutis et Reges*, were reduced to the extremity of employing barbarian troops to fight

their battles, an expedient, which, as might have been expected, led in necessary sequence to a total overthrow of the vast empire they had established. In our days, Italy with her double wreath, despite her two eras of light and liberty, is partly enslaved and partly barbarian.

Spain was one of the richest and the most populous of the Roman provinces. No people had been more distinguished for courage. They had defended their liberty against the arms of Rome with greater obstinacy, and during a longer course of years than any nation in Europe. But so entirely were they enervated by a long interval of peace, so stagnant in consequence had their political life become, that the Vandals completed the conquest of the Peninsula in two years, dividing it among them by casting lots. The Greeks are another instance in point. They, in like manner, suffered their heroic habitudes, and enterprize of character, which had carried Alexander in triumph to the banks of the Hyphasis, to decline. What was the consequence? With their martial spirit they lost their love of liberty: till at length the first principles of national independence were forgotten. When attacked in the 15th century by the Turks, it was found impossible to prevail upon a single native to take up arms. Their defence being left to foreign mercenaries, they fell an easy prey to the ambition of their enemies. The same result,



from a precisely similar cause, hath overtaken their invaders.

The Ottoman Empire has gradually decayed because the fanaticism which gave it birth has ceased to be kept up by continual wars. On the spring languishing, the machine itself fell to pieces, and has left nothing but the traces of its ancient glory behind. So well did Mahomet understand the necessity of constant war to ensure the prosperity of a great people, that he consecrated the principle in a religious precept, which rendered it obligatory on his followers never to make peace with their enemies.

Founded on military enterprize and force, “the sway of the crescent in the course of time became the landmark of Africa, and darkly delineated the geography of those regions which lay between the river of Egypt and the Atlantic and the Great Desert. ‘The abomination of desolation’ was in the Holy Place, and cast the shadow of its despotism over Asia. The renown of Solyman the Magnificent, converging its rays from the East and from the South, streamed like a comet over astonished Europe.”—(*Manuscripts of Erdely.*)

But when that immense fabric was no longer animated with the enthusiasm of the military spirit, and the consciousness of its own pre-eminence, it gradually declined. With peace, the severity of its discipline relaxed. Incapable of improvement, it at length is sinking, or rather, has sunk under its own weight.



A like fate had previously befallen other Asiatic and African empires, and from the same cause. Enervated by luxury and peace, the Chaldean and Assyrian have been swept from the face of the earth; the descendants of the Medes and Persians are outcasts from their country; a few Copts represent the ancient Egyptians. Thus also have the Hindoos proved the prey of more warlike tribes who have fought and bled for the sovereignty of their great Peninsula—which Peninsula, let us observe *en passant*—not for its pecuniary value; for, alas! that can only be regarded as a “minus quantity,” not as a territorial acquisition; for would to heaven, without loss of *prestige* or character, England stood as respects India *in statu quo ante* the days of Clive, but as furnishing an arena or fighting-ground, and thereby keeping up our warlike tastes and habitudes—has served for an antidote to manufacturing luxury and corruption, and contributed to the development of the Empire of Great Britain in all her elements of power and strength. Through a long series of ages have the inhabitants of Hindostan, because they were meek and servile, remained passive spectators of every contest, as if a change of masters was to them a matter of indifference.

I desire it to be remarked by the attentive peruser of history, that the grosser passions are found to be more readily wrought upon, and to be less easily appeased in peace than during a period of open war. The desuetude

of the noble virtues, such as courage, fortitude, and perseverance, gives a greater latitude to the will. Their absence may indeed prevent certain aspirations of our nature from being brought into play, or from developing themselves to the full extent, but fear, weakness, and irresolution are the wretched substitutes. Moreover, it will be found, that among nations living mostly in a state of peace, attempts are regularly made to sacrifice human life in order to become possessed of selfish objects ; but these insidious operations are commonly projected and carried into execution without endangering the aggressor.

If we turn to the tame but ancient and immoveable civilization of China, it will present us with an example of a despotic nation, whose principle is FEAR, remaining by her good will in perpetual peace. Such a disposition, *coute qui coute*, generates cowardice. Cowardice is the mother of cruelty. Of these two facts we have a prominent instance in the empire under review. The spirits of the Chinese are mean and dastardly ; their vices are all of the unnatural and monstrous kind. I presume, it will not be denied, that, as compared with an Englishman or a Frenchman—the greatest, because the most bellipotent people upon earth—a Chinese is hardly worthy the name of man.

The Chinese refinement in cruelty is such, that they display in their code of penal laws excruciating punish-

ments—tortures that are neither fit nor necessary to be spoken of. Their inhumanity is conspicuous in their imperial sin of infanticide. Several thousands of babes are annually exposed in the streets of Peking to fall a prey, both alive and dead, to the dogs and swine that roam about in search of food.

I am the more confirmed in my opinion of the deleterious consequence of a state of constant peace by the remembrance, that the internal government of unwarlike states and empires uniformly takes the character of a pure despotism ; the life of every subject being at the mere mercy of the Prince, whose very pleasures do not unfrequently consist in what we should consider to be acts of deliberate murder attended with a refinement in cruelty. This I think is a just observation upon the examples which history adduces ; but it is more for the purpose of my argument to remark, in connexion therewith, that the man who, had his life not been cut short would have proved of greater service to civilization than any other of whom we read in the annals of the world, was the ventilator of some of these close despotic empires—Alexander the Great.

When the Macedonian hero, at the head of a gallant people formed to war by admirable military institutions, subjugated colossal states sunk in the luxury and enervated by the refinements of peace, he had something more in mind than a transient excursion ; he contemplated the

advancement of civilization, and the happy consequences of his invasion were speedily perceptible in the birth of liberty, the progress of the arts, and in the opening of commercial intercourse beyond the Indus. By his abolishing all distinctions between the victors and the vanquished, the inhabitants of Persia were at once exalted in the scale of humanity, and even the acquiring a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in the Greek language was no inconsiderable mental refinement, and it was one which the nobles of that region owed to the encouragement and sound policy of their conqueror. In like manner when Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations enfeebled by their commerce—a commerce that had no relation to, and owed no portion of its luxuries to conquest, and that was not interwoven (as is that of Great Britain) with the arts of war—they were the benefactors of the human race.

Let us take another example:—

To the warlike ardour, spread over Europe by the spirit of the Crusades, is to be ascribed the first gleams of light which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance. They were productive of commercial advantages still more permanent. There are charters yet extant containing grants to the Venetians, the Pisans, and Genoese of the most extensive immunities of the several settlements which the Christians

made in Asia. The Holy War opened various sources from which wealth flowed in such abundance into their cities, as enabled them, and, indeed, all the considerable cities in Italy, to secure their own liberty and independence.

The history of Holland, and also the history of modern Persia and of other countries, pretty clearly demonstrate, that the moment a nation ceases to be warlike, that moment she commences her decadency, and has already made some degree of progress in her way to insignificance—on her road downward.

I have now adduced from history a number of instances of the irreparable evils engendered in a realm by a prolonged state of peace. I might easily extend the category; but I apprehend that nothing need be added to satisfy the reader upon that part of our argument. I would not have it, however, to be inferred from any thing I have advanced, that a nation, in order to be prosperous, must on all occasions pin its fortunes to the extremity of actual war. *Martis experire aleam.* No: the objects for which its spirit, having once been excited, should be kept alive and inflamed are not so much the extension of dominion as the retension, *with honour* and dignity, of that of which it may be possessed.

“ Rightly to be great  
Is not to stir without great argument ;  
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw  
When honour’s at the stake.”



If vigilance be employed in the proper quarter, few objects will stimulate more powerfully than jealousy of encroachment, either upon the territory itself, or upon the privileges of its constitution.

A good Government will constantly be watchful of the movements of its neighbours, whereby, without being petulant or bickering for trifles, opportunities are sure to present themselves sufficiently often to uphold the national spirit by enabling a country to keep up the practice of war along with the theory.

For a nation to be secure in the maintenance of its dignity, and to have the power of prosecuting those measures that will give permanence to its existence, it is absolutely necessary that it should be prepared to resist unjust pretensions; and, unless perfectly demented, it would never let loose the springs of its life, or forego the means of correcting insolence. And this firm attitude, founded on the tacit but well-understood principle, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, it would take without resorting to the efforts of its people indiscriminately amassed together—a procedure by which the economy of its administration would be deranged, and its progress in refinement and virtue considerably retarded.

I hope by this time that there is no reader who will not be inclined to acknowledge, as a fair result from what I have submitted, that a tendency to war is



essentially important to the liberties and stability of any nation, since it is totally impossible for such, any more than for an individual, to flourish through life without creating enemies.

A state like that of Great Britain, which, from its lofty position, is an object of universal observation, cannot long remain with the whole world on terms of perfect harmony and peace. Other nations will seek to detrude it from that station to which victory in every quarter of the world has exalted it, and unless it knows how to preserve an uncompromising attitude, they will ultimately succeed in their endeavour.

Of course, abstractedly considered, the shedding of human blood is repugnant to the feelings, but it is the object that should be regarded and not the medium; and Great Britain may rest assured that the object to be achieved, by engaging in hostilities, can never be inconsistent with the principles of virtue, which are interlinked with the public happiness, if that war be, strictly speaking, a just and necessary measure.

It is irrational, then, to inveigh indiscriminately against the military profession—it is sheer folly to stigmatize them with the sounding phrases of this pacific society. Nobody denies, that if the object be defective, war is an unadulterated evil; but what mean of action in this world of ours, however excellent its nature, is not subject to being misapplied; or

rather, from the very excellence of its tendency, is not rendered the more liable to perversion?

Even that greatest of all earthly blessings, Religion itself, (such is the propension to abuse in our present imperfect condition) will, if not properly instilled, be converted into bitterness. So long as in the constitution of human nature there exists an obstinate principle of evil, moral and spiritual, a beneficent Creator will continue to educe, as He hath hitherto done, one good out of the original virus by the operation of war, which, however, is not to be regarded as a medium of unmixed good; for "the trail of the serpent" has been over the course of military events as over all other sublunary things. It follows that they are only another modification of that state of trial preparatory to a better life, which forms the great business of this.

War, it cannot be repeated too often, was one of the evils superinduced upon God's works, but which he has over-ruled to accomplish the purposes of His unerring providence in inflicting His chastisements on corrupt communities and nations. Like children at school, the Peace Society, having an eye to their pockets, would shun the rod which hangs over them, but which only descends in mercy. Undoubtedly, war is accompanied in its progress by devastation and ruin, by the prostration of thrones, the concussion of kingdoms, and by private calamity and distress; but the inhabitants of

the world are thus appalled by the most awful scourge of Providence in order to compel them to take refuge in the temple of God as their true sanctuary.

And here, in its proper place, comes in the argument which it has been the office of these pages to introduce. We are told in Scripture that it is the Almighty who, by means of war, "leadeth counsellors away spoiled," "looseth the bond of kings, and weakeneth the strength of the mighty," "who enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them again."—(Job xii.) And in the same unerring volume, the devastations, and convulsions, and *Wars* that have troubled the nations, ever since the usurpation of Nimrod, are imputed solely to that same Divine Providence. But this Peace Society would seem only capable of directing their mole-eyed vision to secondary causes.

The Persians worshipped the divinity of the *Sun*, Our idolators exorcise the divinity of *War*; but both instruments remain in the hands of Omnipotence, for the enlightenment and the purification of the world, till that predicted period which shall conclude the Gentile dispensation, and usher in that of the new creation, or the kingdom of Heaven. As an induction to that second advent the series of events have to run their course which are recorded in the seventh vial of the Apocalypse, to the fulfilment of which Mede, Faber, Cunninghame, and other learned interpreters of the sacred calendar of

prophecy, have ascribed no distant date. Ere that awful coming, the earth must tremble at a popular revolution unparalleled for its violence and power of change; it will have afterwards to witness the cities of the nations falling to the ground—the cup of wrath to Great Babylon—the breaking up of all authority—the infidel triumph—the overwhelming hail—the two apostates of Rome and Mecca shaken to the centre—the battle of Armageddon.

Do the orators of the Peace Society believe in the prophecies or not?—If they do, as I should hope, wherefore shout they, and cry “Peace! Peace! when there is no peace?” When, according to the Word of God, which cannot err, the very reverse of peace is impending?

“When the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be exalted above the hills, and He rebuke strong nations afar off,” wars will cease. It is announced to us, that *then*—and the logical conclusion is obvious, that the period would not have been named if warfare was previously to become extinct—“they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid.”

Until that delivery from danger and fear arrive, “nations shall learn war.” Not until then “will the Lord teach us of his ways” so *universally* as to supersede the necessity of the most forbearing and reli-

gious people upon earth having to trust for their freedom to the *ultima ratio* of military science. But in the last days, the heart of the people having been reclaimed for the first time since "Man's disobedience brought death into the world, and all our woe," "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—(*Micah* iv., 5.)

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While I was correcting the proof sheets of the above treatise, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's novel, entitled "The Caxtons," which had not long issued from the press, was put into my hands. I am happy to be enabled to fortify my opinions by those of so distinguished a writer, who, in a passage towards the close of his work, would seem in one particular to take the same view of the beneficial operation of war upon nations and communities as I have done in the foregoing pages, which were written in the course of the previous autumn.—G. S.

FINIS.









