NEW (SIXTH) EDITION.

Llandrindod Wells.

THOUGHTS

ON

'LOOKING UP.'

BY

J. T. WRENFORD,

(Vicar of St. Paul's, Newport.)

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ONE PENNY.

✠

'Early in the morning will I direct my prayer unto Thee, and will look up.'

Ps. v. 3, (Pr. Bk. Ver.)

'I looked to JESUS, and I found
In Him my Star, my Sun;
And in that Light of life I'll walk,
Till travelling days are done.'

BONAR.

✠

Llandrindod Wells.

I WONDER how many of the thousand millions inhabiting this terrestrial globe know of the existence of such a place as Llandrindod Wells. Only a few, I expect; and fewer still are personally aware of the charms of the locality, and its health-reviving virtues. I have a two-fold object in writing this little book. I want to tell the toiling and the tired ones of this pleasant resting-place; and I wish also to say a word or two about 'Looking up.'

Weary and worn, (but, praise God, not sad), I came to Llandrindod Wells, awhile ago, to recruit, after a twelve-month's campaign. The suppressed fatigue (may I call it?) seemed to come out in strength during the first few days, and my body fairly ached from head to foot. I feared that, perhaps, I had delayed coming too long. One does not like taking one's hand from the plough, even for a brief period of needed rest; but, by and by, the hand trembles so much, and the furrows become so crooked, and the work generally is found so uncomfortably below par in execution, that one is reconciled to the thought of 'coming apart' for a time; especially as one recognises the kind Master's voice, and sees how beautifully He has already arranged all the little details of the holiday.

Well, the aches had it for some days

after Llandrindod was reached; but, very speedily, the reviving air of this mountain-spot began to drive them away, and in a marvellously short period of time they were beaten completely off the field.

'*Aër!*' The air here is something like air. Seven hundred feet above high-water sea level, all up among the hills, the air is about the purest, sweetest, most exhilarating I ever breathed. It is simply delicious! Fancy, dear friendly reader, a morning ramble across the moor, or over the hills, breathing this air all the while; and, in addition, feasting the eyes on exquisite scenery,—grand ranges of hills stretching far away, with lovely light and shade 'effects' in the nearer valleys and on the hill-sides; woods, meadows, corn-fields varying the landscape; with here and there a country-seat, or farmhouse, or lowly cottage, adding further interesting items to the

attractive picture. Can anyone be surprised that, amidst all the charms of this delightful spot, one soon began to feel oneself again, and also to be conscious of an almost irrepressible longing to let other weary ones know of the existence of Llandrindod Wells?

I do not purpose writing a Guide Book, but may just say that Llandrindod is only a small township, with a few hundred inhabitants. One or two centuries ago, it was a place of considerable resort, but seems to have undergone a period of forgetfulness on the part of the outside world. Within the last ten or twelve years, however, things have decidedly been 'looking up.' The new Central Wales Railway took Llandrindod in its route. Visitors soon began to ask for tickets for the Welsh Spa. Presently, enterprising capitalists commenced providing the necessary further accommodation of boarding-houses and shops, in addition to that already existing in the place. Now, on alighting at the Station, the attention is at once arrested by the sight of very many exceedingly inviting dwellings, interspersed with divers Church of England and Nonconformist places of Divine worship; while, beyond, is the wide expanse of the charming scenery!

I suppose the Pump House Hotel is by far the oldest establishment of the kind in the place. It is situated at a stately distance of a few minutes' walk from the other houses, a splendid avenue leading to it from the main road. Here, the visitor chooses the style and character of the accommodation best suited to his tastes—whether with the 'Lords' or the 'Commons.' Near at hand is the celebrated Old Pump Room, with its wonderful medicinal springs; and, just out-

side, in the extensive grounds, is a very picturesque miniature lake, on which canoe and other similar excursions may be made.

The Llanerch is a venerable looking hotel near the Station, all overgrown with ivy, the very perfection of a snug-looking hostelry.

Passing down the Park side, you come to the Rock Hotel, which occupies a most lovely site, and is a large, well-arranged and very attractive building. It stands in the Park estate, and is within a minute's walk of the Park Pump Room, where the visitor may obtain as many glasses as he desires of Sulphur or Saline. The Park itself is a favourite place of resort, with its undulating ground, numerous walks, free Chalybeate fountain, cascade, studio, and pump-room aforesaid.

Occupying a prominent position is the

New Church; a handsome structure, although as yet (we will hope only for a short time) *minus* its spire; while, beyond the Pump House Hotel some little distance, you come to one of the very quaintest and queerest of old-fashioned churches — the parish-church of the place. It has no tower, or spire, or even bell-turret. The bell is hung inside the roof; and all the other arrangements of this little sanctuary are singularly antique. Ah well, never mind so that the Gospel is preached there, and souls are won to Christ.

Not far from the Market Hall stands the Congregational Chapel, a red brick structure somewhat ecclesiastical in appearance. A short distance from this spot you observe a Welsh Chapel; and further away two or three others, for the use of various denominations of our Nonconformist friends. Now, for a

small place, I think Llandrindod is extremely well supplied with churches and chapels: and all of them seem to be very well attended indeed.

Not long after commencing your explorations of the locality, you will be sure to come across interesting relics of ages long gone by. For example, near the New Church are the remains of a veritable Druid Circle, indicating the site of a temple wherein ancient Britons were wont to assemble for worship; and, within a few yards of these antiquities, you can distinctly trace the course of an old Roman road, which took its usual *straight-forward* way right across the moor. (Oh that the 'way' of all who 'profess and call themselves Christians' were equally, and as invariably, 'straightforward' as were these old Roman roads, —ah yes, and mark you this, kind reader, *in the right direction*, too!)

Thinking of past times, I am reminded that a celebrated physician, Dr. Lindon, visited Llandrindod Wells more than a century ago, and was so charmed by what he saw and drank and felt, that he wrote of the place in these glowing terms: 'This is the Montpelier of Great Britain; and the good qualities of these Springs give place to none in Europe.' Certainly, as to the medicinal waters, they are excellent. Far less nauseous than those of other similar localities, they nevertheless effectually correct the system and set it right. It is advisable to consult the resident physician before commencing their use; but, having obtained his prescription, the pump-room may receive all due attention. One soon begins really to like the waters; and it is quite astonishing how many 'tumblers' can be taken with appreciation each morning, ere one returns well appetised

for breakfast.

I wish to refer, specially, to a very important particular among the attractions of this mountain resort, namely this: not a single passsenger train arrives at, or departs from, the Station on God's holy day. Imagine what peaceful Sabbaths may be spent here: no in-rushing tide of excursionists invading the place, no unruly crowds swarming over the scene, no half-tipsy people making their noisy way back to the Station, when the worshippers are occupied with the welcome service of God's house, during the evening hours of the day of rest. There is, indeed, much cause for thankfulness that Llandrindod enjoys complete immunity from excursionists' riot and revelry on the Lord's day.

Of course, Llandrindod being in the midst of the Principality, the not unpleasing accents of the Welsh language

meet the ear at almost every step. A few words in the vernacular, skilfully spoken, will soon put you on friendly terms with the kind-hearted people. '*Sut yr ydych chwi heddyw?*' or '*Boreu da i chwi,*' as you pass will be instantly responded to; and, if some one courteously hold a gate open for you, or otherwise befriend you in a small way, (and let me say the Welsh are naturally polite and kind), your '*Diolch i chwi,*' in an appreciative tone of voice, will win a pleasant smile for you from your new friend. But, oh, the long words and the consonants and double letters all crowding together! How vainly you attempt to pronounce them! Ah well, they belong to 'the finest language in the world;' and strangers and foreigners need not be surprised if they cannot easily master them. Now, here is a Welsh word—the name of one of the favourite boarding-

houses—'*Rhydllyndu.*' Who, except a Welshman, could pronounce this word? Dear reader, what do you make of it? Possibly, after a thoughtful pause, you wisely shake your head, and decline attempting to express it with your English lips. Some, very clever indeed, make up their minds it is '*Riddle-and-due:*' but this 'rendering' would not be accepted by Mr. Jones, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Llewellyn or any of their friends. Perhaps the reader inquires 'Then, what *is* the right pronunciation of the word?' It is difficult to write it,—very. But, according to the instructions of a dear brother and fellow-servant in the gospel, I may say (describing the process in my own way) you begin to sound the word with a '*Rh*' that starts from the very back of the throat and rolls up all over the roof of the mouth; you go on with the '*yd*' as '*eed*;' then, you force the

'*llyn*' through your back teeth, into the hollow of your cheek; and finish up with a soft euphonious '*thee.*' Can you accomplish it now? Well, even if you cannot, you will enjoy hearing others using the language. A Welsh hymn, or prayer, or a grand Welsh sermon will stir your very soul. You may scarcely understand anything of what is said or sung; but, I venture to say, you will *feel* every word.

I am staying at the house of an Artist whom I have known nearly a quarter of a century. It is pleasantly situated overlooking the Park; and, I may add, receives a fair share of patronage during the season.

One morning, soon after arriving here, my friend the artist, on showing me a print of the likeness of myself, taken the day before, said, in reply to a remark, '*You see, sir, you have such a habit of*

looking up.' The words came to me with a meaning he did not intend them to convey. I quite rejoiced to hear them. '*Such a habit of looking up,*'—what could be better? Praise God, if 'looking up' is, indeed, a habit of my life! And thank *you*, Mr. Artist; I am delighted with your criticism! You have set me thinking very pleasantly. I shall not soon forget your words. Please repeat them, that I may be quite sure. 'I say, *you have got such a habit of looking up.*' 'All right! Thank you again, very much indeed.'

Let me see: I think I was taught, many years ago, that the ancient Greeks regarded it as the peculiar privilege and prerogative of man to *look up*. The word ἀνθρώπος (*man*) signifies one who looks upward--yea, with gaze intently fixed. The inferior animals look down, man looks up.

Looking up is a very expressive act. It indicates trust and expectation, as well as earnest desire. When we are in deep distress, anxiety, perplexity, perhaps almost despair, we naturally look *down*. Our hearts are sad, our heads bowed, our eyes fixed on the ground. But, when the 'Word of Love' reaches our ear, telling us of Him who can help and deliver, who 'careth' for us, and who 'waiteth to be gracious, and we, by grace, believe the word, we instinctively look *up*. We earnestly desire this loving deliverance; and, having His word for it, we trust Him to do as He has said, and then fully expect that He will.

What a grand privilege! In this scene of toil, perplexity and grief, how often we stand in need of the reminding word '*Look up!*' And, how encouraging it is to recollect that He, who graciously waits

for our looking up, has, beforehand, given us some thirty thousand promises of aid suited to our various needs.

There is, first the word for the broken-down *penitent*—as he paces about in deep distress, crying 'What must I do to be saved?' It is this: '*Look unto Me, and be saved!*' The voice is that of Him who died for us, 'the Just for the unjust,' to bring us to God. Guilty, anxious, longing one—*Do it!* LOOK! Looking, thou shalt surely *live!*

'There is life for a *look* at the Crucified One;
There is life, at this moment, for *thee!*'

Myriads have already been saved in this way. All the redeemed in heaven and on earth can say, 'The Son of God loved me, and gave Himself for me. I *looked*, and now I *live!*'

Reader, I wonder if you can say this? Have you really looked? Do you indeed *live?* Are you a saved soul? No doubt you sing all about it in church, or

chapel. But oh, my friend, have you the blessing? Are your sins forgiven? Can you rejoice? ☞ Of what use is singing, or talking, or hearing about it all, unless you get it? Friend: *Look up* for it! Do so *now!* God actually *wants* to save you. Say to Him: 'O God, Thy Son died for me—a guilty, lost sinner! I am Thine, for Thou hast redeemed me! Lord, I believe!'

Then, go on looking up and praising. The life of the rejoicing Christian should be characterised by 'the *habit* of looking up.' We are told to lay aside every weight, and the sin that so easy besets us; and to run the heavenward race, with patience,—'*looking unto Jesus.*'

Mark, how God taught His people of old time to look up:—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Elijah, Jehoshaphat, David, Hezekiah, Nehemiah, Daniel—every one of them had 'such a habit of

looking up.' So also had Peter and Paul, James and John, Stephen and the prayer-meeting people both before and after Pentecost,—Christians, who came out grandly 'All for Jesus' at whatever cost, even though their devotion to Him might involve them in the 'loss of all things,' yea, life itself. In times of peril, distress, suffering, imprisonment, fiery persecution, relentless and cruel opposition, they just *looked up.* And God looked down, and 'remembered' them! He always does so. He, who cares for sparrows, loves His children dearly. Has there ever been a single instance of resultless 'looking up'? I have never heard of one—have you? Surely no such case has ever been known. *Alleluia!*

Children of God: Is this habit yours? O, there should be the '*habit.*' 'Early in the morning' direct your prayer unto Him, and 'look up!' In every moment

of temptation or trial, instantly *look up!* When perplexed, *look up!* When unable to see your way, *look up!* When about to speak a word for the Lord, either in public or private, *look up!* When standing alone, in the midst of sinners or mere professors, *look up!* Let your heart look up when no external sign may indicate communion with God. Everywhere, and under all circumstances, dear child of God, *look up;*—and your 'Alleluia-Song' shall not cease.

Possibly, this little book may fall into the hands of one who is not looking up *now.* Awhile ago, it was far different. In former days, the loving, all-trusting, upward gaze was the delightful 'habit' of the daily life. But, it is not so now. Wherefore? What aileth thee, poor, downcast one? Thou hast lost thy brightness and thy joy; and thou sayest thou art 'not able to look up.' Ah, I

know. Thou hast 'forgotten' thy 'resting place.' Thou hast forsaken the Lord. No wonder thou art sad. Yet, there is a sweet word of tender entreaty for thee, which the Father Himself sends. It is this: '*Return!*' And we are to assure thee, in His name, that 'He will *abundantly pardon!*' Oh, look up —*look up!*

* * * * *

I have done. I thank God for this welcome season of rest amid the lovely scenes of Llandrindod Wells. And I thank Him, too, for setting my thoughts going upon this theme. The other evening, when standing in the porch, watching a splendid sunset, the ventured remark to a venerable stranger who had recently arrived—'It is delightful when the evening-time of life is bright,'—evoked the quick response: 'Yes, and *all the day, too!*' Dear Professor Griffiths was

right! All the day *should* be bright, in the case of the child of God. And I think it *will* be—if, in loving loyalty, we live to Him who died for us on the cross, and get 'such a *habit of looking up*!'

Llandrindod Wells, July 24th, 1879.

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Re-visited:

July, 24th, 1880.	Oct. 11th, 1884
July 7th, 1881.	Sept. 18th, 1885.
Sept. 15th, 1882.	Sept. 25th, 1886.
Oct. 4th, 1883.	

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Coming. Poem
Mar 25, 1870
37

COMING.

H. E. SIMMONS,
104 Washington Street, - - - - Boston.

COMING.

"At even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning."

"It may be in the evening,
When the work of the day is done,
And you have time to sit in the twilight
And watch the sinking sun,
While the long bright day dies slowly
Over the sea,
And the hour grows quiet and holy
With thoughts of me;
While you hear the village children
Passing along the street,
Among those thronging footsteps
May come the sound of my feet.

Therefore I tell you: Watch
By the light of the evening star,
When the room is growing dusky
As the clouds afar;
Let the door be on the latch
In your home,
For it may be through the gloaming
I will come.

"It may be when the midnight
Is heavy upon the land,
And the black waves lying dumbly
Along the sand;
When the moonless night draws close
And the lights are out in the house;
When the fires burn low and red,
And the watch is ticking loudly
Beside the bed:
Though you sleep, tired out, on your couch,
Still your heart must wake and watch
In the dark room,
For it may be that at midnight
I will come.

"It may be at the cock-crow,
When the night is dying slowly
In the sky,
And the sea looks calm and holy,
Waiting for the dawn
Of the golden sun
Which draweth nigh;
When the mists are on the valleys, shading
The rivers chill,
And my morning-star is fading, fading
Over the hill:
Behold I say unto you: Watch;
Let the door be on the latch
In your home;
In the chill before the dawning,
Between the night and morning,
I may come.

"It may be in the morning,
When the sun is bright and strong,
And the dew is glittering sharply
Over the little lawn;
When the waves are laughing loudly
Along the shore,
And the little birds are singing sweetly
About the door;
With the long day's work before you,
You rise up with the sun,
And the neighbors come in to talk a little
Of all that must be done,
But remember that *I* may be the next
To come in at the door,
To call you from all your busy work
For evermore:
As you work your heart must watch
For the door is on the latch
In your room,
And it may be in the morning
I will come."

So He passed down my cottage garden,
By the path that leads to the sea,
Till He came to the turn of the little road
Where the birch and laburnum tree
Lean over and arch the way;
There I saw him a moment stay,

And turn once more to me,
As I wept at the cottage door,
And lift up His hands in blessing—
Then I saw His face no more.

And I stood still in the doorway,
Leaning against the wall;
Not heeding the fair white roses,
Though I crushed them and let them fall;
Only looking down the pathway,
And looking toward the sea,
And wondering, and wondering,
When He would come back for me;
Till I was aware of an Angel
Who was going swiftly by,
With the gladness of one who goeth
In the light of God Most High.

He passed the end of the cottage
Toward the garden gate—
(I suppose he was come down
At the setting of the sun
To comfort some one in the village
Whose dwelling was desolate)—

And he paused before the door
Beside my place,
And the likeness of a smile
Was on his face:
"Weep not," he said, "for unto you is given
To watch for the coming of His feet
Who is the glory of our blessed heaven;
The work and watching will be very sweet,
Even in an earthly home;
And in such an hour as you think not,
He will come."

So I am watching quietly
Every day.
Whenever the sun shines brightly,
I rise and say:
"Surely it is the shining of His face!"
And look unto the gates of His high place
Beyond the sea;
For I know He is coming shortly
To summon me.

And when a shadow falls across the window
Of my room,
Where I am working my appointed task,
I lift my head to watch the door, and ask
If He is come;
And the Angel answers sweetly
In my home:
"Only a few more shadows,
And He will come."

THE

GROWTH AND GRIP

OF

Mormonism.

THE

GROWTH AND GRIP

OF

MORMONISM.

By Prof. Geo. N. Marden,

COLORADO COLLEGE, COLO.

BOSTON:
Frank Wood, Printer, 352 Washington Street.
1885.

(*First printed in "The Christian Union."*)

"The clearest account of the rise, development, and present condition of Mormonism that we have ever seen."

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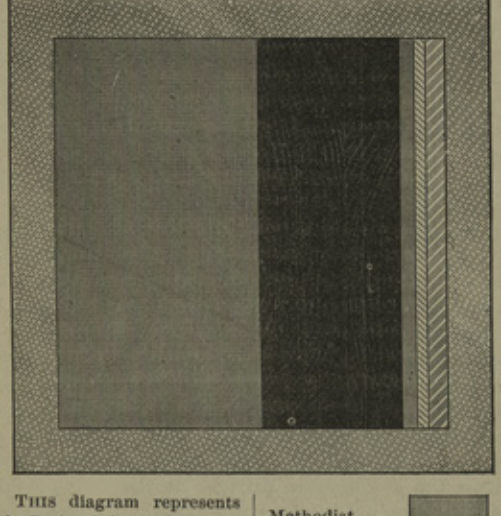
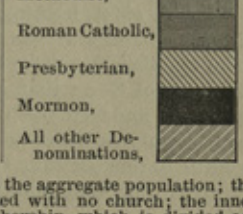
THE GROWTH AND GRIP OF MORMONISM.

BY PROFESSOR GEO. N. MARDEN.



THIS diagram represents the Ratio of the total Church membership to the aggregate population of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona, with the proportion of such membership belonging to the four Largest Denominations.



The outer square represents the aggregate population; the shaded border those connected with no church; the inner square the total church-membership, which is divided according to its constituent elements. As Roman Catholic and Mormon statistics include all their baptized, the Protestant Evangelical membership is multiplied by three, to make the comparison more just—and to make the latter element visible!

At about the time when the conscience of the North was becoming aroused against African slavery, and the agitation began which ended in the war and emancipation, another and a unique egg of error was being brooded. From an obscure and a mean origin has come forth a system which in its organic completeness, avowed purpose, definite aim, and steady zeal, has unmeasured power for mischief.

It is the purpose of this article to simply call attention to certain salient facts concerning the growth and the strength of Mormonism. From the loins of a man who had small credit for truthfulness, and who held that "it was sometimes necessary for him to tell an honest lie in order to live," sprang the founder of the Mormon system. In the spring of 1829, near Palmyra, N.Y., Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery baptized one another. The year following, these men put the Book of Mormon on the market, and Smith becomes the head of a sect of six, including his father and two brothers. Soon the six became thirty. In the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association at Palmyra, a Mormon elder, holding the Book of Mormon in his right hand and the Bible in his left, strikes them together, declaring that they are both equally the word of God; that neither is perfect without the other; and that the Book of Mormon is necessary to establish the truth of the Bible. It is hardly needful to remark that this was the last, as it was the first, time that Mormons had the use of that hall.

Smith left Palmyra by a side-door, to avoid his creditors. To the great relief of the neighborhood,

his followers also went away. They next appear in Ohio, at Kirtland, near Mentor. Here converts are rapidly made. Soon they become thoroughly organized. They boldly claim power to work miracles. They send forth missionaries, and gain many proselytes. Smith and others travel and preach in the Northern and Eastern States. His brother Samuel converts Brigham Young, who, with his four brothers and six sisters, joins the prophet. In March, 1832, Smith, for forgery and dishonorable dealing, is tarred and feathered. Next day, with tar still sticking to him, he preaches and baptizes three converts. Very soon he has a printing-press, a monthly magazine, and more than a thousand followers. He announces a revelation that the gathering-place of the Saints is to be in Missouri. Accordingly the greater part of his followers remove to Independence, Mo. The prophet remains awhile at Kirtland "to milk the Gentiles," as he styles it, "for the benefit of the church." He starts a bank on no redeeming basis. The bank fails; the prophet flees. On venturing to return he is arrested as a swindler, escapes from the sheriff, is hotly pursued by armed men, but reaches Missouri.

In twelve short months the Mormons have overshadowed the town of Independence, and are rapidly lengthening their cords. Taught by their leader that the Lord God had given them the whole land, that bloody wars should exterminate all other sects from the country, the Mormons grow arrogant. The Missourians are alarmed. Conflict begins. Blood flows on both sides. Finally the militia of the State is called out by

the governor, who charges that the Mormons had "instituted a government of their own, independent of, and in opposition to, the government of the State." Yielding before superior numbers, the Mormons cross the Mississippi and find a refuge in Illinois, where they are kindly received. They plant the city of Nauvoo, and gather fresh power. By 1840 they have missionaries in the British Isles. Brigham Young ships from Liverpool seven hundred and sixty-nine converts, and leaves many churches organized in England, Scotland, and Wales. By 1842 the Mormons number fifteen thousand in Illinois, and have missions in many lands. The Book of Mormon is republished, tracts and religious periodicals are distributed, and all the agencies of proselyting are vigorously at work. The prophet commands that a temple be built, and introduces the stimulating doctrine of baptism for the dead. He is commander of his legion of armed men, aspires to the Presidency of the United States, corresponds with Clay and Calhoun upon national topics, and amasses a large fortune by speculation. He claims to have 100,000 converts, who receive his least word as the utterance of a prophet of Jehovah. In 1843 Smith receives a revelation authorizing polygamy. Great uproar follows. Collisions with the authorities arise, and civil war seems impending. The prophet is killed by a mob. His followers, soon rallied by a stout will, are nerved to a bold stroke. They abandon Nauvoo, cross the Mississippi on the ice, turn their backs upon the States, and strike out on a fearful journey of fifteen hundred miles through an almost trackless waste swept by storms

Indians, and wild animals, with neither bridges, wells, nor cultivated fields, into a dry and desolate land supposed to be a waste which nobody wanted. Here they map out a territory large enough for a kingdom. To govern it, the Church of the Latter Day Saints is made a corporate body, with power to make laws and enforce penalties, for controlling in everything relating to church covenants. In 1852 polygamy is publicly admitted as a part of the Mormon system, and ruining virtue in the name of a "Thus saith the Lord" is systematically begun. Mormon arrogance and disloyalty increase to such an extent that the United States sends a military force to Utah. The result is neither war nor submission. By 1859 there are 30,000 Mormons in Utah, as many more in the rest of America, as many more in Europe, 2,000 in Africa, and 8,000 in other parts of the world.

Since then they have been steadily increasing, and we, forgetful of the solemn lessons of history, have been despising the day of small things. When they began we laughed; but they grew. When their prophet was slain, and they betook themselves to the wilderness, we said they would come to naught; but they grew. We said the railway and telegraph will make an end of them; but Young wired his dominion so that his will could reach his people in two hours. Since the railway, Mormon converts can be shipped through from Liverpool to Salt Lake City at $93 a head.

To-day the Mormon Church has as many missionaries as has the American Board. In one year, 1881, they sent out one hundred and eighty-nine, besides seventy-nine to Arizona to spy out and

secure the best land for colonization purposes. One day last April, sixty-one Mormon missionaries were at the Grand Central Hotel, New York, and sailed for Europe the day following. On the 16th of October thirty more left Salt Lake City in a Pullman car. Within eight months of last year about three thousand Mormon proselytes arrived at New York.

The Mormons have missions in England, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Malta, Gibraltar, Hindoostan, Australia, Siam, Ceylon, China, Chili, Guinea, the West Indies, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, Iceland, on the banks of the Nile; and even in the Holy Land. Twenty-seven nationalities were represented in one of their recent public celebrations. More converts were sent to Utah in the past two seasons, since the passage of the Edmunds Bill, than in any four years previous. Rural districts in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee have yielded many. The Book of Mormon is now printed in many tongues, and periodicals are issued in at least eight languages. Mormon land is much more than Utah land. Shrewdly, systematically, large areas have been secured in the great central plateau of this continent, and are being colonized for religious and political control. Some of the best portions of Arizona, Wyoming, New Mexico, Idaho, and Colorado* are under Mormon control.

Politics in Idaho turns upon the Mormon ques-

* Colorado already has eighteen Mormon settlements, and eighteen Mormon Missionaries have been sent out after recruits for Colorado alone.

tion. The illustrated diagram printed with this article shows, at a glance, Mormonism and Romanism overshadowing a very great region, and all other denominations very diminutive, compared with these. All the Protestant, evangelical church-members in Wyoming do not numerically equal one-sixth part of the Mormon church-members of that territory; Arizona has thirty times as many Mormons as Protestant Evangelical church-members. Here in Colorado, only one denomination, the Methodist, exceeds the Mormon. In Idaho, the leading evangelical denomination is the Presbyterian; but for every Presbyterian there are fifteen Mormon church-members in that Territory. Congregationalists have in Arizona two churches; Mormons have thirty-five. In Colorado, Congregationalists have twenty-four churches; Mormons have thirty-three. In Wyoming the proportion is as four to thirty-two; while in Idaho is one Congregational church over against forty-two Mormon churches. It will surprise many to learn that Mormon high priests outnumber the Congregational ministers in the United States, and that in the list of forty-four religious denominations named by the census, only seventeen exceed the Mormons in membership, while, if measured by the number of priests or ministers, only four denominations in this country exceed the Mormons.

These startling facts are gathered from statistics of 1880. Forty years ago an officer of the United States Army wrote to a friend: "There is developing in the Rocky Mountain region a power that will, if unhindered, some day shake this country to its center." William Smith, brother of the prophet,

left the Mormons years ago, saying: "It is their design to set up an independent government. The mass of the Mormons will be purged of American feelings, and will be shut out by church restrictions from any but a Mormon freedom." To-day the Mormon vote is solid, is dictated by a few men, and is in favor of the party which is least inclined to restrain Mormonism.

Utah rejoiced over the ninety-five Democratic votes in the National House of Representatives against the Edmunds Bill. If political demagogues shall yet become fawning sycophants in the presence of the Mormon ballot, history will but repeat itself. Governor Murray, of Utah, says that the Mormon Legislature — a creature of the Mormon Church paid out of the United States Treasury — is working to defeat United States law. Already "mercantilism" is in some wholesale houses whispering its fear that anti-Mormon agitation may injure trade with Utah.

In the *North American Review* for March, 1881, Judge Goodwin, of Salt Lake City, declares his belief that if the remedy is postponed for fifteen years longer, nothing less than an exhausting civil war will suffice to overcome this enemy of republican government. And to-day, in ringing words, the Governor of Utah cries: "I warn the country of dangers that beset the Government in this irrepressible conflict."

Surely Mormonism is no weakling to be ignored. It is probably the most energetic ecclesiastical body on this continent. In the face of pulpit, press, and adverse legislation this sect has thriven and thrives. Many people are asking how is it that this thing of

mean origin and ridiculous pretensions has been able to rise up in the midst of the nineteenth century? How is it that in this our country, where every fifth inhabitant belongs to the Christian communion, is found a system with practices tolerated in no other nominally Christian land excepting Abyssinia.

What is the grip of Mormonism? The answer to this question is manifold.

1. In the first place, Mormonism goes after simple-hearted, uneducated people. It gains a respectful hearing by means of the truth which the system contains, and not by means of the error. It says many good things, as: Repent; fear God; be honest; be just; be virtuous.

2. It is eclectic. Joseph Smith shrewdly determined that his scheme should accommodate wanderers from all folds. So it professes to believe in the New Testament and in the mission of Christ, and in the Book of Mormon as being in harmony with the Bible. With the Jews, it holds to a temporal kingdom, the tithe, and the prophetic order.

It is Buddhistic in its doctrine of the development of the gods. It seems to have borrowed from the Greek mythology its notions of the loves of the immortals. It is polytheistic in its doctrine of many gods. Then it is intensely materialistic. It borrows scraps of doctrine from the various Christian sects. John Taylor says: "The present dispensation is a combination of the various dispensations that have existed in the different ages of the world." This professed liberality and breadth is artfully contrasted with the exclusiveness of the sects; and Mormon unity, also, with the divided aspect of Christendom.

3. Missionary operations are conducted with enthusiastic, self-denying zeal, many missionaries traveling — as the President of the Mormon Church has done — tens of thousands of miles without purse or scrip, preaching the doctrines of Mormonism. Little or nothing is said about the obnoxious features of the system. All that the converts know is from the statements of Mormons.

4. While Mormonism goes across seas to men in coal-pits and factories, and labors among them as loving their souls, it also holds out to the weary, hopeless toiler the assurance of a home of his own and forty acres in a sunny land, and offers him aid, if necessary, from the Emigration Fund.

5. By thoroughness of organization the Mormon Church has a strong hold. Every fourth man is an official. There are twenty large districts; these are divided into two hundred and thirty wards; the wards are subdivided, and over the subdivisions are set deacons and teachers, to visit each individual every moon, and to know his affairs, temporal and spiritual. All Mormons are solemnly sworn to keep no secrets from the teachers. This confessional is a powerful means for handling the people. Deacons and teachers report to the bishops, who are judges and civil magistrates. These report to the presidents of districts, who in turn report to the Council of the Twelve. The great working body of the Mormons is divided into seventy-eight quorums of seventy each, whose chiefs constitute a grand missionary board for the propagation of the faith. From the high-priests are chosen fifteen men, twelve of whom constitute a jury. From this tribunal, appeal may be made to the First President, from whom is no appeal. The President holds the keys of the kingdom, unfolds the will of God, and is absolute in things temporal. The title to church property is in his name. To him the obedience of all Mormons is pledged. From his office runs a telegraph wire to each bishop in a the main districts of the Territory. From the great wheel to the least spindle the whole Mormon system is tightly belted and geared together.

6. The iron grip of the Mormon Church appears in its control of the land. The forty acres promised is to be found where the Church elects to send the proselyte. The leaders have such control of choice soil in Utah, that non-Mormon emigrants are discouraged from entering. Colonization for political ends is systematically carried on. Does the Mormon vote need strengthening in some county in Idaho? Strong wards in Utah are bidden to furnish their quotas of emigrants. As Bishop Lunt says: "Our people are obedient. When called by the Church they promptly obey: sell houses, lands, and stock, and remove to any part of the country to which the Church may direct them. You can imagine," adds the Bishop, "the results which wisdom may bring about with such a system as ours; it is the completest the world has ever seen."

The Mormon Church in its control of the irrigating canals has an effective grip. If a man rebels, the thumb on the ditch chokes him into submission. No wonder the Mormon vote is solid.

7. Great is the power of the tithe. One-tenth of all one's property, and income, and time, is required. About a round million a year is raised for purposes which strengthen the Church. Thou-

sands of dollars are spent at Washington in adroit lobbying against anti-Mormon movements. Generous attentions shown to distinguished visitors at the Mormon capital tend, in some degree, to disarm criticism.

8. The Mormons are held together, not only by external authority, but by a kind of faith and devotion. It were blindness to call them hypocrites; though it would doubtless be but a discreet and mild use of language to apply to the founder the word knave.

9. Mormonism has as a part of its capital the memory of sufferings and tribulations; especially the martyrdom of the prophet, the manner of whose death threw his vices into the background, and surrounded him with a halo. The story of the march of the ten thousand across the plains, and of precious dust laid beneath the buffalo grass by the weary way, is not without effect. The shotgun policy, which report says was employed against Mormon preachers in parts of North Carolina last year, is an effective ally of Mormonism.

10. Among the leaders polygamy is a bond, the sense of fellowship being strengthened by common opposition to the law of the land.

It is a sad fact that the Mormon Church furnishes to the conscience a justification of all it bids men do. It sets its "ought" to abominable things. Adroitly shuffling texts, it teaches that the highest seats in heaven are for those who have the largest families on earth. And the sly oracle permitting polygamy was careful to provide for future changes of policy on this subject.

11. Favorable to Mormon growth is the isolation

of its seat of power, and the general segregation of the converts, by which much contact with non-Mormon civilization is generally avoided; also their concentration in a great gathering-place from all the nations, for which prediction was provided in the Book of Mormon.

Certain analogies between Utah and Palestine somewhat aid Mormonism. Utah is called the Promised Land, to which God led his people through the wilderness. The Mormon Zion "stands with hills surrounded," "beautiful for situation." Great Salt Lake is their Dead Sea, into which flows their Jordan. The home of the Mormons is beneath sunny skies, in a land whose irrigating streams bring down fatness, and whose hills yield millions in gold and silver. No wonder the ignorant Mormons think themselves a chosen people. Costly and imposing temples aid in the maintenance of dignity and dominion. The magnificent Temple at Salt Lake City, whose total cost will be nine millions of dollars, and which has already been thirty years in building — this, and other grand and imposing structures, the creation of their own toil, and for their solemn mysteries, impress the people with a sense of power. Zeal in temple-building is quickened by the doctrine that the living may be baptized for, and save the souls of, their dead friends, or of heathen; but that the baptism, to avail, must be performed in the Temple only.

The Mormons have a strong hold on their young people by means of their system of schools, from which non-Mormon teachers are excluded, and in which Mormon doctrines are assiduously taught.

The Mormon press and pulpit catch eagerly at calamities, by fire and flood, earthquakes, popular discontents, fears in high places, wars and rumors of wars, and crimes outside of Mormondom, as signs that "the end is nigh," and that the Kingdom of the Saints is to triumph.

Finally, by substituting Church tribunals with closed doors in place of open courts, and by the apparent faith of the leaders in their ability to defy the Government, and, if it must be said, by the slowness of the Republic to awake to a sense of danger, this masterly tyranny has got a tightening grip, which can be broken only by vigorous measures applied speedily, and faithfully followed up.

But we must not expect that repressive legislation, which can apply only to immoral conduct, and not to the opinions or character from which such conduct proceeds, will destroy Mormonism. The great condition for the growth of this rank imposture is human ignorance and superstition. This fact points out the main remedy.

When I read that within about eleven years, more than sixty-one million dollars have been given to promote higher education in this country, and I look out upon the heights and think of that wretched delusion that is blighting so many lives away over behind these mountains, and away in the North also, and the South, and that is throwing dark shadows in our own State, even within thirty minutes' ride from our young college, it seems clear that it is high time for large gifts to cross the Plains to work against this evil through Christian institutions planted firmly in this great area, where its growth and its grip are most startling and ominous.

Pamphlet

THE THREE PANICS:

An Historical Episode.

BY

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P.

SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON:
WARD & CO., 27, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1862.

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Years.	Expenditure of the English and French Navies, from 1835 to 1859 inclusive.		Expenditure for Wages in the English and French Dockyards during the same period.		Number of Seamen maintained in the two Navies.		Number of Vessels in Commission in the French Navy.	Years.
	English.	French.	English.	French.	English.	French.		
1835	4,245,723	2,227,709	376,377	343,032	26,041	16,628	165	1835
1836	4,533,543	2,439,445	373,996	358,664	30,195	21,685	171	1836
1837	4,788,761	2,351,949	472,870	264,508	31,289	23,812	186	1837
1838	4,811,990	2,567,092	474,943	276,752	32,028	24,500	198	1838
1839	5,197,511	2,790,921	495,489	314,593	34,857	25,457	218	1839
1840	5,824,074	3,540,058	557,053	384,197	37,665	33,107	228	1840
1841	6,805,351	4,542,495	610,007	436,368	41,389	40,171	227	1841
1842	6,818,173	4,665,617	607,008	481,656	43,105	36,416	225	1842
1843	6,382,990	3,624,929	629,441	410,761	40,229	31,345	213	1843
1844	6,250,120	3,888,121	691,184	358,271	38,343	30,240	219	1844
1845	6,943,720	3,847,498	732,625	369,772	40,084	28,979	233	1845
1846	7,803,465	4,507,427	796,147	436,243	43,314	33,970	243	1846
1847	8,013,873	5,145,900	853,574	448,333	44,969	32,169	240	1847
1848	7,922,287	4,985,872	890,626	444,085	43,978	28,760	242	1848
1849	6,942,397	3,923,276	805,507	456,155	39,535	27,063	211	1849
1850	6,437,883	3,406,866	726,956	432,837	39,093	24,679	181	1850
1851	5,849,917	3,293,737	712,372	416,773	38,957	22,316	166	1851
1852	6,625,944	3,462,271	702,260	425,811	40,451	25,016	175	1852
1853	6,640,596	3,967,838	719,214	467,898	45,885	28,513	192	1853
1854	12,182,769	7,115,417	968,608	688,418	61,457	48,812	254	1854
1855	19,014,708	8,702,758	1,172,800	830,570	67,791	54,479	322	1855
1856	16,013,995	8,330,690	1,301,077	776,356	60,659	40,882	310	1856
1857	10,390,000	5,070,304	937,773	636,776	53,919	29,289	215	1857
1858	10,029,047	5,337,060	991,592	640,954	55,883	29,602	199	1858
1859	11,072,243	8,333,933	1,582,112	772,931	72,400	38,470	300	1859*

* The year of the war in Italy.

THE THREE PANICS.

THE FIRST PANIC.

1847—1848.

As the question involved throughout these pages turns mainly upon the comparative strength of the English and French navies, the reader's attention will be frequently solicited to the preceding tables of naval expenditure, etc., in the two countries. They comprise:—

1. Accounts, in parallel columns, of the total yearly expenditure on the English and French navies, for the twenty-five years, from 1835 to 1859.

2. Accounts of the expenditure, during the same period, for wages in the English and French dockyards.

3. Lists of the numbers of seamen maintained in the two navies in each year for the same time.

There is also a list of the number of vessels in commission in each year during the same period in the French navy, for which there is no parallel list available in the English accounts.

It should be understood, however, that a comparison of the total expenditure in the two countries, *for any one year*, would be a very unfair test of the cost or strength of their respective navies. There are several very large items charged in the British navy estimates, as, for instance, the half-pay and pensions, which are found under other heads in the finance accounts of France. On the contrary, there are some smaller sums charged to the navy in France, which come under other categories of expenditure in England. The chief use of this table is to furnish an unbroken comparison of the *progress*

of expenditure in the two countries during a series of years; and with this view, the accounts of the Ministry of the Colonies, in which some changes have taken place to break the continuity, have been omitted.

For comparing the naval expenditure of the two countries for any one year, especially in what a French writer has called the "aggressive" outlay, a more accurate test is afforded by the second table, giving the amounts expended for wages in their respective dockyards.

But the truest comparison of the strength or cost of the two navies, in any given year, is afforded by the numbers of the seamen. The official representatives of the Admiralty in the House of Commons have always laid down the rule, that the vote for men is decisive of the whole amount of expenditure. In the words of the highest authority of our day: "It has been well ascertained with respect to the naval branch, and still more with respect to the other branches of our defensive force, that the number of men rules the amount of money voted on all the other branches of the various estimates."* Again, in a Report laid before Parliament, on the "Comparative State of the Navies of England and France,"† to which further allusion will be made, it is stated: "But, as in the case of the Army Estimates, nearly every vote is affected by the number of men; so, in the Navy Estimates, it will be found that almost every vote is influenced by the same consideration; as an increase in the number of seamen involves a corresponding increase in the force of ships, in the expense of bringing them forward and fitting them for service, and providing for wear and tear."

Before proceeding, it may be well to meet an objection. It has been said in the House of Commons,‡ that the public accounts are unreliable in France. That the *estimates* of the expenditure for the different ministerial departments are less reliable in France than in this country is universally admitted. This arises from two causes: the facility with which supplementary credits have been granted by the Executive—a privilege which has recently been renounced by the Emperor; and from the circumstance that the Estimates are prepared a

* Sir James Graham, *Hansard*, cxxiv. 312. † *Par. Pap.* 182,—1859.
‡ Mr. Bentinck, *Hansard*, clxi. 1765.

year in advance of ours. For instance, our Navy Estimates, for 1862, are prepared in December, 1861; whilst in France the same process is going on for 1863. Hence, when the war between France and Austria broke out in the spring of 1859, as the navy expenditure for that year had been fixed in December, 1857, it followed necessarily that all the extra expenses for that war had to be met by supplementary credits.

But it must not be inferred that no record is kept of those supplementary expenses. Every *franc* is inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*, and afterwards appears in the *Réglement définitif des Budgets*. Each item is allocated to the various ministries, and the *Compte Général des Finances* comprises absolutely every one of these items. Had it not been so, how could M. Fould, in his late programme, have exhibited the exact amount of the difference between the estimates and the expenditure over a long series of years? Ought not the recent unfavourable *exposé* of French finance to satisfy the most sceptical that those in power have not the unchecked control of the public accounts?

The system of public accounts in France is the most exact in principle, and the most rigidly sustained in practice, in the whole world; and as the Auditors (*La Cour des Comptes*) are irremovable judges, an error or a fraud is all but impossible. But it requires a delay of more than a year to obtain the audited accounts, and hence the above tables are only brought down to 1859.

There is one other point requiring a preliminary observation. It might be supposed, from the tone frequently assumed by our officials, when speaking in the House on the subject of the Navy of France, and from the pretended revelations which sometimes appear in a portion of the public press, that the government of that country is in the habit of taking sudden and secret resolutions respecting its naval armaments. So far is this from being the case, that every body acquainted with the subject knows that the French are far more open than ourselves in discussing and defining, publicly, beforehand, the amount and character of their naval force. With us, the inquiries of Committees of Parliament, or Royal Commissions, are confined to the details of administration; they are restrained from considering and pronouncing an opinion on the *amount* of force to be kept up, on the plea that that is the prerogative of

the Sovereign, to be exercised on the responsibility of the Cabinet. Not so in France, where Commissions, appointed by the Chambers or the Crown, discuss the future strength and organisation of the Navy for many years to come; and the result of their deliberations, with their recommendations, is published to the world.

It must not, however, be supposed that these plans are always carried to completion, for no country, perhaps, produces a greater number of abortive paper projects than France; but the government more frequently fall short of than exceed the recommendations of the Committees. For instance, at the present moment, the French government is regulating its expenditure, under the chief heads of its Naval Budget, by an Imperial decree of 1857, issued in consequence of the report of a Special Commission, appointed in 1855, and which fixed the outlay for fourteen years; but it is certain that new discoveries in naval architecture, if not the state of the finances, will lead to a modification of this programme.

There is something very puerile in the recent attempts to frighten the country with stories about secret preparations in the French dockyards. It would be just as possible to build a great hotel in secrecy in Paris, as to conceal the process of constructing a ship of war at Toulon or Cherbourg. Such tactics on the part of the alarmists are novel, and not complimentary to the intelligence of the public. The subject was treated with greater candour formerly. In introducing the Navy Estimates, in 1839, Mr. Wood (now Sir Charles Wood), the Secretary of the Admiralty, said:—"The French annual estimates contain the fullest information. The French carry publicity to a fault. They carry it, as Sir John Barrow has mentioned in his late life of Lord Anson, to their own detriment. There is no disguise about the state of their navy."

In comparing the expenditure of the two countries, it will be observed that they almost invariably rise and fall together. In the long run, this must be the case, because it has always been the recognised policy of the governments to preserve a certain relation to each other. Looking back for nearly a century, we shall find that in a time of peace France has been accustomed to maintain a naval force, not greatly varying from the proportion of two-thirds of our own. If, however, we turn

to the tables, in the first page, we shall find that in 1840-41, this proportion underwent a great and sudden derangement, and that, instead of being content with two-thirds of our force, the French navy approached almost to an equality with our own. Though remotely antecedent, this incident is not wholly unconnected with the first panic.

It was under these circumstances, that Sir Robert Peel's government was formed in 1841. The earliest utterances of that statesman, in the House of Commons, when at the head of a large conservative majority, indicated the line of policy which he was desirous of pursuing. "Is not the time come," said he, "when the powerful countries of Europe should reduce those military armaments which they have so sedulously raised? Is not the time come, when they should be prepared to declare that there is no use in such overgrown establishments? What is the advantage of one power greatly increasing its army and navy? Does it not see that other powers will follow its example? The consequence of this must be, that no increase of relative strength will accrue to any one power; but there must be a universal consumption of the resources of every country in military preparations. They are, in fact, depriving peace of half its advantages, and anticipating the energies of war whenever they may be required." And he thus proceeded to indicate a practical policy to the civilized world. "The true interest of Europe is to come to some one common accord, so as to enable every country to reduce those military armaments which belong to a state of war rather than of peace. I do wish that the councils of every country (or that the public voice and mind, if the councils did not) would willingly propagate such a doctrine."

The more than official earnestness of these remarks leaves no room to doubt that the speaker yearned for the opportunity of carrying into effect his peaceful and cosmopolitan policy. But the relations of England and France were, at that moment, peculiarly unfavourable to his views. During the previous year, whilst his political opponents were still in power, and when M. Thiers was at the head of the French government, the great diplomatic rupture had occurred between the two govern-

* *Hansard*, vol. lix. pp. 403-4.

ments on the Eastern question – the effects of which have descended in increased armaments to the present time. Two rival statesmen, who wielded with consummate skill the combative pride, and the soaring vanity of these great nations, had encountered each other on the shores of Syria, where France was especially sensitive to defeat and loss of influence. The consequence was a deep popular irritation and sense of humiliation throughout the French nation.

It was under these circumstances, that these two statesmen, passing from office into opposition, became, from 1841, the persistent advocates, in their respective countries, of a policy that led to a constant increase of armaments. The genius of both belonged less to the present than to the past. The one revelled in the historical glories of the first Empire, exulted in being the author of the fortifications of Paris, talked of 800,000 soldiers for a peace establishment, and forced upon successive governments an increase of the navy. The other inherited the traditions of Pitt, saw in our great neighbour only the aggressive and warlike foe of our fathers, and urged on the vexed and unwilling ear of Sir Robert Peel the construction of fortifications, the augmentation of the navy, and the formation of the Militia.* The following extract from a speech, delivered July 30, 1845, might almost be taken for the utterance of 1860: —"Now, Sir, France, as I had occasion to state on a former occasion, has now a standing army of 340,000 men, fully equipped, including a large force of cavalry and artillery, and, in addition to that, 1,000,000 of the National Guard. I know that the National Guard of Paris consists of 100,000 men, trained, disciplined, reviewed, clothed, equipped, and accustomed to duty, and perfectly competent, therefore, to take the internal duty of the country, and to set free the whole of the regular force. Now, Sir, if France were a country separated from our own by an impassable barrier; if she had no navy; or if the Channel could not be crossed, I should say that this was a matter with which we had no concern. But that is not the case. In the first place, France has a fleet equal to ours. I do not speak of the number of vessels actually in existence, but of the fleet in commission and half-commission, in

* Vide, post, p. 20.

both which respects the fleet of France is equal to that of this country. But, again, the Channel is no longer a barrier. Steam-navigation has rendered that which was before impassable by a military force nothing more than a river passable by a steam bridge."*

These accents of mistrust and defiance were echoed from the Tribune of the Chamber of Deputies the following year, when M. Guizot was compelled by his active and brilliant opponent to enlarge his project for increasing the navy:—"We pay England," said M. Thiers, "the compliment of thinking only of her when determining our naval force; we never heed the ships which sally forth from Trieste or Venice; we care only for those which leave Portsmouth or Plymouth."†

Although we have been in the habit of assuming, for the last ten years, that our naval ascendancy has been endangered by the policy of the successor of Louis Philippe, it was during the last eight years of that king's reign, and especially for a year or two subsequent to the Syrian dispute, that a serious effort seemed really to be made to rival us at sea. The vast projects for extending the dockyards of France, especially Toulon, arose out of this diplomatic rupture. It seemed as though the government of that country sought to console the nation for the wounds which had been inflicted on its self-love, by enormous and costly preparations for future wars. But since nobody now believes that the "Citizen King," the "Napoleon of Peace," ever contemplated a descent on our shores, it would be a waste of time to enter into lengthened details respecting the first panic, which terminated with his downfall. Some of the incidents which preceded that event have, however, exercised so much influence on the two succeeding panics, that they cannot be altogether passed over without notice.

At the time to which we are now more particularly referring (1845-6), the first of these great political delusions had acquired no hold of the public mind. The principal contribution to the first panic, previous to the publication of the Duke of Wellington's letter, was the pamphlet of Prince Joinville. It is difficult now, after a calm perusal of this tract, to under-

* Lord Palmerston, *Hansard*, lxxxii. 1223.
† Chamber of Deputies, 1846.

stand how it could have been pressed into the service of the alarmists. It is filled throughout with complaints of the inferiority of the French navy, and offers not a few probably unmerited compliments to the superior management of England. Here are its concluding words:—"I have been obliged, in the whole course of this little pamphlet, to make my country undergo an afflicting comparison with a country that is advanced so much before it in the knowledge of its interests; I have been obliged to expose the secret of our weakness compared to the greatness of British power; but I should think myself happy if, by the sincere avowal of those sorrowful truths, I were able to dissipate the illusion, in which are so many clever persons, as to the real condition of the navy of France, and to decide them to ask with me those salutary reforms which alone can give our navy a new era of power and glory."

The feelings of irritation which had been kept alive by portions of the press, in the interests of certain political parties in the two countries, from the time of the Syrian difficulty, and throughout the dispute on the Tahiti affair, in 1844, now found fresh aliment in the rupture of the two governments on the question of the Spanish marriages. It was in the midst of the alienation and suspicion with which the public mind regarded these proceedings of the French Court, that towards the end of 1847, the Letter of the Duke of Wellington on our National Defences made its appearance,—an event which led to an immediate invasion "panic," and furnished a never failing argument to successive governments for increased warlike expenditure. Nor was this the only evil produced by the Letter. It unfortunately gave rise to a host of imitators; for how could a military man, of whatever rank, be more patriotically employed than in following the example of the Commander-in-Chief, and proclaiming to the world the necessity for increased armaments? And, unhappily, this task could only be accomplished by rousing the hostile passions of two great nations, by appeals to the fears and resentment of the one, and accusations of meditated violence and treachery against the other.

The public has never been fully informed of the circumstances which led to the publication of this famous Letter. In a pamphlet which appeared in France, just previous to the

opening of the session of 1848, written by M. Chevalier, who ha dalready devoted his accomplished pen to the cause of the Anglo-French alliance, the Duke's letter had been treated in the character of an answer to Prince Joinville's publication. This drew from Lord John Russell an explanation in the House, on the authority of the Duke himself, in which he said that, "nothing could have given greater pain," to the writer, "than the publication of sentiments which he had expressed confidentially to a brother officer."* It was stated by Lord Palmerston, at a subsequent date, that the letter was written "in consequence of an able memorandum drawn up by Sir John Burgoyne."† Whoever gave it to the world must have assumed that it would possess an authority above criticism; otherwise, it contains passages which would have induced a friend to withhold it from publication. The concluding sentence, where, in speaking of himself, he says, "I am bordering upon seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour," affords sufficient proof that it was not intended for the public eye. The entire production, indeed, gives painful evidence of enfeebled powers. One extract will be sufficient; the italics are not in the original:

"I am accustomed to the consideration of these questions, and have examined and reconnoitred, over and over again, the whole coast from the North Foreland, by Dover, Folkestone, Beachy Head, Brighton, Arundel to Selsey Bill, near Portsmouth; and I say that, excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, *there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore at any time of tide, with any wind, and in any weather*, and from which such body of infantry so thrown on shore, would not find within a distance of five miles a road into the interior of the country, *through the cliffs*, practicable for the march of a body of troops."

Now, any person who has been in the habit of visiting Eastbourne and Hastings, knows that for half the year no prudent mariner brings his vessel within several miles of that coast, and that there is a considerable extent of shore where a landing is at all times impracticable. It may be safely

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* *Hansard*, xcvi. 909. † *Hansard*, clx. 18.

affirmed, that if any one but the Duke of Wellington had stated that there was any shore in the world, on which a body of troops could be landed "at any time of the tide, with any wind, and in any weather," the statement would have been deemed undeserving of notice. The assertion, however, passed unchallenged at the time, and the entire Letter was quoted as an unanswerable proof that the country was in danger. To have ventured on criticism or doubt would have only invited the accusation of want of patriotism.

Few people now remember the incidents of the invasion panic which culminated in the spring of 1848. It was the first occasion on which the attempt had been made to terrify the public with the idea of a sudden invasion from France in a time of peace, without a declaration of war, and without the hope of conquest, or even the glory of honourable warfare. The theory degraded our civilised and polite neighbours to the level of pirates. And yet so generally was it proclaimed by the London journals of the time, that the editor of that staid and philosophical print, the *Spectator*, drew on himself a remonstrance from his friend, the late Sir William Molesworth, in a letter dated January 17, 1848, from which the following is an extract:—

"You say that 'the next attack on England will probably be without notice; that 5000 Frenchmen might inflict disgrace on some defenceless post; 500 might insult British blood at Herne Bay, or even inflict indelible shame on the empire at Osborne House!' Good God! Can it be possible that you whom I ranked so high among the public instructors of this nation—that you consider the French to be ruffians, Pindarees, freebooters—that you believe it necessary to keep constant watch and ward against them, as our Saxon forefathers did against the Danes and the Nordmen, lest they should burn our towns, plunder our coasts, and put our queen to ransom," etc., etc.

It naturally followed, since the greatest military authority had proclaimed the country in danger, that it should be the fashion for civilians in high places to echo the cry of alarm. Even the peerage, that body which views all other agitations with so much serenity, partook of the excitement. Lord Ellesmere published a letter, bearing at its head the motto, "Awake, arise! or be for ever fallen!" in which he foretold, in case of an invasion, that the Guards would march out at one end of the

metropolis as the French entered at the other, and that on the Lord Mayor would be imposed the duty of converting the Mansion House into a place where billets would be found for the foreign army; upon which Sir Robert Peel dryly remarked, that "he would defy the Lord Mayor afterwards to show his face in Cheapside."*

It was under these circumstances, that Parliament assembled in 1848. The Whig Government, which had succeeded to power in 1846, on the disruption of the Conservative party, consequent upon the repeal of the Corn Laws, found themselves with a deficient revenue, arising from the late famine in Ireland, and great depression in nearly all branches of trade and industry. On the 18th February, Lord John Russell made his financial statement for the year. For the better understanding of what is to follow, it may be well to give his opening remarks on the state of the nation:—

"I shall proceed, Sir, at once, by reminding the House that the year which has passed over our heads, or I should perhaps say, the period of the last eighteen months, has been one which, excepting cases of foreign war or domestic insurrection, is without a parallel, I think, in the history of this country. The changes and vicissitudes of prices—the difficulties of commerce—the panic which more than once prevailed—the extreme distress of a part of the United Kingdom—the extraordinary efforts that were made to relieve that distress—altogether affected the state of this country to a degree, that I believe it would not be easy to find an example of such distress in our history."†

After alluding to the great increase that had taken place in the French navy, he proposed, in order to meet the necessity for increased defensive armaments, and in accordance with the advice in the Duke of Wellington's letter, to re-organise the militia, and to slightly modify, without materially increasing, the regular forces. To cover the deficiency in the revenue, and to meet the increased charges for militia, etc, the minister proposed an addition of 5d. in the pound to the income-tax, thus raising it from 7d. to a shilling. The proposition, so far as concerned the increase of our armaments, appeared so moderate,

* *Hansard*, xcvi. 1074. † *Hansard*, xcvi. 900.

when viewed in connection with the excitement that had reigned out of doors with respect to the designs of our neighbours, that it led Sir Robert Peel to remark—

"After the panic which prevailed in this country about a month since, I am glad to find the tide has ebbed so fast, and that the alarm on the subject of invasion has visibly abated. I was afraid the Government might have been unduly influenced by that alarm; and I am relieved when I learn that it is not intended to make any increase in the military or naval force."

But the budget met with no favour from any part of the House, and it soon became evident that the intended addition to the income-tax would prove fatal to the whole scheme. The proposed increase of expenditure for militia, etc., was denounced by the reformers, who demanded a reduction of the existing establishments; whilst it was still more ominous to hear Mr. Bankes, the representative of the country gentlemen, declare, that "that was not the moment to talk of valour and triumph, but the time for reflecting how they could remedy the evils which pressed so heavily on the great mass of the community."*

Whilst the Government measure was still under discussion, a portentous event occurred in France, which, if it had not involved the gravest consequences to Europe and the world, would have imparted a character of burlesque to the closing scene of the first invasion panic. On the evening of the 24th of February, 1848, whilst the House of Commons was in session, a murmur of conversation suddenly arose at the door, and spread throughout the House, when was witnessed—what never occurred before or since, in the writer's experience—a suspension for a few minutes of all attention to the business of the House, whilst every member was engaged in close and earnest conversation with his neighbour.† The intelligence had arrived of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, and of the proclamation of the Republic. The monarch and his ministers, whose

* *Hansard*, xcvi. 932.

† The writer of these pages was sitting by the side of the late Mr. Hume when the tidings reached their bench. Sir Robert Peel was on the opposite front seat, alone, his powerful party having been broken and scattered by his great measure of Corn-Law Repeal. "I'll go and tell Sir Robert the news," exclaimed Mr. Hume, and, stepping across the floor, he seated himself by his side, and communicated the startling intelligence. On returning to his place, he repeated, in the following words, the commentary of the ex-minister:—"This comes of trying to carry on a government by means of a mere majority of a Chamber, without regard to the opinion out of doors. It is what these people (pointing with his thumb over his shoulder to the protectionists behind him) wished me to do, but I refused."

ambitious projects had furnished the pretexts for our warlike armaments, and the gallant prince, whose pamphlet had sounded like a tocsin in our ears, were now on their way to claim the hospitality of England.

Under any other circumstances than those in which the country now found itself, this astounding intelligence would have probably caused an increase rather than a diminution of the invasion panic. There was, indeed, a momentary effort, in certain quarters, to turn to account the apparition of the dread Republic, with all the grim reminiscences associated with its motto of "*Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité.*" But the nation was too much harassed with its internal difficulties to listen to the suggestion of those who would revive the terrors of an invasion. Bad as had been the condition of the country, it was now felt that there was a worse state of things impending, from the destruction of confidence, the suspension of trade, and the interruption to labour, which the revolutions, now spreading over the Continent, were sure to produce. Public meetings were called; men of influence, of different political parties, mingled on the same platform, to denounce the increase of taxation, to repudiate the desire for the Militia, or any other addition to the defensive armaments of the country, and to call for a reduction of the public expenditure. Petitions, in this sense, poured into the House. The Government took the alarm; and on the 28th February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer withdrew the budget for amendment. The Militia Bill was heard of no more for four years. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine into the Military and Naval expenditure, with a view to greater economy in the Estimates. Before the close of the session, considerable reductions were announced. The Income-tax remained at its previous amount of 7*d.* in the pound for the remainder of the

year; and, on the meeting of Parliament, in 1849, notwithstanding that a Bonaparte had just previously been elected President of the French Republic, and that the Continent generally was in a state of revolutionary disquiet, the Queen's Speech contained the following announcement:—

"The present aspect of affairs has enabled me to make large reductions on the Estimates of last year."

The advocates of a system of direct taxation may profit by the admission:—there can be no doubt, that the proposal to add 5*d.* in the pound to the Income-tax, mainly contributed to put an end to the first invasion panic.

THE SECOND PANIC.

1851—1852—1853.

In ordinary years, when nothing occurs to concentrate public attention on this branch of the budget, it will be observed that the expenditure on the "Services" has a tendency to increase in proportion to the prosperity of the country.* Taking the amount of our foreign trade as the test of the progress of the nation, we shall find, looking back over the last ten or twelve years, that the amount of exports, and the amount of Military and Naval Estimates, have been augmented in nearly an equal ratio, both having been about doubled. It would seem as if there were some unseen power behind the Government, always able, unless held in check by an agitation in the country, to help itself to a portion of the national savings, limited only by the taxable patience of the public. A combination of circumstances, however, counteracted this tendency at the period to which we are now referring, the most influential of which was that "the landed interest was in a dissatisfied and uneasy state from anticipations of the great change in the commercial policy of the country, which was to come into full effect at the commencement of the present year"† (1849). Moreover, the party

* "I have observed, that there is always a great deal of pressure for an increase of the army and navy, and a great complaint about the defencelessness of the country, whenever there is a surplus income over expenditure. Why, it is a tempting thing, a large heap of money at the table of the Exchequer, and the knowledge, on the part of the 'Services,' that if John Bull can be sufficiently frightened into the cry for increased defences, there is a very good chance of some of the money being divided among them and theirs. Now, they have an eye on the surplus at this moment. I have an eye also on that surplus, which makes me peculiarly interested in this question; I want to apply it to the repeal of the taxes on knowledge; and by spreading sound information among the people, doing something for their future happiness and prosperity."—*Speech of* Rt. Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P., *Manchester, January* 26, 1853.

† *Annual Register*, vol. xci. p. 2.

which had been for many years engaged in the struggle for the overthrow of the Corn-Laws, threw its energies into the agitation for a reduction of expenditure; whilst the approaching year of the Great Exhibition tended to hold in check ideas of a warlike nature, and to make it the fashion, for a time at least, to profess a faith in the tendency of the world towards peace.

The consequence of this state of things was a constant reduction of the military and naval expenditure from 1847 to 1851, as will be seen on reference to the preceding tables. During this time, with the exception of the usual letters from Admiral Napier in the *Times* on the state of the navy, and a volume published at the close of 1850, by Sir Francis Head, on "The Defenceless State of the Nation," which was calculated to throw ridicule on the subject by its exaggerations, little was said about a French invasion. Even the Great Duke's letter was for a time forgotten. But only for a time, the occasion alone was wanting to revive the panic with increased violence. The country had been rapidly advancing towards that state of prosperity when its timidity and pugnacity seem equally susceptible of excitement. Under the influence of free trade and the gold discoveries, our exports, which in 1848 had been £52,849,000, amounted in 1851 to £74,448,000: they were destined to reach, in 1852, £78,076,000; and to rise in 1853 to £98,933,000; thus being nearly doubled in five years. The revenue was in a satisfactory state, and the landed interest had nearly recovered from the despondency into which it had been thrown by the repeal of the Corn Laws.

It was under these circumstances, that the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1851, and the re-election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic, with augmented powers, furnished the occasion for the outburst of the second invasion-panic. From that day to the meeting of Parliament, on the 3rd February, a large portion of the metropolitan journals teemed with letters and articles of the most exciting character. The course pursued by these writers was inconsistent enough. They commenced by assailing personally, with unmeasured invective, the author of the *coup d'état*, and heaping contemptuous epithets on the French people who had rewarded him with their suffrages; and then forthwith they raised the cry of invasion, and proclaimed our defenceless condition!—Conduct which, as will

be seen, drew on them the animadversions of the leading statesmen, on the meeting of Parliament. At the same time, there was the usual eruption of pamphlets, written chiefly by military and naval officers, containing projects for every variety of defensive armament.

In the debate on the address, on the first night of the session of 1852, almost every speaker alluded with disapprobation to the inflammatory language of the press.

"I say that it is more than imprudent," said the Earl of Derby, "that it is more than injudicious, that it is more than folly, that it is perfect madness, at one and the same time to profess a belief in the hostile intentions of a foreign country, and to parade before the eyes of that very people the supposed inability of this country to defend itself; to magnify the resources of your supposed assailant, and to point out how easy would be the invasion if not the subjugation of this country (though, thank God! the most violent have not yet spoken of subjugation); but to speak of that invasion, accompanying it with details of the fearful amount of horror and bloodshed which, under any circumstances, must attend it, and then, in the same breath, to assail with every term of obloquy, of vituperation, and abuse, the public and private character of the man who wields that force which you say is irresistible."*

And again, speaking of the disposition of the President, he said:—

"My Lords, I will go further, and I will say that I firmly believe that the French President personally is fully disposed to entertain friendly relations and to maintain a pacific policy towards other nations. But, my Lords, I think that if anything could divert him from that course, if he were a man likely to be worked upon by his own personal feelings—if anything were likely to divert him from that course of policy which I believe his inclination and his sense of the interests of France are likely to make him take, it would be the injudicious and, I may add, unjustifiable language which has been made use of by a large portion of the public press of this country, in commenting on the character of the French Government and people."†

* *Hansard*, cxix. 22. † *Hansard*, cxix. 21.

In the House of Commons, on the same occasion, Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, observed:—

"But really, to hear or read some of the letters, some of the language used by some portions of the press, one would imagine that these two great nations, so wealthy, so similar in enlightenment, were going to butcher one another, merely to try what would be the effect of percussion caps and needle guns."*

Both these statesmen, however, afforded substantial justification to the alarmists whom they thus eloquently rebuked, by intimating their determination to "prepare our defences," in order to make "invasion impossible." The public, of course, attributed their language to diplomatic reserve, whilst their action was quietly accepted as proof of impending danger.

As we were destined during the year 1852 to witness the reorganisation of the militia, and an augmentation of our army and navy, and as the arguments by which these increased armaments were voted will be found to have exclusive reference to the danger of an invasion from France, it will be well to turn for a moment to the tables, and see exactly what the French Government had been doing since the downfall of Louis Philippe. Though it is rather beside the question, for we have never professed to match our land forces against those of France, it may be premised, that the French Army was undergoing some reduction, and that the National Guard, whose million of armed men had been referred to with such alarming emphasis by Lord Palmerston in 1845, was being rapidly disbanded, and was destined ere long to disappear, with the exception of a nominal force kept up in a few large cities.

A reference to the tables will show, that, during the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, the period which intervened between the first and second panic, the strength of the French navy, whether measured by the total expenditure, the number of men, or the number of ships in commission, was considerably less that in any three years since 1840. It will be seen, that the French expenditure, with the number of men and of ships in commission, both absolutely and in proportion to the British, was at the lowest point in 1851, the year which witnessed the renewal of the panic. These facts were stated at the time by

* *Hansard*, cxix. 102.

those who resisted the increase of our armaments and confronted the alarm of invasion; but their statements were discredited.

On the 16th February, 1852, Lord John Russell explained to the House his proposed Militia Bill. He alluded, at the outset, to his measure of 1848, the failure of which he frankly attributed to the necessity he was then under of proposing an increase of taxation. To demonstrate that he was not now acting under the pressure of the panic, he thus referred to the state of things under which he had formerly brought forward a similar project,—"At the time at which I then addressed the House, Louis Philippe was on the throne of France; there was no apparent revolution at hand; the disposition of that king was known to be pacific; his counsels were moderate and wise."* This is an illustration of that curious feature in these political delusions, that we are always called on to forget them as soon as they have served the purpose for which they are created. A convenient veil is here drawn over the panic caused by Prince Joinville's pamphlet, the Duke of Wellington's letter, the Spanish marriages, the predicted flight of the Guards from London, and every other incident that had played its part prior to 1848. Lord John Russell now proposed a plan by which it should be possible to enrol for the first year not less than 70,000 men; in the next year, 100,000; in the third, about 120,000; with the possibility of increase to 150,000. But the Militia Bill was destined to be fatal to the ministry of which he had been premier since the fall of Sir Robert Peel's Government in 1846.

A word of explanation is necessary to throw a light on what followed. During the recess of Parliament, Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister, had withdrawn from the Government. From the explanations which now took place, it appeared that although there had been anterior differences between him and his colleagues, indeed between the Sovereign and her Foreign Secretary, the immediate cause of his retirement was the unauthorised expression of his approbation of the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1851. It was foreseen that this secession menaced the existence of a Cabinet already weak, and a few days only were required, after the meeting of Parliament, to

* *Hansard*, cxix. 551.

verify this view. On the motion to bring in the Local Militia Bill, on the 20th February, 1852, Lord Palmerston carried an amendment for giving a more extended scope to the measure, which was followed by the resignation of Lord John Russell's Government, and the advent of Lord Derby to power.

On the first exposition of his views as Prime Minister, on the 27th February, the Earl of Derby spoke as follows:—

"My Lords, I believe that our naval forces were never in a better or more effective condition than at this moment. I believe that for all purposes, whether as regards the protection of our own shores, the defence of the numerous and distant colonies which form our empire, or for the protection of that extended commerce which crosses every sea and fills every port in the wide world, I believe that, for all such purposes, our navy was never in a more effective state than it is now."

As soon as the new ministry were constituted, they prepared another Militia Bill, which was introduced into the House by the Home Secretary, on the 29th March. This measure met the approval of Lord Palmerston, to whose energetic support it mainly owed its success. He could almost, indeed, claim to be its author; for it transpired, incidentally, in the course of the discussion, that his frequent questions in the House, in the time of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, had had the effect of inducing them to prepare a measure for revising the Militia laws, but a change of ministry had prevented them from bringing it forward.† Lord Palmerston, moreover, in the course of the debates, identified himself more exclusively with the policy of the Bill, by stating that he had pressed on Lord John Russell, in 1846, the necessity of a similar measure.‡ To him, also, was left the task of finding arguments for the Bill, and it must be admitted that he fulfilled the duties of an advocate with a courage, at least, that could not be surpassed.

The reasons assigned by Mr. Walpole for introducing the measure, however ably stated, were so cautiously guarded by disavowals of any special ground of alarm, and so prudently seasoned with pledges for our peaceful foreign relations, that

* *Hansard*, cxix. p. 894. † Mr. Sidney Herbert, *Hansard*, cxix. 587.
‡ *Hansard*, cxix. 575.

they were almost as good arguments for his opponents as his own party; whilst the more general motives assigned, founded on vague and shadowy assumptions of possible danger, would have been equally indisputable if our existing navy had been ten times as efficient as it had just been declared to be by Lord Derby.

Lord Palmerston took a much bolder course. Falling back on his own idea of steam-navigation having given an advantage to our neighbour, or, to use his favourite phrase, having "thrown a bridge across the Channel," he now insisted on the practicability of fifty or sixty thousand men being transported, without notice, from Cherbourg to our shores in a single night. Such a declaration had not been before heard from one holding high rank in that House. It overleapt all reliance on our diplomacy, or our fleets; and, strange enough in one who had offered such eager congratulations to the author of the *coup d'état*, the assumption of such a danger as this implied that our neighbour was little better than a buccaneer. But this hypothesis of sudden invasion is absolutely indispensable for affording the alarmists any standing ground whatever. Take away the liability to surprise, by admitting the necessity of a previous ground of quarrel, and the delays of a diplomatic correspondence, and you have time to collect your fleet, and drill* an army. Admit the argument of suddenness of danger, and the only way of preventing your coasts and metropolis from being invaded by an army of fifty or sixty thousand men, is by being always prepared with an organised and a disciplined force to repel them.

It was natural that such views should not pass unquestioned by intelligent professional men; among whom the veteran General who represented Westminster was prominent in showing the practical difficulties of sending large expeditions over sea, and in demonstrating that "the sudden arrival of a French army in this metropolis was simply an impossibility."† Here is a specimen of the undaunted courage with which Lord

* "Give us a good stout man, and let us have him for sixty days to train him, and he will be as good a soldier as you can have."—*Evidence of* Lord Hardinge, *Commander-in-Chief, before Sebastopol Committee.*
† *Hansard*, cxx. p. 1040.

Palmerston set at nought the experience of the hero of a score of battle fields:—

"My hon. and gallant friend (Sir De Lacy Evans) stated, that in collecting a large force for the purpose of crossing the Channel, such an extensive preparation must be made as would give us ample notice; but he is much mistaken with regard to the want of facilities which neighbouring countries possess for collecting together a formidable force and bringing it over to this country, without our having lengthened, or, indeed, even timely notice. The very ship despatched to convey to this country intelligence of the threatened armament would probably not reach our shores much sooner than the hostile expedition." *

The naval authorities in the House were also heard on a question in which the character and efficiency of their service were so much involved. Admiral Berkeley, who had been a Lord of the Admiralty under the previous Government, remarked that, "Lord Palmerston had spoken of the French being enabled to raise 50,000 or 60,000 men in Cherbourg; but he did not tell the House how these men were to be transported across the Channel;" and the gallant speaker went on to say, "he would tell the noble Lord, the member for Tiverton, that it would take fifty or sixty vessels to embark those men he spoke of as being ready for action at Cherbourg, and it would take as many more vessels to protect them in the Channel." He added, with a view to allay the "absurd panic that had lately run through the country," that with an addition of 4,000 men and 1,000 boys to the navy, he would undertake to say that they would have a fleet of thirty steamers in the Channel, none of which would be under 900 or 1,000 tons, and that in the presence of such a force, he would defy any enemy to attempt a surprise; adding, characteristically, that "he should like to see them attempt to disembark on our shores in the face of such a force."†

Incidental to these debates, was a motion made on the 30th March, by Mr. Anderson (the head of the great Peninsular and Oriental Steam Ship Company), "to show how invasion might be rendered impossible," in which he called attention to the

* *Hansard*, cxx. p. 293.

† *Hansard*, cxx. pp. 1136-7.

Report of a Committee, appointed at his instance in 1849, which had recommended the Government to retain the services of our numerous merchant steamers as a reserve force for the defence of our shores. He pointed out the great advantage this country possessed over all others in the number of its merchant steamers; that for every horse-power possessed by France, we had twenty (in sailing vessels our superiority in tonnage being only as five to one); he stated, from evidence before the Committee, that upwards of a thousand of these vessels could be made available in case of war, and pledged himself to produce a private tradesman, who, for £200 would fit the largest steamer to carry the heaviest pivot gun; and he alleged that the private Company with which he was connected could alone furnish vessels enough to form a line within signal distance of each other from the Channel Islands to the North Foreland.* Mr. Anderson went into the subject with a thorough practical knowledge of all its details, and carried the House, as he had carried his Committee, with him. His motion was accepted by the Government, but never acted on.

This motion was, however, only an episode in that great debate of the session, which reflected the panic that had been excited in certain quarters out of doors. In spite of the opposition of the liberals and the free-trade party, the Militia Bill was passing through its various stages; and Lord Palmerston's theory of a nocturnal invasion, by a large army, continued to be the pivot of the debate. The weight of professional authority having gone so strongly against this theory, civilians were now encouraged to speak out; and Lord John Russell, towards the close of the debate on the second reading, remarked, with unwonted bluntness, that "he did not wish to be mixed up with those who entertained apprehensions of the sudden arrival in this country of 50,000 hostile troops in a single night, without notice of any kind being received in this country; or that we should hear of an army marching up to London without our having had any previous symptoms of hostility. Those were notions which were founded upon panic rather than on reasonable calculation."† It was natural, too, that those members of the House who were identified with that body of British repre-

* *Hansard*, cxx. pp. 369—379.

† *Hansard*, cxx. 1090.

sentatives residing at foreign capitals, whom Burke has designated "licensed spies," should have revolted at such an imputation of want of vigilance on their part as was implied in this argument of sudden invasion, and they found an ardent and eloquent defender in the present Sir Robert Peel, who had just previously withdrawn from the field of diplomacy:—

"What, I should like to know," said he, "is meant by the term 'sudden invasion' which is so often used, but with little consideration? The noble lord, the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston), has defined it thus: 'We have to provide,' he says, 'not against a danger which may happen in six or eight months, but which may happen in a month or a fortnight, from the time when it is first apprehended.' I ask the House, and I ask the country, is it possible to admit this definition of the noble Lord? Let the House for one moment figure to itself, the noble Lord sitting in Downing-street, with all the threads of European diplomacy, concentrated, like so many electric wires in his cabinet; and let the House then figure to itself the surprise of the noble Lord, on being told that that day fortnight 150,000 men were to be landed on the shores of Britain. Do you think the noble Lord believes this to be possible? Not at all."*

Following after nearly the whole of these speakers, and on the last night of the debate on the second reading of the Militia Bill, Lord Palmerston thus manfully stood his ground:—"The application of steam to navigation has in effect made a bridge over the Channel, and has given the means of quick attack—an attack on a scale of magnitude such as did not exist before. Again, it is said we should know beforehand, if any preparations were being made. I say you might not know, because by the internal arrangements of railways, the distribution of troops is such that 50,000 or 60,000 men might be collected at Cherbourg before you knew anything of the matter; and those who have seen what those immense works are, must be perfectly aware that such a number of men could walk from the quay into their vessels, as easily as they could walk into their barrack-yard. A single night would bring them over, and all our naval preparations, be they what they might, could

* *Hansard*, cxx. p. 1078.

not be relied on to prevent the arrival of such an expedition, as no batteries or gun-boats we might have on our shores could be relied on to prevent the landing of the expedition when it had arrived."*

With what a grim smile of incredulity would the threat of this nocturnal apparition have been received by both sides of the House if it had been urged in support of the Militia Bill of 1848, when the country gentlemen were too much haunted with the free-trade spectre, and the commercial members too seriously preoccupied with their distresses to have allowed themselves to be scared by so fantastical an appeal to their imagination! But the "Country Party" were now in power, their protectionist alarms were dissipated, and they welcomed the Militia Bill with acclamation. An increasing revenue, with a surplus in the Exchequer, and a prosperous trade, insured the success of the bill; which, however, was not passed without a determined opposition, led on by the free-trade party. In the course of the struggle, it was mentioned by Mr. Moffatt,† as a proof of the unpopularity of the bill, that nearly 800 petitions had been presented against it, and not one in its favour. It was certainly a singular spectacle, to see the representatives of the great centres of population and wealth, with the metropolitan members at their head, resisting a measure which had been brought forward on the plea that it was indispensable for their security!

Where then could have been the "panic"? will be the obvious inquiry. This question was frequently and sarcastically asked in the course of the debate; and it was answered in terms not over complimentary to the parties referred to. Mr. Hume bluffly remarked, that, "our present panics were not due, as in times past, to the old women, but to our having too many clubs about London, containing so many half-pay officers, who had nothing to do but to look about for themselves and their friends. These were the people who wrote to the newspapers, anxious to bring grist to the mill somehow or other."‡ And Captain Scobell, alluding to the same subject, said—"If he added a remark not very complimentary to the other branch of

* *Hansard*, cxx. p. 1104. † *Hansard*, cxx. p. 1116.
‡ *Hansard*, cxx. p. 285.

the service, it should be jocularly; but the alarm about invasion was chiefly expressed by soldiers, from the illustrious Duke downwards. Sir Francis Head was a soldier; and so was the 'Swiss Colonel'; and many of them had, by their writings, helped to raise and keep up the alarm. And the reason was plain; they could not comprehend the capabilities of resistance that might be made on the ocean, and especially the resources that had been put into our hands by the power of steam."*

Lord Derby's Government having passed their Militia Bill, empowering them to raise 80,000 men, besides other measures, a dissolution took place on the first of July, and the new Parliament assembled for a short session before Christmas.

In the meantime, two events had taken place—the death of the Duke of Wellington, and the announcement of the approaching re-establishment of the Empire in France—which were exercising a considerable influence on the public mind. The former occurrence had naturally attracted universal attention to the biography of the Great Warrior, whose military exploits filled the pages of the public journals, became the engrossing theme of our public speakers, and resounded from even many a pulpit. Public attention was thus carried back to the long and mutually destructive wars which we had waged with France, and it was but natural that some of the old national animosity should have been revived. This feeling received a great impulse from what was occurring on the other side of the Channel. By a singular coincidence, the imposing national tribute of a public funeral in St. Paul's, on the 18th November, 1852, was followed by the voting for the Empire in France on the 21st. The historical painter might have represented the third Napoleon rising from the yet open tomb of the vanquisher of the first! What wonder, if in some minds there was the irritating consciousness that all the great deeds of the departed hero had not borne permanent fruits? The feeling of apprehension, however, predominated. The traditional terror connected with the name of Bonaparte was revived; people began again to talk of invasion, and before Christmas the alarmists had more complete possession of the field than at any previous time.

* *Hansard*, cxix. p. 1449.

On the 6th December, 1852, Lord Malmesbury formally announced, in the House of Lords, the election of the Emperor of the French. He spoke in terms of the most unqualified confidence of the friendly and pacific intentions of the ruler and people of France. "I believe," said his lordship, "that the Emperor himself, and the great mass of his people, deeply feel the necessity, for the interests of both countries, that we should be on a footing of profound peace; and, on the other hand, they see the great folly and crime which it would be on either side to provoke war. They must know that a war, as far as it would lead to the subjugation of either country by the other, is an absurdity; that neither country, so great, so powerful, and so independent, could in any manner subjugate the other, and that, therefore, war must be as useless as cruel, and as inglorious as useless."*

Nothing could have been more satisfactory than this announcement, had it not been accompanied by a practical commentary elsewhere, which, in the eyes of the unsophisticated public, converted these excellent sentiments into hollow diplomatic phrases. On the very same evening on which this communication was made to the Lords, the Government proposed in the Commons an addition of 5,000 seamen and 1,500 marines to the navy, on the ground, as alleged by the Secretary of the Admiralty, that "the time had arrived when, with the most pacific intentions, it was absolutely necessary that we should put our Channel defences in a new position, and man the Channel with a large force."† Had it been his studied purpose to furnish arguments to the alarmists out of doors, nothing could have been contrived more calculated to swell the panic cry of invasion than the tone of mystery and reserve with which the naval secretary deprecated all discussion on this vote:—

"He trusted, that if he should then decline to enter into any detailed information with respect to that vote, no gentleman would attribute such a course to a desire to treat him individually with discourtesy, but would feel that it was owing to *the determination at which the Government had arrived, after the most serious consideration, that it would be better, under existing circumstances, not to enter into any particulars with respect to that*

* *Hansard*, cxxiii. 975. † *Hansard*, cxxiii. 1006.

course. He asked the present vote from the House of Commons, not as a vote of confidence in any particular ministry, but as a vote of confidence in that Executive which, whatever party might be at the head of the Government, must necessarily be charged with the defence of the country, *must necessarily be in possession of secret and important intelligence, and must necessarily be the fitting and only judge how far that intelligence ought to be communicated to the House.*"*

If any thing could add to the mistrust in the public mind which this was calculated to produce, it was the readiness with which the leading statesmen on the opposition side of the House accepted the doctrine of implicit confidence in the Executive. Sir Francis Baring, in expressing his approval of the proposed increase, remarked, that "no one knew more than himself how difficult it was to state the grounds for any increase. It was for the Government to state, on their responsibility, what they thought necessary for the service of the country, and he was not one of those who would oppose what they thought necessary."† This doctrine, which, if generally acted upon, would be an abdication of one of the chief functions of the House of Commons, proceeds upon a double fallacy—First, in assuming that the Executive can, in these days, be in possession of secrets unknown to the public respecting the warlike preparations or the political attitude of other countries; and, secondly, in assuming, that, if the Government possessed any such secret information, there could be half as much inconvenience from disclosing it to the House of Commons as from the adoption of this principle of abject confidence in the Ministry.

The proposed increase in the navy was, however, carried without a division. An addition of 2,000 men and 1,000 horses for the artillery was also voted. There had been 3,000 men previously added to the army, and, as we have seen, power was given to the Government to raise 80,000 men for the militia, 50,000 for the first year, and 30,000 more for the second. All this was achieved during their few months of office by the Earl of Derby's Government, who, so long as they were engaged in making these additions to our establishments, met with support from their opponents; but, that task achieved, thenceforth the

* *Hansard*, cxxiii. 1006—7. † *Hansard*, cxxiii. 1013.

doctrine of implicit confidence in the Executive was no longer extended to them, and they were overthrown a few days afterwards in a division on the budget, which was virtually a vote of want of confidence. They were succeeded by Lord Aberdeen's administration.

This increase in our armaments failed to allay, in the slightest degree, the agitation of the alarmists. It seems to be the peculiar characteristic of these panics, that they who fall under their influence are deprived of all remembrance of what has been already done for their security. This state of mind is natural enough in those who embrace the hypothesis that we are in nightly danger of an invasion, without notice or provocation, by an army of 50,000 men. These persons do not employ their minds in discussing the probable grounds of quarrel with France, or in speculating on the chances of a rupture; but they assume the constant disposition for war on the part of our neighbour, as well as his complete preparation for attack. From the moment that such a theory of invasion as this is adopted, any plan of defence must necessarily be insufficient for security. It is to this state of mind that all the writers and speakers on the subject addressed themselves,* as may

* The following are specimens:—

A Letter on the Defence of England by Corps of Volunteers and Militia, by Sir Chas. Jas. Napier.

The Invasion of England, by an Englishman and a Civilian.

National Defences, by Montagu Gore, Esq.

A Letter to Lord John Russell, containing Suggestions for forming a Reserve Force, signed "George Paget."

Memorandum on the Necessity of a Secretary of State for our Defence and War Establishments.

Proposals for the Defence of the Country by means of a Volunteer Force, by John Kinloch, late Captain Second Life Guards.

Defensive Position of England, by Captain Chas. Knox.

The Peril of Portsmouth, by Jas. Fergusson, Esq.

A Plan for the formation of a Maritime Militia, by Captain C. Elliot.

Observations on Commissariat, Field Service, and Home Defences, by Sir Randolph I. Routh.

The National Defence of England, by Baron P. E. Translated by Capt. J. E. Addison.

Thoughts on National Defence, by Rear-Admiral Bowles.

Brief Suggestions on the Subject of War and Invasion.

Notes on the Defensive Resources of Great Britain, by Captain Fyers, Half-pay Royal Artillery.

be seen by a mere glance at the titles of the pamphlets, which issued in unprecedented numbers from the press in the present year (1852).

The alarm was constantly stimulated by startli ng paragraphs in the newspapers. One day the French army at Rome was reported to be chafing and dissatisfied, because it could not share in the invasion of England and the sack of London; the next, there were whispered revelations of a secret plan divulged by General Changarnier for invading England and seizing the metropolis (which he publicly contradicted); then we were told of a plot for securing a naval station in the West Indies; next, the French Government had sent an order for steam frigates to Messrs. Napier, of Glasgow (which was contradicted on the authority of those gentlemen); there was a cry of alarm at the apparition of a French ship of war at Dover, which, it afterwards turned out, had been driven in by stress of weather; then there were small French vessels of war seen moving about the Isle of Wight, to the surprise of some of our authorities, who should have known that the French Government are bound by convention to send cruisers into the Channel to see that the fisheries regulations are observed by their fishermen; and then came the old story of French vessels being seen taking soundings in our waters, though, as every body knows, the most perfect charts of the Channel, published under the authority of the Admiralty, may be purchased for a few shillings.

But these little paragraphs, which flew from journal, to journal, would have fallen harmless on the public ear, if they had not been accompanied by alarming reports from "our own correspondents" in Paris, of the immense increase going on in the French navy. Besides, there was the eloquent silence of our own Secretary of the Admiralty when he proposed the augmentation of our navy. What could that reserve and secrecy mean, but something too frightful to reveal? True, the French army had been reduced 50,000 men, and the National Guard was practically dissolved but that did not concern us;—what object could a Bonaparte possibly have in doubling the strength of his navy, if it was not to attack England? To show to what an extent this delusion gained credence, let us quote from an article in that generally accurate historical record, the *Annual*

Register for September 21, 1852:—"The French have been making gigantic efforts to raise their navy to a formidable strength;" and, after entering into many details to show the large additions made to their fleet, the article thus concludes:—"Their navy seems to have doubled in effective strength within the two years of the Prince President's power."* So strong were the feelings of suspicion, jealousy, and apprehension on this subject at the re-assembling of Parliament in February, 1853, that Mr. Ewart, with a view of offering a public denial to these alarming rumours, took the extraordinary course of addressing a letter of inquiry to M. Ducos, the Minister of Marine, whose answer, which obtained general publicity at the time, is here reproduced:—

"Paris, *February* 25, 1853.

"Sir,—The questions which you do me the honour to put in your letter of the 19th of February might perhaps appear to me unusual, if my mind really entertained the strange ideas which some persons appear to ascribe to me in England.

"But, far from considering these questions indiscreet or inopportune, I rejoice at them, because they afford me an opportunity of giving you the complete assurance of my peaceful sentiments.

"I should consider it as the greatest of misfortunes if a serious misunderstanding should break out between the two nations; and I desire with all my heart, that the best intelligence may continue to prevail between them.

"Your newspapers make much stir about our presumed warlike preparations. I confine myself to declaring to you that I have not armed a single gun-boat, stirred a single cannon, or equipped a single sailor. I remain the calm spectator of the enormous expenses which you are making to conjure away an imaginary danger; and I admire the facility with which you augment your budget when no real necessity prescribes it.

"If the members of your Parliament, who are so pre-occupied with our projects of invasion, would give themselves the trouble of paying us a short visit, they would be more surprised

* *Annual Register*, p. 148, "Chronicle."

than I am myself, perhaps, at the extreme readiness with which the rumour (almost amounting to a pleasantry) of our supposed warlike preparations has been received among you.

"I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to establish a certain degree of intercourse between us; and I beg you to accept the expression of my most distinguished sentiments.

"THEODORE DUCOS.

"Monsieur Ewart, Membre de la Chambre
des Communes, &c."

With M. Ducos, the writer of these pages had not the honor of a personal acquaintance; but he happened to be on terms of very intimate friendship with one of his colleagues, with whom he was in correspondence at the time, and from whom he received the following note, which had been written to him by the Minister of Marine, at the moment of receiving the letter of inquiry from Mr. Ewart. As this letter was penned by M. Ducos under circumstances which precluded any idea of concealment or misrepresentation, it will be read with probably greater interest than the more formal communication, especially that part which refers to the cabinet device, common to both countries, of resorting to imaginary terrors as a means of swelling budgets and strengthening majorities:—

"MY DEAR COLLEAGUE,

"Do you read the English journals and the debates in Parliament?

"Verily, I am astonished at the din they are making on the other side of the Channel. Will you believe that I have just received a letter from a Member of the House of Commons, asking me seriously if the armaments we are preparing are destined for a war with England, and if we are pushing this constant augmentation of the forces of the two nations in a spirit of rivalry! I send you the letter, that you may not doubt my veracity. Will you answer it, or shall I?

"Our armaments! forsooth. What does it mean? You know as well as I that to this day we have not armed a poor little boat beyond our ordinary fleet. With a budget reduced by forty millions (francs) compared with the budgets of Louis Philippe, we are obliged to confine ourselves within the narrowest limits.

"England increases her budget of this year by sixteen millions (francs); she forms her militia; she recruits her sailors; she makes her coasts bristle with heavy artillery. We look on tranquilly, without comprehending all these efforts, and without having for a single instant the idea or the apprehension that she is going to invade us.

"Mr. Ewart asks me in confidence, and whispering in my ear, if we are actuated by sentiments of rivalry in pushing our armaments! I declare that I cannot understand it. We have not armed one vessel, we have not touched one gun, we have not equipped one soldier, we have not recruited one cabin-boy: and they ask us seriously if we are a very thunderbolt of war? It seems to me, that the question might be more seasonably addressed to the members of the English Cabinet, who are covering themselves with armour, and *who possibly may not be very much distressed by these imaginary terrors (as we have sometimes seen among ourselves), inasmuch as they enable them to swell their budget, and serve to strengthen a somewhat uncertain majority in Parliament.*

"Ah! my dear colleague, you see that all the geese do not come from the United States, or swim in the Seine. You perceive that the question from London makes me quite merry. Forgive me, my dear colleague. I conclude by asking whether I must write to Mr. Ewart, and tell him, for his great satisfaction, that I am a greater friend to peace than himself, and that I look upon war between France and England as a universal calamity, which every wise man ought to exert himself to prevent.

"THEODORE DUCOS."

But this excellent attempt of Mr. Ewart to allay the public excitement produced no apparent effect. Nothing could surpass the child-like simplicity with which any of the above absurd and improbable rumours respecting the hostile preparations of the French were believed, unless it was the stolid scepticism with which all offers to demonstrate their falsehood were rejected.

It will be well to turn for an instant to the tables in the first page, and bring the question of the state of the French navy at this time to the test of those authentic figures. Let us take the specific allegation in the *Annual Register* for 1852 (Sept. 21),

that during the two years of the Prince President's power, the French navy was doubled in effective force. Louis Napoleon was declared President of the Republic on the 20th December, 1848, and was proclaimed Emperor on the 2nd December, 1852. His term of presidency may therefore be said to have extended over the years 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852. The following figures give the total expenditure, the amount of wages in dockyards, the number of seamen, and the number of ships in commission, for each of those years, and also for the two preceding years, 1847 being the last year of Louis Philippe's reign, and 1848 the first year of the Republic :—

	Wages in Dockyards. £	Total Expenditure. £	No. of Seamen.	No. of Ships in Commission.
1847 . .	448,333	5,145,900	32,169	240
1848 . .	444,085	4,985,872	28,760	242
1849 . .	456,155	3,923,276	27,063	211
1850 . .	432,837	3,406,866	24,679	181
1851 . .	416,773	3,293,737	22,316	166
1852 . .	425,811	3,462,271	25,016	175

Taking 1851, the third year of the presidency of Louis Napoleon, when it will be admitted his policy must have had time to develop itself, and comparing it with the sixteen previous years comprised in the table given in the first page, it will be seen that there is only one year (1835) when France had so few ships in commission, only two years (1835-6) in which she maintained so few seamen, and only five years (1835-6-7-8-9) when the total expenditure had been so low. And, instead of the effective force being doubled, it will be seen that a continual reduction had been going on during the first three years of the President's rule, with only an insignificant rise in 1852. The diminution in the dockyard expenditure was, in both countries, proportionately less than in the other items, owing to the more costly nature of the new naval constructions.

If we take the average of the four years, 1849 to 1852, it will be found to be very much less than the average of the last ten years of Louis Philippe's reign, and in looking back over the tables of both countries for the whole period, it will be found

that scarcely at any time was the French navy so weak in comparison with that of England, as in 1851. M. Ducos, in the above private letter to his colleague, asserts that his expenditure was forty millions (£1,600,000) less than that of his predecessor in the time of Louis Philippe; and if we compare the year 1852 with that of 1847, it more than verifies his statement.

It is now very well known, apart from the proofs afforded by these figures, that, owing to the embarrassed state of the French finances during the Republic, and the struggle, involving the very existence of social order, then going on, very little attention was paid to the Navy. A Parliamentary Commission, of which M. Dufaure was named "Reporter," was appointed by the National Assembly in 1849, to inquire into the state of the navy, and two goodly quarto volumes were the result, with minutes of the evidence and the discussions; but its proceedings were brought to an untimely end by the *coup d'etat* of the 2nd December, 1851, and they led to but few practical results.

It was under circumstances so little calculated to provoke our fear or resentment, that the cry of alarm and defiance was raised more loudly than ever through the winter and spring of 1852-3. Men of the highest political and social rank resigned themselves to the excitement. Two cabinet ministers, who had gone to their constituents for re-election on taking office in Lord Aberdeen's government, were afterwards called upon by their opponents in the House, to explain the violent language uttered by them at the hustings in allusion to the ruler and people of France.*

"I tell you," said the Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, addressing the militia of that county, "the time is coming when everybody throughout this realm will have reason to be thankful that you have come forward to defend your hearths and homes."†

Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, through the columns of a public journal, thus added fuel to the flame :—"I have received positive information, which cannot be doubted, that the French are

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* *Hansard*, cxxiv. 267. † *Hansard*, cxxiv. 293.quoted.

now striving to the very utmost to increase their naval force in every manner, and that arrangements have now been officially decided upon, to continue, year after year, similar exertions. I cannot give my authority, but trust that I shall be believed when I say that this information may be most thoroughly relied upon." And the writer adds, by way of emphasis, "I repeat, that the information I have received, of preparations, which can only be made for aggression, may be relied on."*

At the same time, the strictures of the leading journals assumed a more virulent tone towards the Chief of the French people. Such had been the withering influence of legislative restrictions and fiscal exactions upon the periodical press, that the publication of daily newspapers was restricted to the three capitals of the United Kingdom, and their circulation among twenty-six millions of people did not exceed, in the aggregate, sixty or seventy thousand copies daily. A monopoly of publicity was, indeed, virtually possessed by one London journal, whose conductors had thus the power of giving the impress of public opinion to whatever views they chose to espouse. The columns of this paper now teemed with the most violent denunciations of the French ruler, not unmixed with expressions of contempt for the people of France. One writer† of a series of impassioned invectives was betrayed into expressions not obscurely suggestive of assassination.

A reaction was at length produced in a quarter supposed to be peculiarly influenced by this journal. That part of the community most slow to enter upon any public movement, the merchants and bankers of London, convened a meeting by circular of those "who feel called upon at this time publicly to express their deep concern at witnessing the endeavours continually made to create and perpetuate feelings of mistrust, ill-will, and hostility between the inhabitants of the two great nations of England and France," and they took the unprecedented step of sending to the Emperor of the French a deputation of leading citizens, carrying with them an address bearing more than a thousand signatures.

On the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Disraeli took an opportunity of drawing attention to these manifestations of hatred and terror towards France, declaring that it was "extremely strange and startling, that, under such circumstances, an idea should have seemed to enter into almost every man's brain, and an expression into every man's mouth, that we are on the eve of a rupture with that country." And, alluding to the gross attacks that had been levelled at the ruler of France, he said:—"Remember, that all this time, while the French Government were quietly and diplomatically working with our Government for great objects of public benefit and advantage—that French Government was painted as corsairs and banditti,* watching to attack our coasts without the slightest provocation and without the slightest warning."†

Such was the state of feeling in the Spring of 1853. The nation had grown rich and prosperous with a rapidity beyond all precedent. Our exports had risen from £52,849,000 in 1848, to £98,933,000 in 1853, having nearly doubled in five years. History shows that such a condition of things is fruitful in national follies and crimes, of which war is but the greatest. The time is not yet, though it will come, when people will be able to bear the blessings of prosperity and liberty, with peace. Whilst it seemed only a question upon whom we should expend our exuberant forces,—whether on France or some other enemy,—we "drifted" into hostilities in an unexpected direction. The Turk was allowed to declare war for us against Russia, after we had agreed to the terms of peace offered for us on behalf of the latter country! Could this have happened amid the commercial depression and gloom of 1848?

The sudden change which was now to be witnessed in the temper of the public and the action of the Government was so

* *Times*, February 7-12, 1853.

† Letters of "An Englishman," in the *Times*.

* Take, as a specimen, the similitude of burglars, under which, when speaking of the danger of invasion, our brave and polished neighbours were described by a well-known writer of the day—a man of rank and a clergyman:—"When burglars are about, we examine the scullery and cellar windows; we try the fastenings of our doors, hang up bells to warn us, get dogs and police to watch for us, and go to bed in confidence that we are so prepared against an attack, that few are likely to attempt it."—S. G. O., in *Times* (*Hansard*, cxxiv. 290.)

† *Hansard*, cxxiv. 263.

unlooked for, and so utterly beyond all rational calculation, that it might be compared to the shifting of the view in a kaleidoscope. By way of bringing clearly, and in the fewest words, home to the reader's apprehension what took place, let us illustrate it by an individual case. Let us suppose an invalid to have been ordered, for the benefit of his health, to make the voyage to Australia and back. He left England in the month of February or March. The Militia was preparing for duty; the coasts and dockyards were being fortified; the navy, army, and artillery were all in course of augmentation; inspectors of artillery and cavalry were reported to be busy on the southern coasts: deputations from railway companies, it was said, had been waiting on the Admiralty and Ordnance to explain how rapidly the Commissariat and military stores could be transported from the Tower to Dover or Portsmouth; and the latest paragraph of news from the Continent was that our neighbours, on the other side of the Channel, were practising the embarkation and disembarkation of troops by night! He left home amidst all these alarms and preparations for a French invasion. After an absence of four or five months, during which time he had no opportunity of hearing more recent news from Europe, he steps on shore at Liverpool, and the first newspaper he sees informs him that the English and French fleets are lying side by side in Besika Bay. An impending naval engagement between the two powers is naturally the idea that first occurs to him; but glancing at the leading article of the journal, he learns that England and France have entered into an alliance, and that they are on the eve of commencing a sanguinary war against Russia!

Leaving our imaginary individual to recover from his surprise, it may naturally be inferred, that he would feel some misgivings as to the prudence of placing ourselves at the mercy of a Ruler whom he had so recently heard denounced as little better than a bandit and a pirate. It would have certainly required a much smaller effort of the imagination to have suspected a plot between our ally and the enemy, by which the two Emperors, having joined their forces at Sebastopol, taken our army captive, and destroyed our fleet, should have seized on Constantinople, and Egypt, and made a partition of Turkey,

than to have believed in the possibility of an invasion by an army of fifty or sixty thousand Frenchmen in a single night, without notice or provocation.

No such doubts, however, seem to have troubled the minds of our alarmists. They who had been the most vehement in their denunciations of the French Government, were now the strongest supporters of the Anglo-French alliance, and the loudest in clamouring for a war with Russia; and for the next five years no more was heard of a French invasion.

THE THIRD PANIC.

1859—1860—1861.

"We must have one more war with Russia for the independence and freedom of Europe, and, then, all will unite in favour of a reduction of armaments," was the language with which some friends of peace reconciled themselves to the Crimean war. They have since seen additions made to the permanent armed forces of Europe, equalling probably in numbers the armies engaged in the Crimean struggle. So true is the saying of Bastiat, that "the ogre, war, costs as much for his digestion as for his meals."

It was formerly said of us, that we were a warlike, but not a military nation. The Russian war has gone far to make us both.

At the close of the great French war, in 1815, there were not wanting members of the Whig aristocracy, and a phalanx of distinguished popular leaders, to call back the nation to its old maxims against large standing armies in time of peace; and who not only kept alive the jealousy of permanent camps and barracks, but opposed the formation even of clubs set apart exclusively for the "Services," and denounced the whole paraphernalia of a military organization. *They* did not accept war as the normal state of mankind; nor did *they*, discarding all reliance on the spirit and patriotism of the people, attempt to drill them like Russians or Austrians into mere warlike machines.* But at the termination of the Crimean war, the

* The following is a specimen of the language in which our fathers were addressed by their great political leaders nearly half a century ago. And these were the sentiments of the Hollands, Miltons, Lansdownes, Tierneys, Broughams, Russells, and even the Grenvilles, and Wellesleys, of those days:—"In despotic countries, it may be necessary to maintain great armies as seminaries of warlike spirit. The mind, which in such wretched countries has no noble object to employ its powers, almost necessarily sinks into languor and lethargy, when it is not roused to the destructive phrenzy of war. The show of war during peace, may be necessary to preserve the chief skill of the barbarian, and to keep up the only exalted feeling of the slave. The savage soon throws off habits of order; and the slave is ever prone to relapse into the natural cowardice of his debased condition. But in this mightiest of Free Communities, where no human faculty is suffered to lie dormant, and where habitual order, by co-operation, gives effect to the intense and incessant exertion of power, the struggles of honourable ambition, the fair contests of political party, the enterprizes of ingenious industry, the pursuits of elegant art, the fearless exercise of reason upon the most venerable opinions, and upon the acts of the highest authorities, the race of many for wealth, and of a few for power or fame, are abundantly sufficient to cultivate those powers, and to inspire those energies which, at the approach of war, submit to discipline, and quickly assume the forms of military science and genius. A free nation like ours, full of activity and boldness, and yet full of order, has all the elements and habits of an army, prepared by the happy frame of its society. We require no military establishments to nurse our martial spirit. It is our distinction, that we have ever proved ourselves in time of need, a nation of warriors, and that we never have been a people of soldiers. It is no refinement to say, that the national courage and intellect have acted with the more vigour on the approach of hostility, because we are not teazed and worried into petty activity; because a proud and serious people have not been degraded, in their own eyes, by acting their awkward part in holiday parade. Where arms are the national occupation, the intervals of peace are times of idleness, during which a part, at least, of the people must fit themselves for the general business, by exercising the talents and qualities which it requires. But where the pursuits of peace require the highest activity and the nature of the government calls forth the highest spirit, the whole people must always possess the materials and principles of a military character. Freemen are brave, because they rely on themselves. Liberty is our national point of honour. The pride of liberty is the spring of our national courage. The independent spirit, the high feeling of personal dignity, and the consequent sensibility to national honour, the true sources of that valour for which this nation has been renowned for ages, have been, in a great measure, created and preserved by their being accustomed to trust to themselves for defence against invasion from abroad or tyranny at home. If they lean on an army for safety, they will soon look to it with awe; and thus gradually lose those sentiments of self-respect and self-dependence, that pride of liberty which are the peculiar and the most solid defences of this country."—Sir James Macintosh, House of Commons, February 28, 1816.

governing powers of this country seemed to be possessed but of one idea,—how Englishmen could be drilled and disciplined into a state of constant readiness for future continental campaigns.

Hence we have seen a military activity never before known in England in a time of peace, as witness the columns of the daily press, filled with "Military and Naval Intelligence." The object of those, who, by their rank and influence, have mainly contributed to produce this state of things, has not been concealed. "What I want to see," said Mr. Sidney Herbert, "is a military spirit pervading all classes of the community; but especially the influential and intelligent middle class. I believe the volunteer corps will effect that object to a large extent; and, therefore, if for that alone, I think they ought to be encouraged." * The consequence has been, not only an enormous increase of our military estimates, but such an outlay for permanent barracks and camps as to imply a complete abandonment, for the future, of our old habits and maxims as a self-relying and free people. The unfinished works at Aldershott alone, have already cost £1,421,153,†—an amount, for the time and purpose, perhaps unexampled in the world's history. Our business, however, must still be mainly with the navy.

At the conclusion of the war, a grand Naval Review took place at Spithead, which is thus recorded in the *Annual Register*, for 1856, with the accompanying remarks, that the "steam gun-boats formed the novel feature of the review."

"The vast naval force reviewed on this occasion, consisted of 22 steam-ships of the line, of from 60 to 131 guns, 53 frigates and corvettes, 140 gun-boats, 4 floating-batteries, and 50 mortar-vessels and mortar-boats: the aggregate power of the steam-engines, 30,671 horses, aud the number of guns, 3002."

Addressing the House, May 8, 1856, after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, Lord Palmerston said, that, "having begun the war with a fleet of comparatively small amount, we were enabled, at the end of the war, to present at Spithead the spectacle of such a fleet as called forth from the Earl of Derby the eulogy, that 'no country ever possessed so mighty a naval armament.' We had, at the beginning of the war, a total force of 212 ships; and at the end of the war we have 590."‡

The greater portion of this increase consisted of gun-boats and mortar-vessels; and, with a view to a due appreciation of

* *Hansard*, clv. p. 699. † *Parliamentary Paper*, No. 327, 1861.
‡ *Hansard*, cxli. p. 226.

the systematic manner in which they are destined henceforth to pass into oblivion, when successive "First Lords," or Secretaries of the Admiralty introduce the Navy Estimates, it is necessary that we should fully apprehend the importance which competent judges attached, at the time, to this addition to our defensive armament. A few weeks later, the First Lord of the Admiralty himself, when alluding to the fact of these gun-boats having been completed too late to be employed in offensive operations against the enemy, remarked:—

"Happily, however, the means thus provided for attack can now be made equally available as a part of our permanent establishment for purposes of defence. The gun-boats and floating-batteries, recently constructed for other objects, will constitute a valuable and effective armament for protecting our shores from assault. The expense incurred in their equipment will, therefore, be money not ill-spent. I think it required the stern experience of war to teach us the value of such a force; for I do not believe the House of Commons could have been induced, in a period of uninterrupted peace, to vote the additional funds requisite for creating it."*

"We commenced the war," said Captain Scobell, on the same occasion, "with only large ships; and it was only after two years' experience, that we discovered the gun-boat tribe. If, some time ago, we had had that magnificent fleet of gun-boats which had recently been reviewed at Spithead, something would have been done in the Baltic, which would have been remembered for centuries."†

Let it be borne in mind, that we were at the close of a war in which we had destroyed the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and by the terms of the Treaty of Peace, had prohibited its reconstruction. The Russian power, in that remote region, had been hitherto invested with a certain mystery, and the fleet of Sebastopol had often, in the speeches of our alarmists, been made to assume mythical proportions. The Secretary of the Navy, in 1852, the year before the Crimean war, when seeking to justify his comparatively moderate expenditure for that year, appealed to the Russian force in the Black Sea, which, according to his statement, comprised 18 line-of-battle ships.

* *Hansard*, cxlii. p. 1423. † *Hansard*, cxlii. 1435.

12 frigates and corvettes, and 19 smaller vessels.* These ships were now lying sunk in the harbour of Sebastopol.

It was under these circumstances, that in proposing the Navy Estimates, on the 18th May, 1857, the First Lord of the Admiralty declared, that he could hold out no prospect of being able to reduce the expenditure to the level of former years previous to the war.† This drew from the vigilant Mr. Williams the remark, that they were the most extravagant Estimates since the termination of the great French war; and he added that, "the Estimates for 1852-3, the last year of peace before the Russian war, were £2,175,000 less than the Estimates for the present year; and yet this was the second year of peace.‡

The First Lord of the Admiralty proceeded to justify his increased estimates by a reference to the navy of our ally and neighbour:—"France," said he, "had been paying the greatest possible attention of late years to the efficiency of its navy;"§ and in order to compare the forces of the two countries, he gave the numbers of screw line-of-battle ships and frigates possessed by each, omitting the gun-boats and smaller vessels, in which we possessed an overwhelming superiority, and which had been described the previous year, as "a valuable and effective armament for protecting our shores from assault." They were now alluded to only with the disparaging remark, that "no great naval engagement could be maintained in the middle of the Atlantic between line-of-battle ships and gun-boats." The comparison was stated as follows:— ‖

Line-of-battle ships with screws, built and building, 1857.

English, 42.	French, 40.

Frigates with screws, built and building.

English, 42.	French, 37.

Lord Clarence Paget, who attracted attention by the ability and professional forethought which characterised his remarks on

* *Hansard*, cxx. p. 382. † *Hansard*, cxlv. p. 417,
‡ *Hansard*, cxlv. p. 442. § *Hansard*, cxlv. 418.
Hansard, cxlv. 426.

the comparative value of small and large vessels of war, took exception to the above figures, and said that he held in his hand a list of French screw line-of-battle ships furnished him by the Minister of Marine, and that they amounted altogether to 31; and he reminded the "First Lord" of a great omission in his statement,—that the "nine screw block-ships which he had omitted from his enumeration of British ships of the line, were among the most effective of our screw line of battle ships. They were the only ships which fired a shot in the Baltic, where the great line-of-battle ships were of no use whatever, and lay off looking on;"* and he added, that, taking into account these vessels, our force was nearly double that of France.

It may be well here to say a word or two respecting the origin and purpose of these block-ships, to which repeated allusion will hereafter be made. It was explained by Sir George Cockburn in the House, in 1846, that Sir Robert Peel's Government was induced, in consequence of the creation of a steam navy by France, to appoint a commission to visit all the ports, and see what was necessary to be done for their protection, when it was recommended that a certain number of sailing line-of-battle ships and frigates should be furnished with screws, so as to be able to shift their position, and aid the different batteries if they should be attacked.† This was, in fact, our first application of the screw propeller to ships of the line, and these block-ships were expressly designed for the protection of our naval arsenals, and the vulnerable points of our coast against the steam ships of our neighbour. But it will be curious to observe, how systematically these vessels are ignored by successive "First Lords" and Secretaries of the Admiralty, in enumerating our naval resources, even when estimating our means of defence against invasion. The opinions expressed on this subject by the same statesmen when in, and when out of office, will be found to present a singular contrast.

Lord Clarence Paget also called the First Lord's attention to the small vessels which he had forgotten, and declared that "he believed, that had Sir Charles Napier been supplied with gun-boats, he might have damaged Cronstadt very considerably. All his own experience went to show that line-of-battle ships

* *Hansard*, cxlv. 438. † *Hansard*, lxxxvii. 1456.

were not now so important an arm in war as they formerly were. Formerly, line-of-battle ships carried heavier guns than other ships, but now every corvette, sloop, and gun-boat carried heavy guns, and he was convinced that no force of large ships could withstand the legion of gun-boats, sloops, and corvettes which they saw at Spithead last year."* Again recurring to the subject he said, "in his opinion, line-of-battle ships were not the instruments by which in future the fate of empires would be decided;" and he proceeded to administer comfort to the alarmists, by showing how different our situation now was to our "case in the time of Napoleon, who had observed that, if he could only command the Channel for forty-eight hours, he would subjugate this country. He might, however, come to our shores at the present day with seventy or eighty ships of the line, and yet not be enabled to effect a landing in the face of that noble fleet of small vessels which the right-honourable baronet had given within the last few years." He added that, "he had the best authority for saying that there was sitting at the present moment in France, an *Enquête*, or Commission, the great object of whose inquiry was to ascertain whether line-of-battle ships were or were not the most efficient class of ships which could now be employed." And he advised the First Lord to "rest upon his oars, and take the opportunity of consulting members of the naval service before he proceeded to add to the number of those vessels;"†—advice to which unfortunately, it may be necessary to recur, when the noble lord is himself filling the office of official representative of the Admiralty in the House of Cummons.

In reply to these remarks, Sir Charles Wood, the First Lord of the Admiralty, observed:—"The noble lord (Lord C. Paget) had said that the block-ships were the most efficient ships in the Baltic. It was true that, on account of the light draught of water, they and the gun-boats were so in that case, *and that they would be so in the case of operations on our own coast;* but they would not be safe vessels to send across the Atlantic—they could not keep their place in a cruising squadron.‡

In the course of this debate, Sir Charles Napier, referring to

* *Hansard*, cxlv. 438. † *Hansard*, cxlv. 438-9.
‡ *Hansard*, cxlv. 450.

the comparative numbers of line-of-battle ships as enumerated by the First Lord, but forgetting the block-ships and floating batteries, and overlooking the gun-boats and mortar-vessels which had been built at his own suggestion, thus raised the cry of alarm:—"The First Lord of the Admiralty," said he, "had told the House that France had forty ships, and we had forty-two only; France was equal to us, therefore, in ships, and superior in the means of manning them. She had an army of 300,000 or 400,000 men, and we had but 20,000 in Great Britain. What would the consequence be if the war were to spring up? Why, there would be an invasion immediately."*

A few days after, he thus improved upon this version of the official statement:—"The First Lord of the Admiralty had told them the other night—a thing which no First Lord had ever told them before—that France, in its naval steam power, was equal to ourselves, and that she was able to bring together any number of disciplined men to man her fleets quicker than we could. We were, therefore, no longer the first naval nation in the world."† A week later the danger is more menacing:—"Let the House look at our condition at the present moment. We had no channel fleet. In a few months we should not have a line-of-battle ship in England; and, in case of a sudden war with France and Russia, he did not believe the Queen's throne would be worth six months' purchase."‡

The course pursued by this remarkable man towards the close of his career, and the great extent to which his writings and speeches contributed to the creation of the invasion panics, call for a few special observations. On his return to the House of Commons, after being superseded in the command of the Baltic fleet during the Crimean war, he became possessed with a morbid apprehension, amounting almost to a state of monomania, respecting the threatening attitude of France, and our insufficient means of defence. It was not peculiar to his case, for it is common to all who share his delusion about the danger of an invasion, that he always lost sight of all that was already done, and called for something else as the sole means of security.

* *Hansard*, cxlv. 434. † *Hansard*, cxlv. 770.
‡ *Hansard*, cxlv. 966.

Thus, he demanded more line-of-battle ships, and ignored the existence of the new force of small vessels; then he called for a channel fleet, whilst he threw contempt on the block-ships; when the channel fleet was completed, he declared that the crews were in mutiny from mismanagement; when the number of line-of-battle ships was so great as to extort from him expressions of satisfaction, he asked what was the use of ships without seamen; when the number of seamen voted for our royal navy exceeded that of the entire sea-going population of France, he called aloud for a reserve; and when he had been triumphant in all his demands, he reverted to the opinion which he had been one of the first to proclaim, that the whole navy must be reconstructed, for that "a broadside from the modern shell guns would tear holes in the sides of our wooden ships through which it would be easy to drive a wheel-barrow."*

Simultaneously with these calls for defensive armaments arose incessant cries respecting the enormous increase of the French navy. France was always described as in a superior state of preparation, and always menacing us with invasion. To those who sat near him in the House, and shared in his conversation, he would sometimes almost predict the very month when the French might be expected on our shores.

Cherbourg had been always described by him as the chief source of our danger, until the great public visit to that port dispelled the phantom-ships with which he had been haunted; but still he would expatiate on the facilities which its enormous docks and basins offered for embarking an army, declaring on one occasion that, "the troops could walk on board; *cavalry, mounted on their horses, could ride on board;* and artillery could easily be shipped, for thirty sail-of-the-line could lie alongside of the wharves alone."† Notwithstanding that he drew on himself occasionally the censure of his brother officers for disparaging our naval strength, and was more than once rebuked for encouraging insubordination among the seamen, he still persevered; and such is the force of reiteration, that he was at last justified in the boast that, although "he had been called an

* *Hansard*, clvi. 1138. † *Hansard*, cl. 1928.

alarmist, and laughed at for many years on that account, he had lived to see his views adopted."*

The question has been asked, whether one whose antecedents had exhibited such reckless courage could have been sincere when raising the cry of alarm on such vague and shadowy pretexts, or whether he was actuated by mere professional motives It was, however, impossible for those who were in the habit of conversing with him to doubt his earnestness; and the fact of his having recommended an arrangement between the English and French governments for putting a limit to their naval rivalry† is an answer to the suspicion of insincerity. The question admits, perhaps, of a different solution. On the occasion of his bringing his grievance before Parliament, and moving for an inquiry into his conduct in the Baltic, he was answered by Sir Maurice Berkeley, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, who stated, in his presence, that he had advised the removal of Admiral Napier from his command in the Baltic because "he thought he was totally and physically unfit,— that his nerves were completely gone."‡ This declaration, from sailor to sailor, was at the moment thought to partake of somewhat too much professional bluntness; but it probably offers the true solution of the above question. And this view is confirmed by the fact, that, to the last, on all matters connected with his profession, excepting where the question of invasion was involved, the remarks and suggestions of the naval veteran displayed much sagacity and sound sense.

Debility of mind, in one or other of its faculties, like physical decrepitude in some particular organs of the body, is the natural and inevitable accompaniment of old age. It has been observed, too, that, as in the present case, the very faculty for which a man has been most distinguished may, by an excessive and continued strain, be the first to give way. This, whilst teaching us charity in weighing men's motives, should also induce us, when taking counsel in important matters, to prefer the judgment of those who are in the vigour of their powers, and to mistrust quite as much the timidity of the old as the rashness of the young.

* *Hansard*, clvi. 989. † *Hansard*, clvi. 989.
‡ *Hansard*, cxli. 102.

The year 1857 passed without any revival of the excitement out of doors respecting our defences. Scarcely a pamphlet issued from the press on the subject of an invasion. Yet, if we look at the circumstances of the time, there could hardly be imagined a conjuncture when they who believed in the probability of an attack from the other side of the Channel ought to have been more on the alert.

The commencement of 1858 found us involved in a war with China, and in the midst of that formidable rebellion which threatened the overthrow of our dominion in India. Just at the opening of the parliamentary session of that year, occurred the attempt on the Emperor's life, which led to some intemperate manifestations of feeling towards England on the part of certain French colonels. This was followed by irritating discussions in the press. One of the first measures of the session was a proposal to alter our law of "conspiracy to murder," with the view of meeting the complaints from France. This conciliatory step led to the fall of Lord Palmerston's ministry in February, and to the return to power of Lord Derby, whose party was at that time considered not so favourably disposed as their predecessors to the French alliance. When we consider that, in addition to these personal elements of provocation, there was the temptation to wrest from us that eastern empire which is regarded, however mistakenly, on the Continent, as the great source of our wealth and power, we have a combination of motives, and of favourable circumstances, to invite an attack such as could never be expected to occur again. Well might Mr. Horsman exclaim the following year, that, "when he looked back to their condition when the mutiny broke out in India, he must say it was fortunate that at that time it never entered into the mind of any enemy to take advantage of the position of this country:"*—what marvel that so intelligent a mind could fail to draw the only rational deduction from such a fact! Instead of taking advantage of our position, the Emperor's Government offered the facilities of a passage through France for our Indian reinforcements.

A complete calm prevailed in the public mind, through the greater part of the year 1858; and the pamphlet literature

* *Hansard*, clv. 691.

scarcely takes note of the topic of a French invasion. The House of Commons was not, however, so entirely quiescent. Lord Derby's Government, on their accession to office, had found the Navy Estimates already prepared by Lord Palmerston's administration, comprising an increase of about 2,000 men. These Estimates, with slight diminutions in the items for building and stores, were adopted and proposed to the House by the new First Lord (Sir John Pakington) on the 12th April. In the debate which followed, there was the usual reference made by Sir Charles Napier, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Drummond, and others, to the formidable preparations going on in France, and to the risks of an invasion: when Lord Clarence Paget renewed the advice he had before urged, saying that, "he believed it to be the opinion of the Navy, that it would be wise to pause in the construction of these enormous vessels. That opinion was gaining ground in this country, and much more was it gaining ground in France. He had been lately at Paris, and had conversation with French officers on the subject; and, whatever reports the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Charles Wood) might have heard respecting the French Navy, he could give him positive information, that, so far from there being any activity in building large ships, they were waiting to see what would be done in this country. He was persuaded, and it was the general opinion of the naval profession, that line-of-battle ships were not destined to play an important part in future naval wars. It was believed that these ships would be superseded in the line of battle, and more particularly in attacking forts, by ships with one tier of heavy guns, and their sides cased with iron. He believed with the hon. and gallant Admiral, the member for Southwark (Sir C. Napier), that in ten years three-deckers would be unknown, being cut down into single-deck ships; and, holding that opinion, he thought it was a wasteful expenditure of the public money, to go on, year by year, constructing that class of vessels."*

These views were controverted by Lord Palmerston, who alluded to the measures which the French Government were taking to give France a fleet of screw line-of-battle ships, very

* *Hansard*, cxlix. p. 929, 30.

nearly equal to our own; he also spoke of Cherbourg as being "as large as many of our dockyards taken together;" and twitted Lord Clarence Paget with his credulity, telling him that he was "not sure that opinions, coming from what must be called the rival service of other countries were exactly the opinions by which the Government of this country ought to guide their conduct."* He deprecated any reduction in the Estimates for building; and urged, that, "the most pressing application of the funds voted for the naval service, was in providing ships which, when once built, will remain, rather than in employing men, who, after the year is over, will not add to your strength next year, unless the expense is continued:" †—a doctrine which, as the recent transitions in our navy show, ought to be received with great caution.

These allusions to the preparations of our neighbours met with no response out of doors; and little more was said during the session,—with one constant exception:—Sir Charles Napier, on the 11th June, addressed a speech to the House, in the form of a long question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject of our national defences, in which, among other terrors of the imagination, he pictured a Russian fleet coming up the Channel, and exclaimed, amid the laughter of the House, "what would become of the Funds, God only knew."‡ The Minister, in reply, complained that he had had to listen to three speeches in the session, on the same subject, from the same speaker.

The year 1859 witnessed the apparition of the third panic. Towards the close of 1858, and up to the meeting of Parliament in February, there had been some efforts made by a certain portion of the press, to excite apprehensions respecting the magnitude of the naval preparations of France; but they produced little effect on the public mind. Unlike its predecessors, this panic had its origin chefly in elevated and official circles. It was from the first a parliamentary agitation; nor was it confined to the Lower House, for, as will be seen, the most successful agitators were of the patrician order, who played with consummate skill on the most sensitive chord

* *Hansard*, cxlix. p. 936. † *Hansard*, ib. p. 938.
‡ *Hansard*, cl. p. 1930.

in the national heart, by raising the cry of alarm for our naval superiority.

The Queen's Speech, at the opening of Parliament, announced an increase of expenditure for the "reconstruction of the British Navy."

On the day previous to that fixed for bringing on the Navy Estimates, Sir Charles Napier rose in the House, and said, he "wished to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether it was true that a French steam *aviso*, with two French cutters, had entered Spithead a few nights ago; and, after the exchange of a few words of courtesy, these vessels had proceeded to Stokes Bay in the night, and had taken soundings there? Also, whether he knew that these vessels had more than the usual complement of officers?"* The reply, of course, was that they were employed in the performance of their duty, in looking after the French fishermen.

Before we come to the proposal for a sudden and large increase of the Navy, on the plea that the Government had discovered, in the summer of 1858, that the French were making extraordinary progress in their naval armaments, it will be well to recur for a moment to the tables in the first page. The following is an extract of the number of men, the amount of wages in dockyards, and the total expenditure for the Navy in England and France, for the year 1858:—

	Seamen.	Wages, etc., Dockyards.	Total Expenditure.	
		£	£	
England . .	55,883	991,592	10,029,047	1858
France . . .	29,602	640,954	5,337,060	1858

It will be seen, that our total expenditure amounted to nearly double that of France; but, owing to the difference in the modes of keeping the accounts in the two countries, as already explained, this is not a fair mode of comparison. The amount expended for wages in dockyards is a better test; and under this head, the English expenditure is fifty per cent. more than that of France. But the truest standard of comparison is the number of seamen, in which we had nearly double the French force. If we cast our eye back over the French tables, we

* *Hansard*, cliii. p. 771.

shall find that the number of men maintained in 1847, the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe, amounted to 32,169, or 2,567 more than in 1858. The average number of the French Navy for the last ten years of Louis Philippe's reign, was 31,335, or 1,733 more than in 1858. It will be seen, also, that the number of ships in commission, in the latter years of the monarchy, exceeded those of 1858. On the other hand, looking back over the British accounts, we shall find no year, previous to the Crimean war, in which our seamen approached within 10,000 of the number voted for 1858. And, more important than all, it will be seen that during the whole preceding period of twenty-three years, the number of our seamen had never been so much in excess of those of France as in 1858.

The above statement is more than confirmed by an official document, which was in the hands of the "First Lord," when he brought forward his Estimates, but which was not laid on the table of the House until the following April. It is entitled, "Report of a Committee, appointed by the Treasury, to enquire into the Navy Estimates, from 1852 to 1858, and into the Comparative State of the Navies of England and France." In this document, it is said, that, "France founds her calculations upon a return to her peace establishment of 1852; the number of her ships in commission for 1859 being 152 against 175 in the year 1852; and the number of seamen afloat being 25,784, against 25,016, in 1852." This gives an increase of 768 men. The Report then proceeds to give a corresponding comparison of the British Navy:—"Our position is very different. On the 1st of December, 1858, our ships in commission, and their complements, as compared with 1852, were as follows:—

	Ships.	Guns.	Seamen.
1st December, 1858	267	4649	47,953
1st December, 1852	203	3584	36,372
Increase.	64	1065	11,581

This number is exclusive of a further increase of 3,302 marines on shore, including 1,800 employed on shore in China; also of 3,880 seamen, employed in the coast-guard on shore; making a total increase, in 1858, as compared with 1852, of

18,763 seamen and marines."* Thus, it appears from our own official Report, that whilst France had added to her force, afloat, in six years, 768 men, we had added to ours, afloat and on shore, 18,763; and that whilst, on the 1st December, 1858, the navy of England numbered 55,135 men, that of France, afloat, contained only 25,784, or considerably less than one-half. When viewed by the light of these facts, the tone of excitement and alarm which pervades the following statement becomes simply incomprehensible.

On the 25th February, 1859, the Navy Estimates were brought forward by the First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir John Pakington), who asked for an addition of £1,200,000 for ship-building, and proposed a vote of 62,400 men and boys, being the largest number ever maintained in a time of peace. He stated, that when he succeeded to office, he "did not find the navy of this country in a proper and adequate state for the defence of our coasts, and the protection of our commerce"; he invited the House to "aid him in his attempt to restore the naval supremacy of England"; spoke of our having "fallen to the lowest amount ever known in our history—an amount not exceeding that of a neighbouring power, (!) without anything like the same demand upon its force";† he pleaded "the present aspect of public affairs" in justification of his proposal, alleging that, "the Government would not have done their duty to the country, if they had not boldly asked for the increase of force."‡

But, not confining himself to these generalities, he stated that during the summer the Government had thought it their duty to ascertain the state of the French navy. They had heard much of the progress made by France in increasing her naval armament during the last few years, and having taken means for ascertaining the facts, they had found that the line-of-battle ships in France were exactly the same in number as our own, namely twenty-nine. He calculated that, at the progress then making, France would, at the end of the year 1859, have forty§ line-of-battle ships, and England only thirty-six.

* *Parliamentary Paper.* No. 182. 1859, p. 22.

† *Hansard*, cliii. p. 882—912. ‡ *Hansard*, ib.

§ On the 11th April, 1861, more than two years later, we shall find Lord Clarence Paget, then Secretary of the Admiralty, stating in the

When this was brought under his notice in July, he consulted his colleagues, and they determined that it "was a state of things which could not be allowed to continue"; and they resolved immediately to withdraw sufficient workmen from other occupations to convert four sailing line-of-battle ships into screws, and he now proposed to the House that five additional liners should be forthwith converted.* At the same time, he entered into a similar statement respecting frigates, in which he was sorry to say that our position was, in comparison, still more unsatisfactory; and that in the course of the autumn, he had found that whilst we were in possession of thirty-four of these vessels, France had forty-six.†

Now, it was not this statement in itself—incomplete and inaccurate as it will be shown to be—so much as the manner of making it, which tended to produce the subsequent alarm and panic. A tone of mysterious revelation pervaded the speech, the effect of which was heightened by repeated protestations of frankness; whilst a portentous significance was imparted to the proposed naval augmentations by such assertions as, that "it was inconsistent with our naval power, and with our national safety and dignity, that we should allow such a state of things to continue,"‡ and still more by the solemn adjurations which followed, invoking the Anglo-French alliance, "for the sake of England and for the sake of the world." And yet, in fact, there was no secret to reveal, for the French Government had, in 1857, published to the whole world the programme of its future naval constructions for a period of thirteen years, founded on the report of a commission appointed in 1855. "The 'First Lord' and his coadjutors," says the author of a volume containing much valuable information, when commenting on this speech, "had only discovered six months previously what was long before patent enough to anyone who had taken the trouble to investigate the subject."§ The House of Commons, however, offered no opposition when the "First Lord"

House that France had only thirty-seven screw line-of-battle ships built and building.—*Hansard*, clxii. 442.

* *Hansard*, cliii. 882-912. † *Hansard*, cliii. 908. ‡ *Hansard*, ib. 906.

§ "*The Navies of the World*," by HANS BUSK, p. 85.

finally announced his intention to add twenty-six men-of-war to the navy in one year.*

This speech furnished arguments for the following twelve-months to those who were employed in exciting the invasion panic. The statement which was most frequently quoted, and became the favourite text for the alarmists, was that which placed England and France on an equality of twenty-nine line-of-battle ships each. This was arrived at by a departure from the invariable mode of comparison, by which the ships built and building are taken into account. On referring back to the comparative numbers of these vessels given by Sir Charles Wood on the 18th May, 1857, it will be seen, that he states the English at forty-two, and the French at forty.† They are now reduced to twenty-nine each, by taking only the numbers actually completed at the moment. Had the comparison been made in the usual manner, it would have stood as follows, according to the Parliamentary paper in the "First Lord's" hands‡:—

Line-of-Battle Ships built and building, December, 1858.

	English.	French.
Complete, hull and machinery . .	29	29
Receiving engines	4	2
Converting	7	4
Building	10	5
Total	50	40

Adding the nine coast-guard blockships to the English column, it gives fifty-nine, to forty French.

The total omission of the coast-guard vessels from the "First Lord's" numerical statement of the line-of-battle ships and frigates possessed by the two countries calls for a few words of remark. It has been already shown that nine line-of-battle ships have been set apart for the protection of our arsenals and harbours. They mount, in the aggregate, about 600 guns, each vessel being "armed with 8-inch shell guns

* *Hansard*, cliii. 942. † *Ante*, p. 44.

‡ *Parliamentary Paper*, 182, 1859, p. 15.

and 32-pounders, together with two 68-pounders and four 10-inch shell guns."*

These vessels are assigned to particular stations on the coast, though occasionally a paragraph in the newspapers informs us that they are mustered as a squadron in the Channel.† But wherever they may be, it will be found, on turning over the pages of the Navy List, and referring to the "Majestic," "Blenheim," "Cornwallis," etc., that these block-ships carry their full complement of captain, lieutenants, chaplain, staff surgeon, paymasters, engineers, etc.; and we are told that crews of picked seamen, the veterans of the fleet, are provided for them. Yet these vessels, with their satellite fleet of gun-boats, are left altogether out of the numerical comparison of the English and French navies; they are not counted as line-of-battle ships, or even thrown into the scale to weigh against our neighbour's paddle frigates!

Now, if it could be shown that these ships are worthless, as some of our officials would seem to imply, what must be thought of the wisdom of those who incur from year to year all the current expenses of officering, manning, and arming in the most efficient manner, vessels which are afterwards to count for nothing! The French form a very different estimate of the value of our coast-guard fleet, as the following extract from a

* Paper read at the Society of Arts, by Mr. E. J. Reed, late of H. M.'s Dockyard, Portsmouth, 15th Dec., 1858, p. 15.

† The Blockships.—Commodore Yelverton's fleet of coastguard block-ships, consisting of the Majestic, 80, Capt. Mends, C. B.; Blenheim, 60, Capt. Tatham; Cornwallis, 60, Capt. Randolph; Edinburgh, 60, Capt. D'Eyncourt; Hawke, 60, Capt. Crispin; Hogue, 60, Capt. Macdonald; Russell, 60, Capt. Wodehouse; Ajax, 60, Capt. Boyd; and the screw steam-frigate Dauntless, 34, Capt. Heath, C.B., after being duly inspected, as previously announced, by Admiral Eden and Capt. Frederick, two of the Lords of the Admiralty, left Portland harbour on Wednesday and Thursday for their respective stations. The Colossus, 80, Capt. Scott, C.B., still bearing the flag of Commodore Yelverton, remains at anchor in that harbour, but is expected to leave for the Isle of Wight in a day or two. The Biter gunboat, tender to the Colossus, is also at Portland.—*Times.*

The Channel fleet of blockships were observed at Plymouth at noon on Sunday, approaching from the eastward. At five p.m. they were near the Eddystone, going down Channel under three foresails, jib, and spanker. Wind, north-west. Eleven ships in all; one a frigate.—*Herald.*

work published under the sanction of their Government will show*:—

"The service of the coast-guard is placed under the general direction of a Commodore of the first class, having the 'Pembroke' for his flag-ship. It includes seventy-three vessels, twenty-seven of which are steamers, and forty-six sailing vessels. All the coast has been divided into eleven districts, each commanded by a captain, having under his orders a certain number of officers;—this staff amounts altogether to more than 250 officers of all grades. Nine ships-of-the-line and two frigates watch the eleven districts. With the exception of one, all these vessels are mixed, that is, old sailing vessels, having had machinery adapted to them; their armaments and masts have been reduced, so as to diminish their draft, and render them more manageable. The ships-of-the-line have sixty guns, the frigates fifty. Sixteen steam gun-boats and forty-seven vessels of light draft have been distributed between the eleven districts. It is quite a fleet, destined to a special service, and on board of which the manœuvres and the gun practice take place as regularly as on board of other vessels of war. The blockships offer to England, for the defence of her harbours and dockyards, means of defence which are entirely wanting in France."

It was by the total omission of this powerful fleet, in the enumeration of the forces of the two countries, that the statement of the First Lord startled the country, and furnished the "cry" to the alarmists—the echo of which has hardly yet died away—that France was our equal in line-of-battle ships, and was aiming at the supremacy of the seas.

The comparison of the number of frigates possessed by the two countries was hardly less fallacious than that of the ships of the line. In stating that England possessed fewer of these vessels than France, the faintest possible allusion was made to the immense superiority in tonnage and horse-power of the majority of our frigates; whilst the numerical comparison alone reached the eye of the general public. The French Navy List

* "*The Army and Navy Budgets of France and England*," by M. Cucheval Clarigny, p. 67.

contains fifteen vessels classed as paddle-frigates, which were built nearly twenty years ago for the transatlantic packet service, and on the failure of that enterprise were transferred to the Government navy in 1844-5.* The very age of these vessels renders it unnecessary to speak of their quality. They carry sixteen guns, and, for comparison, they are put on an equality with our screw frigates of forty or fifty guns, some of which are of a larger tonnage than the line-of-battle ships of half a century ago! And whilst these antique tubs are thus paraded to the terror of Englishmen, no credit is taken for our own splendid packet ships, which would be available, in case of emergency, in a few weeks, and some of which, as the Persia, for example, are more than double the tonnage, and of far greater speed, than these converted "frigates" of the French navy.

But the gravest fallacy in the First Lord's statement has still to be noticed. Why was the comparison restricted to ships of the line and frigates? The old nomenclature no longer serves for an accurate definition of the strength of ships of war. We had at the time fourteen vessels called screw-corvettes, of from 20 to 22 guns each, in our Navy list, far more powerful than the above 16-gun frigates, whilst the French had only two of this class; and we had a dozen screw-sloops, of from 12 to 17 guns, of which the French had none; but these vessels were wholly kept out of view. Had the comparison been extended to all steam vessels, we should have shown an overwhelming superiority in these smaller ships, which were the pride of the Spithead Review, and had extorted so many eulogies from professional men. The "First Lord" did not omit to offer a passing compliment to this portion of our navy; but he found no place for it in his numerical comparison of the forces of the two nations, and it was this numerical comparison which was seized upon to promote the panic out of doors. The

* "France had, about the close of 1844, grafted into their navy twenty or twenty-two ships, varying from 1500 to 1700 tons, and about 450 horse power. Those ships had been built for Transatlantic packets."—*Evidence of Sir Thomas Hastings before Committee on "Army, Navy, and Ordnance,"* 1848, Qu. 9797.

following figures, taken from the Parliamentary Paper* to which attention has been already called, will show what the comparison would have been if it had embraced the smaller vessels:—England had eighty-two corvettes and sloops, and France twenty-two: England had 162 gunboats, and France twenty-eight. If, after comparing the line-of-battle ships and frigates, there had been a comparison of the whole of the other steam vessels, the result would have been 380 English and 174 French.

The fact of our having built so many more small vessels than the French will partly, but not wholly, account for our not possessing a larger proportion of screw line-of-battle ships. England had, for a long series of years, been spending, at the very least, fifty per cent. more on the effective of her navy than France, and this ought to be a sufficient answer to the assertion that France had been aiming at an equality with us at sea. We build ships, construct steam-engines and machinery, and obtain coals and other stores twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than our neighbours, and we ought, therefore, to secure a proportionately larger return for our outlay.† *But these advantages are more than counterbalanced by the superior management of the naval department in France, by which they are enabled to avoid the waste of money which is always going on in this country upon unnecessary and useless constructions.* This will be illustrated by a brief examination of the valuable parliamentary document to which reference has already been repeatedly made.

It was stated to the House by the First Lord of the Admiralty, that a Confidential Committee had been appointed in the winter of 1858, by Lord Derby's Government, to inquire into the comparative state of the navies of England and France. The Report of this Committee, dated January 6th, 1859, and

* *Parliamentary Paper*, 182, 1859.

† The late Mr. Sidney Herbert, who had been three years Secretary to the Admiralty, in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Navy, in 1848, said, "I should never dream of instituting a comparison between our expenditure and that of France; because their expenditure is so lavish, and the result for the money spent so very small, that you cannot institute a comparison between them."— Q. 10126.

intended, originally, for the eye of the Ministry only, was laid on the table of the House on the 3rd April following. The inquiry extended from 1852 to 1858. The reader may be reminded that Lord Derby's Administration was succeeded by that of Lord Aberdeen in the autumn of 1852; and that on the fall of Lord Palmerston's ministry, in February, 1858, the Conservative Chief again returned to power. The Report embraces this interval, and is, therefore, an inquiry instituted by one body of politicians, into the management of the navy during nearly six years by their opponents; and it would not imply any great ignorance of the inner play of party, to suppose that, under such circumstances, we might find some hints or disclosures, which would not be met with in a Report of one of the ordinary Commissions appointed by a Government to inquire into its own conduct. It is difficult to believe, that, if this document had been in the hands of members of Parliament before the "First Lord" had made his statement on the 25th February, they would have allowed their attention to be diverted across the Channel to the acts of a neighbouring government, instead of being directed towards their naval administration at home.

Shortly previous to 1852, the English and French Governments had been brought to the conviction that sailing ships of the line could no longer be depended on for purposes of war; and after the experience of the Crimean campaign, they ceased to be taken into account in a comparison of the forces of the two countries. From 1852, to 1858, was, therefore, a period of transition, from a sailing to a steam fleet. In 1852, England had 73 sailing-vessels of the line; and France, 45.* In 1859, the country was startled with the "First Lord's" statement, that France had 29 screw liners, whilst England possessed only the same number. How did this arise? The Report, after giving a mass of most valuable facts and statistics, goes straight to the point, and states, that, "the large increase of the French steam navy, since 1852, in line-of-battle ships and frigates, has been effected mainly by the conversion of sailing ships"; that "the number of men required to convert a three-decker into a 90-gun steam-ship is stated to be five-eighths of the number

* *Parliamentary Paper.* No. 182. 1859. p. 18.

required to build a new 90-gun steam-ship. The chief difference in the cost of conversion arises from the saving in materials. The cost of converting a line-of-battle ship of 90 guns, is estimated at £25,000, and the cost of building the same, at £105,000; but the latter will, of course, be a far more efficient and durable vessel"; that, "the process of conversion, on the other hand, is speedy as compared with that of building. The present seems a state of transition, as regards naval architecture, inducing the French Government to suspend the laying down of new ships of the line altogether, and it is more especially so with respect to artillery."* The Report states, that, "*no line-of-battle ship has been laid down since* 1855, *in France, and there has not been a single three-decker on the stocks since that year*"; and that of the forty-five sailing vessels, which France possessed in 1852, and of which ten remained in 1858, there were two only which were not "too old to be converted."†

In the mean time, England had pursued the double process of building new, and converting old ships of the line. Between 1852, and 1858, we launched twenty-three liners. "Of the line-of-battle ships now building in the English dockyards," says the Report, "one was laid down in 1855, two in 1856, one in 1857, and four in 1858."‡ At the time when these last four were laid down, we had thirty-five sailing-ships of the line afloat, of which nineteen are reported by the Surveyor of the Navy to be convertible into screw liners or frigates; he states, also, that we possessed seventy sailing frigates, of which twenty-seven were convertible.§

Now, inasmuch as the fitting of steam-engines into existing sailing-ships is a much cheaper and more expeditious process than the building of new ones, and leaving sailing vessels to rot in ordinary, it was only natural that the conversion of a sailing into a steam fleet should proceed more rapidly in the French than in the English dockyards. The obvious remedy was to follow the thrifty example of our neighbours; and this was the recommendation of the Report, which, in language sufficiently intelligible, contrived, at the same time, to convey a censure on the conduct of the previous administration: — "We, therefore, venture to suggest, for your Lordships' consideration, whether,

* *Parliamentary Paper*, p. 21. † *Ibid*, p. 19. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 19. § *Ibid*, p. 20.

if the force in the dockyards were to be used next year in the conversion of ships of the line and frigates, as far as the available dock accommodation will admit, the most useful results might not be attained at a comparatively small expenditure."*

We have seen, that, in conformity with this Report, the "First Lord" announced to the House his intention to convert nine sailing line-of-battle ships into screw steamers, and he reserved other four for the next year. If this had been done, as it should have been, at the time when the French were similarly employed, and if the nine Coast-guard vessels had been taken into account, where would have been the pretext for a panic? But, it is hardly reasonable to hold the French Government responsible for a state of things which arose out of the mal-administration of our own affairs, and which the Minister of Marine could have no power of remedying, except by lowering his management to the level of that of our Admiralty.

In order to illustrate the foregoing statement, the following figures are extracted from this Report.

As it has been the custom to estimate the strength of a navy by the number of its line-of-battle ships, it will be well, in the first place, to give the particulars of this class of vessels.

Comparative Numbers of English and French Line-of-battle Ships, in the Years 1852 *and* 1858.†

1852.

	English.
Sailing Vessels	73
Steam Vessels, afloat and building	17
Block Ships	4
Total	94

	French.
Sailing Vessels	45
Steam Vessels, afloat and building	6
Total	51

* *Parliamentary Paper*, 182, 1859, p. 21.

† *Ibid*, pp. 17—19.

1858.

		English.
Sailing Vessels		35
Steamers Complete	29	
„ Receiving Engines,	4	
„ Building	10	50
„ Converting	7	
Block Ships		9
Total		94

		French.
Sailing Vessels		10
Steamers Complete	29	
„ Receiving Engines,	2	
„ Building	5	40
„ Converting	4	
Total		50

It will be seen, by comparison, that, instead of our having lost ground in ships of the line in six years, the total number of French vessels, sailing and steam, bore a smaller proportion by one to the English, in 1858, than in 1852. As an illustration of the economical example which the Minister of Marine had given to our Admiralty, by the conversion of sailing-ships into steamers, it will be observed, that whilst France had reduced the number of her sailing vessels from forty-five to ten, or more than three-fourths, England had only diminished hers from seventy-three to thirty-five, or little more than one-half.

It should be always borne in view, that we are not discussing the process of creating a navy, but of substituting one kind of ship for another. The following list of the numbers of line-of-battle ships possessed by the two countries at various epochs is interesting, as showing the number of sailing vessels formerly maintained by France. It appears that the French force, as measured by this class of vessels, has generally been equal to rather more than the half of our own; and this seems to have been tacitly accepted by the two countries as a fair proportion for nearly a century, with the exception of that period of

humiliation for France, which immediately succeeded the restoration of the Bourbons.

Numbers of Line-of-Battle Ships in the English and French Navies at the following Dates:—

	British.	French.
1778	126	68
1794	145	77
1830	106	53
1840	89	44
1850	86	45
1858	94	50

The totals of the steamers of all sizes in the two navies were as follows in the years 1852 and 1858:—

1852 British Steamers of all sizes	176
1858 „ „	464
British Increase	288
1852 French Steamers of all sizes	122
1858 „ „	264
French Increase	142

Thus, whilst in six years, the French added 142 steamers of all kinds to their navy, we added more than double the number to ours.

The following are the totals of both steamers and sailing vessels of all sizes in the two navies at the same dates:—

1852 British Steamers of all sizes	176
„ „ Sailing vessels, ditto	299
Total	475
1858 British Steamers of all sizes	464
„ „ Sailing vessels, ditto	296
Total	760
British Increase	285

1852 French Steamers of all sizes	122
„ „ Sailing vessels, ditto	258
Total	380
1858 French Steamers of all sizes	264
„ „ Sailing vessels, ditto	144
Total	408
French Increase	28

It is very instructive to observe the above numbers of sailing vessels in the two countries at both periods. In 1852, England possessed 299 of these vessels, which were reduced to 296 in 1858, being a diminution of three only: France possessed 258 sailing vessels in 1852, which were reduced to 144 in 1858, being a diminution of 114. These figures show that whilst France was engaged in converting her sailing vessels into steamers, England continued the processes of building and converting; the consequence was that we had as many sailing vessels within 3 in 1858, as in 1852; and whilst France had increased the total number of her vessels, of all kinds, by 28 only, England had augmented hers by 285. That these figures* prove an enormous amount of misapplied capital and labour in our dockyards, and place us, in point of management, in humiliating contrast with our neighbour, there can be no doubt.

Sir Charles Wood, the preceding "First Lord," felt probably that some of Sir John Pakington's statements glanced obliquely upon him, and on the 6th April, he entered at length upon a vindication of his management. It is interesting to find him, in opposition, not only gathering up all the elements of our naval strength, including block-ships and gun-boats, which had been overlooked, when the Estimates were brought forward in 1857, but disputing the pretensions of our neighbours, who had received such flattering eulogies on that occasion. "I would, however," said he,† "remind the House that they must

* They have been wholly taken from the Report. *Parliamentary Paper* No. 182. 1859.

† *Hansard*, cliii. p. 1462.

not suppose that all the French ships are as fine sea-going ships as our new line-of-battle ships. There is one of them, I know, the *Montebello*, which has only 140 horse-power; while the weakest of our block-ships* has 200 horse-power. I say, that for the defence of our coasts, at least, these block-ships are good and efficient, and as available for that service, as many of the French ships of the line are for attack. In considering our means of defence, I must, however, be allowed to take into account the numerous vessels of a smaller class, which we possessed, and which, as the noble member for Sandwich (Lord Clarence Paget) said, no line-of-battle ships could resist."

Here was an excellent case established against any additional armaments: but as the speaker gave a ready approval to the proposed increase of the Estimates, his argument was only calculated to inspire the public mind with still greater mistrust.

The better to understand the state of feeling in 1859, it is necessary to recur to the events which were then passing around us. Hostilities had commenced between France and Austria. The operations of the French army in Italy were watched with no friendly eye by the upper and conservative classes of this country, whose sympathies were generally on the side of Austria. On the contrary, with the mass of the people, the government of Vienna was supremely unpopular, whilst a universal enthusiasm prevailed in favour of Italian independence. And although, undoubtedly, some mistrust was

* There is something almost dramatic in the transformation of opinion which is sometimes produced by the removal from the official to the opposition benches, and *vice versâ*. On the 18th May, 1857, Sir Charles Wood, the First Lord, in bringing forward the Navy Estimates, stated that France had forty and England forty-two screw-liners. On the 12th April, 1858, Sir John Pakington, who had just succeeded to the office of First Lord, alluding to this statement of his predecessor, said—"it was not fair to exclude the block-ships, as you must do when you say that you have only two line-of-battle ships more than the French." On the 25th February, 1859, Sir John Pakington, in moving his Navy Estimates, stated that France had twenty-nine, and England had twenty-nine screw line-of-battle ships, totally omitting the block-ships. On the 6th April following Sir Charles Wood, then in opposition, reminded the First Lord of this omission, and contended that the block-ships were good and efficient for the defence of the coast.

entertained towards the absolute Ruler of France, in his new character of champion of the nationalities, still, for the sake of Italy, the popular sympathy followed the march of the French armies. At the same time, a suspicion arose (the despatches of Lord Malmesbury had not been published) that our Conservative government were pledging us to the side of the Austrians; and hence was witnessed the strange spectacle, for England, of public meetings called to proclaim the principle of non-intervention,—which, truly interpreted, meant a protest against the interference of our Government on the wrong side.

This explanation may help to account for the fact, that the loudest notes of alarm and hostility against France resounded from that usually serene and impassive body, the House of Lords. They did not avowedly espouse or defend the cause of Austria; public opinion was too strong in the opposite direction. But to proclaim the danger of an invasion of England, and thus rouse the hostile passions of the country against the French Emperor, operated, to some extent, as a diversion in favour of his antagonist; and he is said, by those who were in a position to be well-informed on the subject, to have been so far influenced by the hostile attitude manifested in high quarters in this country, that it operated, among other causes, disadvantageously to the Italian cause, in bringing the campaign to a precipitate close. The most inveterate alarmist might have rested satisfied, that, as the Emperor had allowed us to escape two years before, when we were involved in our Indian difficulty, he would not seek a rupture just at the moment when his own hands were so fully occupied in Italy. He knew that a war with England meant a campaign on the Rhine, as well as the Mincio, with British subsidies to Austria and Germany, and a naval war extending to every sea. Yet this was the fate to which, in the eyes of panic-struck peers, he was rushing, impelled—in the absence of every rational motive—by his destiny!

On the first of July, the Volunteer Corps and the Navy Estimates became the subjects of discussion in the Upper House. So much did the debate turn upon the question of invasion, that at the first glance, it might be concluded we were not only at war with our next neighbour, but at the very crisis of a long

struggle. Lord Ellenborough called for seventy line-of-battle ships, but declared that no increase of the Navy could, under present circumstances, protect us against invasion; that, for "six months in the year, an enemy may land 60,000 to 80,000 men on any beach on the south coast of England"; and with his wonted proneness to strategy, he called for forts to protect "all the ports, and all the roads in which it would be possible for an enemy to place a fleet, with any degree of security; and where he might form *têtes-de-pont* that would assist his future operations"; and he particularly pointed to Portland, "that port which the late French ambassador went down to reconnoitre, and which he took the trouble of visiting at the end of last summer in order to see the particular advantages it possessed. He trusted that whenever that respectable gentleman went to that port again, he would find it in a better position than when he saw it last."*

Lord Howden, who said "he resided in France, and his social relations were chiefly in that country," declared that the entire population of that empire were eager for the invasion of England, regardless of the consequences:—

"He did not believe that the idea of conquering this country had ever entered into the head of any sane Frenchman, any more than any sane Englishman had ever entertained the notion that we should allow ourselves to be conquered by France. He felt assured that no Frenchman had ever dreamt of taking possession of this island; but he felt almost equally certain that every Frenchman living dreamt both by day and by night of humiliating this country, and robbing her of the position which she alone maintained among the nations of Europe, that of possessing an inviolate soil. Thousands of persons in England scouted the very thought of an invasion. They asked, 'What is the use of it?—it could have no permanent result.' The people of France were aware that it could not; but then they did not adopt the same mode of reasoning on the subject. A forlorn hope might enter some miserable village, inhabited by six fishermen and a ploughboy; a bulletin might be signed on British soil, proclaiming the glorious triumph of French arms; the French eagles might stream from every steeple from

* *Hansard*, cliv. 532.

Acton to Ealing, and from Ealing to Harrow—the very prospect was enough to throw every Frenchman into a transport of joy, and that, too, although he might be perfectly aware that not a single one of his countrymen would return home to tell the tale." He declared that a war against England would unite in one body, Republicans, Imperialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists, and in conclusion said:—"Such a war was the only one which would ever be universally popular in France, and, however reckless the attempt to invade England might be—however devoid of all rational hope of success—there was not a single widow in France who would not give her last son, or a single beggar who would not give his last penny to carry out such a project."* Lord Brougham controverted this view, and said he believed, on the contrary, that no act of the French Government could excite greater indignation among all classes of the French people than a quarrel with England. But he, too, called for increased preparations by land and sea.† Lord Hardwicke, with natural professional gallantry, would not listen to the plan of land defences, or tolerate the idea of an invasion; he was for carrying the war to the enemy's coasts:—"He held that it was the duty of the Government to render the navy of England sufficiently powerful not only to maintain the British Channel as the British Channel, but to enable us to insist that the boundaries of this country in that direction should be the low-water mark on the French shore."‡

But the great speech of the session on this subject, and which for a fortnight fluttered the fashionable world and agitated the clubs, has yet to be noticed. On the 5th July, Lord Lyndhurst brought forward the subject of the national defences. He began his argument by repeating the statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that "France exceeded us the year before in a small proportion in line-of-battle ships, but she exceeded us in an enormous proportion in steam frigates." Without one word of reference to the coast-guard fleet or floating batteries, or the small vessels, in which our superiority could be reckoned by hundreds, and which, as the naval authorities only two years before declared, rendered a landing on our shores impossible, or the scores of large ocean steamers in the employ of private

* *Hansard*, cliv. 517. † *Hansard*, ib., 524.
‡ *Hansard*, ib., 528.

companies, he brings the two "fleets" into combat in the Channel, and argues, in case of defeat, that we have no reserve to prevent an immense military force from being landed on our shores. The "fleets" are brought also into collision in the Mediterranean and elsewhere; but no allusion is made to the existence of any other than ships-of-the-line and frigates. He cites Lord Palmerston's "very emphatic words, that steam has converted the Channel into a river, and thrown a bridge across it"; and he argues that "a large army may within a few hours —in the course of a single night—be landed on any part of our shores." "I know," said he, "from information which I have received, and the accuracy of which I do not doubt, that the French are at the present moment building steamers for the purpose of transporting troops, each of which is constructed to carry 2,500 men, with all the necessary stores. This, therefore, is the description of force which you must prepare yourselves to meet." He called for an establishment of 100,000 troops and embodied militia, and the same number of disembodied and trained militia, "in order to be prepared for any emergency which may arise." He avowed that he felt something like a sentiment of humiliation in going through these details. "I recollect," said he, "the day when every part of the opposite coast was blockaded by an English fleet. I remember the victory of Camperdown, and that of St. Vincent, won by Sir John Jervis; I do not forget the great victory of the Nile, nor, last of all, that triumphant fight at Trafalgar, which almost annihilated the navies of France and Spain. I contrast the position which we occupied at that period with that which we now hold. I recollect the expulsion of the French from Egypt; the achievement of victory after victory in Spain; the British army established in the south of France; and, last of all, that great victory by which that war was terminated." Interspersed with these irritating reminiscences were such remarks, as—"I will not consent to live in dependence on the friendship or forbearance of any country;" "are we to sit supine on our own shores, and not prepare the means necessary in case of war to resist that power?"*—remarks which, considering our overwhelming naval superiority at the time, can be compared only to the act of brandishing a weapon in the face of a friendly neighbour.

* *Hansard*, cliv. 617—27.

Fully to comprehend the scope and temper of these utterances, which were received by the assembled peers with a rapturous welcome, it is necessary to consider for a moment the circumstances under which the speech was delivered. The speaker represented more than any other peer the legal and constitutional character of the Upper House. His judicial mind and great age tended naturally to impart a tone of moderation and caution to his observations, and he was commenting on the policy of a nation with whom we were at peace, and from whose Sovereign our Government had received numerous proofs of friendship. Nor must the circumstances in which the two countries were at the moment placed be overlooked. France had hardly emerged from a war for an object in which the British nation had long felt the deepest sympathy, and for the outbreak of which the statesmen of both our political parties held Austria responsible, and she had incurred an exhaustive sacrifice of life and treasure which contributed, with other considerations, to bring the struggle to an early and unexpected close. At the same time, our own naval preparations were on a scale of unparalleled magnitude for a time of peace. Taking the average of the years 1858-9, it will be seen, on reference to the accounts in the first page, that the number of our seamen was more than double that of the French navy—a disproportion quite unexampled during the last thirty years. It was under these circumstances, and when not an act or word on the part of the French Government indicated a hostile disposition, that the foremost man in the highest assembly of Englishmen delivered, amidst enthusiastic plaudits, the speech of which the above is a brief outline. If England had been a weak country, threatened with invasion by a powerful enemy, nothing could have been more calculated to stir the patriotism of its inhabitants than to remind them of the exploits of their fathers; but to declaim of Trafalgar and the Nile, to taunt with their reverses a brave people who were no longer our enemies but our friends, was more derogatory to ourselves than to the object of those taunts. It must be acknowledged, that the dignified calmness with which such gratuitous insults as these have for many years been borne, bespeaks the possession of a large share of self-command on the part of our neighbours.

From the remarks which fell from other peers, it might have

been supposed that England was at the time completely disarmed. Forgetting our 464 steamers, our 62,400 seamen, the Militia Act of 1852, and the "very little short of 200,000 fighting men which, in the event of war, we could put into the field,"* Lord Ellenborough exclaimed—"My Lords, it is not safe for this country to remain unarmed in the midst of armed nations. When, of two neighbouring nations who have ever been rivals, and have often been engaged in desperate hostilities against each other, one determines to apply all her energies to making money, and the other to making preparations for war, it is obvious enough with which of the two nations all the money must ultimately remain."†

And Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, after expressing his gratitude to Lord Lyndhurst "for calling attention to this most important and solemn question at so anxious a time as the present," and reminding his hearers, that, "although the supplies necessary for taking the precautionary measures now suggested could not originate in that House, that, nevertheless, those measures had first been brought under consideration there," proceeded to remark on the unwillingness of free countries to prepare for defence in anticipation of war, and declared "that it was a just cause of shame and an intolerable humiliation, that a great empire like ours should appear, though it were only for one hour, to exist by sufferance, and at the good pleasure of a forbearing neighbour."‡

The Government was on this occasion represented by Lord Granville, (the administration of Lord Derby having in the previous month been displaced by that of Lord Palmerston) who, in allusion to the tone of Lord Lyndhurst's speech, said:—"If a feeling of hostility does exist, as he says it does, not on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, but on the part of the French people, I doubt that his speech will tend to allay it. When he points out in the most marked way, the defenceless character of our shores—when at the same time he boasts of our former victories, and when he makes something like insinuating and sneering allusions both to the government and people of France—I am afraid that, coming from such lips as his, such

* Lord Palmerston, Aug. 5, 1859, *Hansard*, clv. 1079.
† *Hansard*, cliv. 645. ‡ *Hansard*, ib., 627—8.

language is not well calculated to promote the object of unbroken friendly alliance." The Duke of Somerset, who had succeeded Sir John Pakington as First Lord of the Admiralty, was still more plain-spoken on this point: "He greatly regretted the exciting language which their lordships had just heard. If such language were persevered in, it would be necessary to have not only a peace, but a war establishment. There was no peace whatever in the language of the noble and learned lord (Lord Lyndhurst). That language was calculated to excite the passions of England and France; and he thought it most unwise to talk as the noble and learned lord had done of two great nations."

It was not the speeches of individuals, however high their rank or eminent their ability, but the constant augmentation of our armaments, by successive Governments, which mainly tended to excite feelings of alarm and resentment towards France.

In this policy, the administration which had now returned to power will be found to surpass all preceding Governments.

Parliament had reassembled, after the dissolution by Lord Derby's Government, on the 31st May, 1859; and in the following month Lord Palmerston's Ministry resumed office, Just previous to the dissolution, Lord Clarence Paget had brought forward a motion on the Dockyard Expenditure, when he adduced a very elaborate series of figures and estimates to prove, that during the past eleven years there had been an unnecessary expenditure, "a deficit or a discrepancy," of £5,000,000 of money in the Government yards, or equal to twenty-two line-of-battle ships, with all complete, ready for sea; he spoke of an extravagance in the ship-building department, which "really appalled him;" said he could account for the reason why we had so little to show for such an enormous expenditure, and that, if his motion were accepted, "such statements as that of Sir John Pakington which had produced such a painful sensation out of doors, namely, that after laying out £20,000,000 on a steam navy simply for the construction of the ships, and exclusive of the costs of their engines and machinery, we were, both in numbers and quality, inferior to the French in line-of-battle ships, would be impossible." The following graphic description of the manner in which our dockyard artificers amuse themselves might help to

account for some superiority in the French navy, without implying any great merit on the part of our neighbour :—

"He did not think the House had the smallest notion of what had been going on in our dockyards in the way of tinkering vessels, amputating them, and performing all sorts of surgical operations upon them. They had their heads cut off, they had their tails cut off, they were sawn asunder, they were maltreated in every possible way. Ships built ten years ago by Sir William Symonds were not in fashion at the present day, and nobody could blame the Admiralty for lengthening and altering them, because, as originally constructed, they were not now fit to go to sea; but he wished to speak of the reckless alteration of new ships. Their name was legion; almost every ship was altered; there was scarcely one that had not undergone some frightful operation some time or other."

He characterised Sir John Pakington's speech on moving the Navy Estimates, as being "the truth and nothing but the truth, but not the whole truth"; and he proceeded to say "that it was a very able statement to make out his case, first to attack the right hon. gentleman who preceded him in office, and secondly to induce the House to grant a large sum of money to increase our line-of-battle ships; but he must also say that it tended to create an alarm, which he for one did not share. The First Lord, for example, did not tell the House of an admirable class of vessels, in which we possessed an immense superiority over the French — a superiority measured according to the right hon. Member for Halifax (Sir Charles Wood) by 200 excellent small ships. He was not going to enter into a discussion upon the comparative merits of line-of-battle ships and gun-boats. But if he had a large sum of money to lay out he would prefer, not gun-boats exclusively, but certainly small vessels."*

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Lindsay said: "He believed that £7,000,000, properly applied, would go as far as £10,000,000 now went in building our ships of war, and in our naval expenditure generally."† And on a previous occasion it had been stated by Mr. Bentinck that, "He had asked many of the most eminent owners of private yards in the country the question: 'Supposing you were to carry on your yards upon

* *Hansard*, cliii. 39—48. † *Hansard* cxii. 72.

the system on which Her Majesty's dockyards are conducted, what would be the result?' and the invariable answer had been, If we were to approach that system, with the Bank of England at our back, we should be ruined in six months."*

On the 8th July, Lord Clarence Paget, having in the mean time accepted the post of Secretary of the Admiralty, introduced the Navy Estimates to the House in a long speech. The independent irresponsible critic had been suddenly metamorphosed into the Government Official. The sound precepts recently uttered by the naval reformer were brought so abruptly to the test of practice that the transformation had almost a touch of romance in it. It was as though Haroun Alraschid had seized a malcontent in his audience-chamber, thrown the pelisse of Grand Vizir over his shoulders, and said: — "Thou sayest well,—Do as thou sayest." As the Secretary had only been a few days in the department, and as the Estimates were, with some additions, those of his predecessor, which had been virtually passed, his speech may be fairly exempted from criticism. It has all the candour and hopefulness which generally characterise the first utterances of Officials before they have occasion to apply to the House for money. He put in the foreground the coast-guard fleet which had been entirely ignored by his predecessor, declaring that "he could not speak too highly of those block-ships." He expatiated also upon our resources in merchant-steamers and private dockyards: —

"Why, Sir, we have got, I take it, from a return that was moved for a few days ago, by my hon. friend the Member for Penryn (Mr. T. G. Baring), 159 steam vessels over 1,000 tons each, and 72 between 1,000 and 700 tons each, together 231 merchant steam vessels, most of which might be quickly adapted to carry Armstrong guns, and thus prove a most valuable addition to the defences of the country. There is yet another source from which we can very largely increase our navy at any moment with regard to ships, and that is our commercial yards. Here is another return, which I think will be interesting to the Committee, according to which there are, in addition to the shipwrights employed in the royal dockyards, about 10,000 shipwrights in Great Britain. Now, it is an old

* *Hansard*, cliii. 62.

shipwright's maxim, that 1,000 shipwrights can build eight men-of-war of 1,000 tons each in twelve months; consequently, 10,000, which is the number that we have in the commercial yards of this country, could build 80 corvettes of 1,000 tons each in twelve months, or at the rate of between six and seven per month."*

He stated that the number of men then actually employed in the Government dockyards was 17,690, as against 14,128 in the beginning of March; and he added:—

"During the past year, we have built in tonnage of line-of-battle ships, 10,604 tons; in frigates, 5,851 tons; in corvettes, 1,193 tons; and in sloops and gun vessels 1,511 tons; making the total tonnage built, up to the end of the last financial year, 19,159.

* * * *

During the present year, supposing that our scheme is carried out, and that no unforeseen contingency should arise, we shall build of line-of-battle ships, 19,606 tons; of frigates, 15,897 tons; of corvettes, 5,130; and of sloops and gun-vessels, 5,651 tons; making a total of 46,284 tons which will be built this year, against, 19,159 tons last year."†

It may be concluded, from his reiterated declaration in favour of small vessels, that he administered with much repugnance to this enormous outlay on line-of-battle ships; but he must not be held responsible for the engagements of his predecessor.

Hitherto, the invasion agitation had been confined almost exclusively to the Peers. With the exception of the indefatigable Sir Charles Napier, very little had been said on the subject in the House of Commons since the startling speech on the introduction of the navy estimates. Indeed, the gallant Admiral could not help lamenting the want of that enthusiasm which had characterised the debates in the Upper House: "He had derived great satisfaction from the speeches delivered in another place by Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Ellenborough, with every word of which he perfectly agreed, and he only wished they could hear such speeches in the House of Commons."‡ His wish was speedily to be gratified. But before coming to the occasion, it may be well to note a straw in

* *Hansard*, cliv. 905. † *Hansard*, ib. 914. ‡ *Hansard*, ib. 993.

the wind. On the 15th July, Lord William Graham, addressing himself to the Foreign Minister, said, "he wished to ask the question of which he had given notice, whether the Government had received any information respecting the formation of a large channel Fleet at Brest, with gun-boats and means for embarking and disembarking troops, and, if so, whether they had demanded any explanations from the French Government on the subject."* To which Lord John Russell replied, that our Consul at Brest had informed him, that "there were no extraordinary preparations going on either at Cherbourg or Brest."

That which, without offence, may be called the great panic speech of the session—for no other epithet will so properly describe it—has now to be noticed. On the 29th July, 1859, Mr. Horsman brought forward his motion for raising money by loan "for completing the necessary works of national defence projected, or already in progress." The most desponding and terror-stricken invasion theory was put forth on this occasion. The motion assumed that all other modes of defence, whether by fleets, armies, militia, or volunteers, were insufficient, and proposed to borrow a sum of money which ultimately took the formidable proportions of from ten to twelve millions, to be expended on fortifications. The speech delivered on the occasion, unexceptionable as a rhetorical performance, was absolutely destitute of one fact or figure to prove the danger against which we were called upon to arm. There were vague assertions of "enormous preparations" and "increasing armaments," on the part of France, and she was described in her naval preparations to have "got ahead of us, and was making every effort to preserve that start," whilst, on our part, there was with the same sweeping vagueness, said to be a "want of all plan or preparation for defence on this side of the channel": but, from the first word to the last, the speech did not contain one syllable respecting the comparative strength of the English and French navies. France might at the time have had 100,000 seamen, and 100 ships of the line in the channel, judging from the tone of the speaker, and for any information which he imparted to the contrary. Let it not, however, be thought, after this

* *Hansard*, cliv. 1293.

description, that too much space is devoted to the following extracts; for although the motion did not succeed at the moment, it required only a twelvemonth, as we shall see, to make the speaker the triumphant master of the situation. The country has, in accordance with his views, been committed to a plan of expenditure more likely to reach twenty millions than ten, unless arrested by the good sense of the people, or by a recurring reverse in the revenue; and the future advocates of the scheme may be defied to show any better grounds for the outlay, than will be found in the splendid declamation before us:—

"The Emperor of the French," said he, "acted for the interests of France; it was ours to guard the safety of England, and if he were asked, 'Why do you suspect the French Emperor of designs of war?' and still more, 'Why do you insult him by suspicions of invasion?' he should be driven to answer by a reference to facts as notorious in France as in England—that he apprehended war, because he saw the Emperor of the French preparing for it; and he anticipated invasion, because an attempted invasion must be a necessary accompaniment of the war; and as they saw unmistakeable proofs of preparation for war, so also those who were not wilfully blind, must see the most unmistakeable proofs of preparation for invasion; and as to our insulting him by the suspicion, he replied, that no man could be insulted by our believing what he himself openly, publicly, and ostentatiously told us he would probably do.

* * *

"They (the Emperor's writings) afforded the key of what would otherwise be a mystery, and enable people to interpret what would otherwise be unintelligible, namely, that those vast preparations, the extension of the navy, the fortification of the coast, the enlargement and increase in the number of transports, and the conscription for the marine, all indicated preparation for a gigantic enterprise, to be undertaken some day or another against a gigantic naval Power, and that Power need not be named."*

He did not, however, confine himself to a description of these mighty preparations, but, warming as he proceeded, and giving a free rein to his imagination, he thus pictured a descent on our

* *Hansard*, clv. 688—9.

shores: "That army would leave its own ports an exultant, and, by anticipation, a victorious army. From the moment it landed on the shores of England, it would have to fight its way with the desperation of a forlorn hope, and, within two or three weeks of the landing of the first Zouave, either it would be completely annihilated, or London would be taken."* Having passed a glowing eulogy on Lord Lyndhurst, declaring, "that he esteemed it a good fortune and a privilege to have heard the speech of that venerable peer, whose courageous exposition of a national danger had caused so much sensation,"† he called for measures of immediate protection, in language more suited to a Committee of Public Safety than, under the circumstances, to the House of Commons:—

"Not a moment must be lost in making the country safe against every accident; and until it was so, we must act as if the crisis were upon us. No human tongue could tell how soon or how suddenly it might arrive, and that it might still be distant, was our good fortune, of which we should make the most. Every public or private yard should be put into full work; every artificer and extra hand should work extra hours, as if the war were to begin next week. As gun-boats could be built more rapidly than men-of-war, gun-boats should be multiplied as fast as possible; as volunteers could be enrolled faster than the line, they should at once be raised; as rifles could not be made fast enough in England, we should renew that order in Belgium, even though they should cost sixpence a piece more than the Horse Guards' regulation; and night and day, the process of manufacturing, constructing, arming, drilling, should go on till the country was made safe, and then we might desist from preparations, and return to our peace expenditure, with the certainty that these humiliating, lowering, and degrading panic-cries of invasion would never disturb our country or our Government again."‡

The following is the only approach to a fact in the whole speech respecting the French naval armaments. "While we were only experimenting, France had already built iron-cased vessels, armed with rifled artillery—[Sir Charles Napier: hear, hear!]—and could, at short notice, bring into the Channel a fleet more

* *Hansard*, clv. 685. † *Hansard*, ib. 678. ‡ *Hansard*, ib. 686-7.

powerful than ours, and could man it more easily with practised seamen."* This was spoken on the 29th of July, 1859. On the 6th of February following, the writer of these pages visited Toulon, and found workmen employed in hanging the armour on the sides of the still unfinished *La Gloire*, the first *sea-going* iron-clad ship ever built (for England had, at the time, more iron-cased floating *batteries* than France†), and she did not make her first trial trip in the Mediterranean till August, 1860, or more than a year after these terrified utterances.

The only way of opposing reason to declamation is by exposing its want of argument and supplying its deficiency of facts. The eloquent alarmist called for the multiplication of gun-boats, forgetting that we had at that time 162, whilst France had only 28; he required that "every artificer and extra hand should work extra hours," and he had been told three weeks previously that a system of "task and job-work and over hours of working had been established in the dockyards‡ to build 46,284 tons, this year, against 19,159 tons last year;" and he totally lost sight of the enormous and almost unprecedented superiority of our navy in commission at the time as compared with that of France.

As the agitation now about to break forth out of doors respecting the National Defences, and for the promotion of Rifle Corps, was the result of the cry of alarm which was raised in the two Houses respecting the naval preparations in France, it may be well here to give the official accounts of the two countries for 1859, the last year for which, at the time of penning these pages, the French accounts are definitively audited. The following figures, taken from the tables in the first page, will show the number of men, the amount expended in dockyard labour, and the total expenditure for the navies of the two countries:—

* *Hansard*, clv. p. 684.

† "The hon. member for Inverness-shire had stated that the building of iron-plated batteries had been neglected in this country. But the fact was, that in the year 1855, the French sent two of those floating-batteries to the Crimea, and we also sent two; while, in the following year, we had not less than eight of them, to the two possessed by the French."—Sir Charles Wood, *Hansard*, clxi. p. 1158. ‡ *Ibid*, cliv. p. 912.

1859.

	Number of Men.	Wages in Dockyards.	Total Expenditure.
England .	72,400	£1,582,112	£11,072,243
France . .	38,470	772,931	8,333,933

It must be borne in mind that this was the year of the war in Italy, when the French navy was called into requisition to aid the operations of the army, and especially to assist in the transport of troops to Genoa. Yet, it will be seen, that our total expenditure exceeded that of France by the amount of £2,738,310. The disproportion is, however, still greater, if we compare the other items: in men, our force was nearly double, whilst in dockyard expenditure, which has been called the "aggressive outlay," it was actually more than double. If we compare the two years 1858 and 1859, we shall find, that whilst France added 8,868 to the number of her men, we added 16,517, or in nearly double the proportion to ours. It will be found, also, by a comparison of the expenditure in the dockyards for the same years, that whilst our increase was £590,520, that of France was only £131,977. This shows that the increased cost of the French navy was for the current expenses, in materials, coal, provisions, pay, etc., consequent upon employing 300 vessels in 1859, as against 199 in 1858, and not for building new ships to create a permanent increase of force. And this view has been verified by an examination of all the details of the French naval expenditure for 1859. If the reader will carry his eye carefully back over the whole of the tables in the first page, he will find that at no time, for twenty-five years, had the naval preparations of England, as measured by the number of men, or the expenditure for building ships, been so disproportionately great, as compared with those of France, as in 1859. The alarm on this occasion, as in the case of the previous panic of 1851, was excited at the very time when it happened to have the least foundation, which might appear strange, did we not know that panic is not the product of reason but passion, and that it is quite as liable to occur under one state of circumstances as another.

Although little allusion will be made to the increase in our

land forces, because it has not, as in the case of the navy, been generally justified by an appeal to the corresponding preparations in France, yet it must not be forgotten that the army, militia, and ordnance, had undergone augmentations simultaneously with those of our fleets. In a subsequent debate on the National Defences (5th August), Lord Palmerston said :—

"I hold that in the event of war, we could put into the field something little short of 200,000 fighting men. We have the regular force of, I hope, not less than 60,000 men. Then we have the Militia, the establishment of which is 120,000 men; and if that Militia be well recruited and supplied, as, in the event of emergency, I am sure would be the case, I reckon upon 100,000 there. Then we have 14,000 yeomanry; 12,000 or 14,000 pensioners; and then we have those men who have served their ten years, with whom my right hon. friend the Secretary for War proposes to deal to-night. We have, also, always at home a certain force of marines; and we could, if we chose, re-organise our dockyard battalions for the defence of those establishments. Putting all these forces together, I say that an enemy contemplating an attack upon us must reckon upon not less than 200,000 men to resist him."

Such was the state of our preparations, by land and sea, when Parliament was prorogued, after having laid the train for an agitation which spread throughout the country during the recess. The Rifle Corps movement, which now arose, is of such recent origin, and the subsequent proceedings to promote its success, are so fresh in the memory of all, that it is unnecessary to dwell on the subject. Not only were special meetings called to forward the object, but at every public gathering, whatever its origin or purpose, the topic was sure to be obtruded. Especially was it so at the Agricultural Society's meetings, whose orators, instead of descanting on the rival breeds of cattle, or the various kinds of tillage, discussed the prospects of an invasion and the best mode of dealing with the invaders:—"How much will you charge the French for your corn when they land?" cried one of his audience, to a sturdy Somersetshire yeoman who was on his legs addressing them; and his reply—"They shall pay for it with their blood"—elicited rounds of applause. The assumption everywhere was—founded on the declarations made in Parliament—that France was surpassing us as a naval

power, that she was our equal in the largest ships, and was now providing herself with an iron-cased fleet, in which description of vessels we were quite unprepared, and that we must, therefore, be ready to fight for freedom on our own soil. The ambitious designs of the third Napoleon were discussed in language scarcely less denunciatory than that which had been applied to his uncle fifty years before. To doubt his hostile intentions was a proof of either want of patriotism or of sagacity:—had not venerable peers proclaimed their alarm, and would they have broken through their habitual reserve without sufficient cause? And did not successive Governments make enormous additions to our Navy Estimates: they were in a position to command exclusive information, and was it likely, unless they had positive proofs of impending danger, that they would have imposed such unnecessary expense on the country? This last appeal was quite irresistible, for the good British public defer, with a faith amounting to a superstition, to the authority of official men. All this tended to throw the odium of our increased taxation on the Emperor, who was supposed to personify our national danger; and the ominous words were sometimes heard: "We had better fight it out." Such was the state of fear, irritation, and resentment, in which the public mind was thrown towards the close of 1859; and probably at no previous time, within the experience of the present generation, had an accident afforded the occasion, would the country have been so resigned to a war with France.

It was under these circumstances, that the writer of these pages visited Paris* on an errand which detained him in France for more than a year. For several months afterwards, the reports of speeches at Rifle Corps meetings continued to reach the French capital, having for their invariable burden complaints of the hostile attitude of the ruler of France,

* The following incident will illustrate the state of public feeling. On his way to Paris, the writer passed a day or two at Brighton, where he met a friend, certainly one of the last men to be charged with a deficiency of courage, who, on learning the writer's destination, avowed that he had been deterred from taking his family, for the autumn, to the French metropolis by the fear of a rupture with France, and the risk of being detained prisoner by the Emperor, after the precedent of 1803.

whose character and designs, it must be confessed, were portrayed in not the most flattering colours. The effect produced, by the invasion panic in England, was very dissimilar upon different classes in France. Statesmen, and men of education and experience, did not give the British Government credit for sincerity, when it made the alleged naval armaments of France the plea for extraordinary warlike preparations. Their opinion could not be better expressed than in the words of M. Ducos (already quoted), who, when writing privately to one of his colleagues during the former panic, observed, that, "the English cabinet may possibly not be very much distressed by these imaginary terrors (as we have sometimes seen among ourselves), inasmuch as they enable them to swell their budget, and serve to strengthen a somewhat uncertain majority in Parliament."* And some pungent remarks in this sense were frequently heard in the circles of Parisian society.† But among the less intelligent masses of the people, the effect was different. Their ears had caught the echo of the voice of Sir Charles Napier, who had been for years incessantly proclaiming our naval inferiority, until there was at last a wide-spread popular belief that France had become the mistress of the Channel. With the exception of an occasional article in a semi-official journal, giving a comparison of the naval expenditures of the two Governments, with perhaps a self-complacent commentary on the superior economy of the French administration, nothing was done to disabuse the public mind on the subject. And this popular delusion might have been an element of danger to the peace of the two countries, had it not been for the character of the Emperor, who, throughout these provocations, displayed a perfect equanimity and self-control,—the rarest quality to be found in those who have climbed the dizzy heights of power.

During his residence in France, the writer profited by the best possible opportunity for making himself acquainted with the naval preparations of that country. The arsenals were open to him or his friends, and there was no official information

* *Ante*, p. 33.

† "Ah, pauvre John Bull!" exclaimed a lady in the presence of the writer, "quand on veut lui enlever son argent on lui fait peur de nous."

which he sought and failed to obtain. The result of this investigation was merely to confirm the conviction which had been previously derived from our own official documents. Had it been otherwise, these pages would not have been penned; and yet the writer asks no credit for any statement they contain, on the ground of his private or exclusive sources of information. The facts contained in the following, as in the preceding pages, must owe all their value to the public and official sources, equally accessible to everybody, from whence they are derived. In the citations from *Hansard*, it has been thought fair to allow the statesmen who officiate in that great laboratory of our history, the British parliament, to be heard as much as possible in their own language.

On the 13th February, 1860, the Navy Estimates were proposed to the House; but before the Secretary of the Admiralty was permitted to commence his task, the ever-watchful and indefatigable Mr. Williams entered his protest against "the enormous increase in the Estimates for the present year," asserting that, "the grand total, which exceeded £12,800,000, was larger in amount by more than £1,000,000 than any that had ever been presented to that House in a time of peace"; and he proceeded to remark that "the number of men required for the navy this year of peace was 85,500, being 6,000 more than they required when they were actually at war with Russia." Mr. Lindsay, and Mr. Bentinck rose successively to acquit the Secretary of the Admiralty of all responsibility for not being able "to carry out in office the economical views he had expressed in opposition." It will be necessary not only to accept this generous theory, but still farther to enlarge the bill of indemnity, and assume that the statement now made was not the speech of Lord Clarence Paget, but that it was prepared for him by those who were responsible for the Estimates.

To reconcile the country to this enormous expenditure, it was necessary that the French navy should be made to assume very alarming proportions. But how was this to be accomplished by any ordinary mode of comparison? If the expenditure in the dockyards had been compared, ours would have been shown to be double that of France; if it had been a comparison of seamen, the number voted, together with the reserve, would have been found nearly three times as great in England as in France;

had the ships in commission, or the ships afloat in the two navies, been compared, the effect would have been the reverse of what was desired. A very ingenious and perfectly original mode of comparison was adopted. The number of ships in *commission* in England was compared with the number *afloat* in France; they chanced to be 244 in each case,* and this equality was, perhaps, the temptation to adopt the new method. Had the numbers afloat in both cases been given, they would have been, as afterwards incidentally appears in the statement, 244 French and 456 English.† In justification of this mode of comparison, by which all the British vessels not having crews were left out of the account, it was alleged that, "while all the French ships that were afloat could be manned at a very short notice, it was only those which we had in commission which were in a similar position."‡ It is to be regretted that there was no Lord Clarence Paget in opposition to ask—"of what use could it be to build ships and launch them, if they were afterwards to count for nothing?" But it is curious to observe, in another part of the same statement, how this difficulty is surmounted, for, in speaking of the facility with which seamen had been obtained, it is said—

"And perhaps I had better add a more practical assurance, that, if we wished, we could not enter them (seamen) in the navy, because the number is complete, and, except for casualties, we have no means of entering any considerable number of men over and above what we have at present. I think that is a very satisfactory state of things, and that the house will be glad to hear that there is no difficulty in getting men. This vast force of ships, only the creation of the last few months, is wholly manned."§

Now, it is high time that we shook off this bugbear of the difficulty of manning the navy, and learnt to rely on the infallible law of demand and supply. Formerly, we trusted to the press-gang to steal the men; in future we shall find it a cheaper and safer method to pay the market price for them.¶

* *Hansard*, clvi. 966-9.
† *Hansard*, ib., 966-9.
‡ *Hansard*, ib., 967.
§ *Hansard*, ib., 974.
¶ "If they wanted men in the navy they must resort to the same means as a mercantile man or a millowner—namely, offer a good market price for labour. If they wanted sailors they must offer to pay sufficiently high to induce them to come forward and enter the service. To expect men to enter for low wages would only lead to disappointment; it would be found to be impossible to get them without high wages. That was the only fair and just way of obtaining them,—but hitherto the House of Commons had refused to adopt it."—Sir Charles Napier. *Hansard*, clvii. 1810.

This is illustrated by the case before us. At the moment when this statement was made, there was a bounty payable of £4 for able and £2 for ordinary seamen. It had been fixed at £10 the year before by Sir John Pakington, but it was soon found not to be necessary to pay so high a bounty to bring our navy up to 80,000 men. Now, we will suppose that a war was impending, and that the country required the services of 150,000 instead of 80,000 seamen,—is there any doubt that England could afford to pay the necessary price for them? There is no kind of skilled labour so available, because there is none so migratory and so free from local ties as that of the sailor. Let us assume a sudden and urgent necessity to arise, and that our Government offered to pay £40 a-year, to able-bodied seamen, which would be £10 or £15 more than the present pay, taking care that, the wages be paid monthly, in order to avoid the temptation to desert, which would be offered by paying a bounty in advance,—unquestionably such an offer would give the Admiralty the pick not only of our own merchant service, but of the seamen sailing out of American, German, and Scandinavian ports. Now, £40 each for 150,000 seamen amounts to just £6,000,000 a-year. It is about sixpence in the pound of the income-tax, or half the amount paid in excise and customs duties by the consumers of ardent spirits. A nation so rich as this would cheerfully pay such an amount for its defence in case of danger. It would be but the most fractional percentage of insurance on the thousands of millions worth of property in these islands, and would be only about five per cent. on the estimated average value of the ships and cargoes afloat belonging to British owners. But if it be admitted that at least on these, if not on cheaper terms, the seamen will be forthcoming in case of an impending war, what becomes of the argument that we can only calculate on manning those ships which are already in commission?

If we pursue the statement of the Secretary of the Admiralty a little more into details, we find, on comparing the whole of the screw line-of-battle ships, built and building, in the two navies, that whilst France is stated to possess thirty-seven, England is put down at fifty-nine, with the nine blockships making sixty-eight. The English frigates are set down at forty-five, and the French at forty-seven, including the fifteen old transatlantic paddle steamers. In the smaller descriptions of vessels, our number was double that of the French.

The striking fact is given in this statement that we had still twelve sailing line-of-battle ships fit for conversion into screw steamers. Now, considering that the Admiralty had, ever since 1850, professed to lay down no vessels of this class which were not expressly designed for steam machinery, thus recognising that sailing vessels were for the future obsolete, what shall be said of the policy of continuing to build new ships, and leaving twelve sailing vessels still fit to be converted in 1860, to say nothing of those which had in the interval been decaying in ordinary, and rendered unfit for conversion. And what must be thought of those who, when this mismanagement became apparent, directed the cry of alarm and resentment against France, because, by pursuing a more provident course, she had, in a shorter time, and at less expense, attained more satisfactory results than ourselves? The following is the account of the tonnage built in the past year, and estimate for the year following:—

"It may possibly be remembered that, in proposing the estimates last year, we announced our intention, of course subject to contingencies, of building 46,000 tons of shipping in the dockyards. [Sir J. Pakington: 'Exclusive of conversions?'] We said we would convert four line-of-battle ships and five frigates in addition. What we have actually built amounts to 19,730 tons in ships of the line, 13,654 in frigates, 5,436 in corvettes, and 5,224 in sloops and gun-vessels. We have not fulfilled our promise as to frigates, in which class I stated that we would build 16,000 tons, the reason being that there was an insufficiency of timber for the purpose; but we have made up for the deficiency in another way, for we have gone beyond our undertaking in the conversion of sailing into steam frigates and screw ships. What we propose doing in the present, or, as my right hon. friend

reminds me, the ensuing financial year, is to build 13,216 tons of ships of the line, 13,500 tons of frigates, 4,871 tons of corvettes, 8,045 tons of sloops and gun-vessels, and 302 tons of gunboats, making a total of 39,934 tons. In addition, we propose to convert four more line-of-battle ships and four frigates."*

The estimated constructions for the ensuing year are thus explained in ships instead of tonnage:—

"Supposing the Committee is pleased to consent to these estimates, we hope to add to the navy, before the end of the next financial year, eight line-of-battle ships, twelve frigates, four iron-cased ships, four corvettes, fifteen sloops, and twenty-three gun-vessels and gunboats. That includes the conversion of four line-of-battle ships and four frigates."†

It is impossible to deal with this proposal of the Secretary of the Admiralty to add eight line-of-battle ships and twelve frigates to our steam navy, without referring to the part he had previously taken in opposition to the further construction of large ships, for he was the first and ablest opponent of the policy which he now followed when in office. So long ago as May, 1857, he expressed his opinion that line-of-battle ships were "not the instruments by which in future the fate of empires would be decided."‡ He then advised the First Lord to "rest on his oars,"§ and stated that "an *Enquête* or Commission was sitting in France to inquire whether line-of-battle ships were or were not the most efficient class of ships which could now be employed."‖ Every circumstance which had since occurred tended to confirm the views then expressed by Lord Clarence Paget. As each new experiment with artillery displayed the destructive effects of detonating shells, or of molten iron, even the oldest admirals raised their hands and exclaimed, "There is an end of wooden ships of the line!" The *Enquête* or Commission appointed in France was known to have decided against line-of-battle ships, for in the report upon the comparative state of the English and French navies presented to the House in 1859, it is stated that naval men in France "were of opinion that no more ships of the line will be laid down, and

* *Hansard*, clvi. 978. † *Hansard*, clvi. 969.
‡ *Ante*, p. 46. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

that in ten years that class of vessels will have become obsolete."* This had reference to the successful experiments in iron-cased ships.

But, independent of this innovation, the opinion of the highest nautical authorities had been pronounced against the policy of exposing such a huge target as a line-of-battle ship, with perhaps a thousand men and thirty or forty tons of gunpowder on board, to the fire of modern shell guns. The Americans had abandoned these large ships before the iron-clad vessels were thought of, and it is stated that when their greatest authority, Captain Dahlgren, visited our ports more than three years ago, although he was much struck with the gun-boats, to which he devoted particular attention, he looked upon line-of-battle ships as all but obsolete, and considered that, so far as America was concerned, her naval policy "would render the construction of such vessels almost useless."† The condemnation of wooden ships of the line by intelligent naval men had found utterance in very emphatic phrases:—"They will be blown to lucifer matches," said one; "they will be mere human slaughter-houses," said another; whilst a third declared that, in case of two such vessels coming into collision, at close quarters, the only word of command for which there would be time would be, "Fire, and lower your boats."

The comparative numbers of these vessels possessed by England and France deprived the Admiralty of every pretext for this increase. The Secretary, in his statement, informs us that we had at the time sixty-eight ships of the line, including blockships, whilst France had only thirty-seven; and as Sir Charles Wood had stated the French force in 1847 at forty,‡ and as they were put down also at forty in the report of 1859,§ it was clear in 1860, that our neighbour had abandoned the further building of these vessels. All these facts were well known to our Government, when they were pushing forward the construction of large wooden vessels at a rate of expenditure unparalleled even at the height of the great French war. It will presently be seen, that so manifest did the impolicy of this

* *Parliamentary Paper*, 182 of 1859, p. 15.
† *The Navies of the World*, by Hans Busk, p. 116.
‡ *Anté*, 44. § *Anté*, 57.

course at length become to everybody except the Admiralty, that the common sense of the House of Commons rose in revolt the following session, and extorted from the minister a pledge to discontinue the further building of ships-of-the-line, and to abandon, unfinished, those on the stocks. The gigantic sacrifice involved in this outlay of public money will, in a very few years, be brought home to the appreciation of the British public, in the possession of hundreds of wooden vessels of different sizes which will be acknowledged to be valueless and even dangerous to their possessors, and then only will be fully estimated the system of management which could have created such a costly monument to its own recklessness and want of forethought.

It is impossible to doubt that the Secretary of the Admiralty remained unchanged in the views he had expressed when in opposition, indeed, any intelligent and unprejudiced mind must have become confirmed by experience in those sound opinions. Whilst extending to him the full benefit of that dispensation from individual responsibility which is claimed for those who become members of a government, it is to be desired, in the interest of the country, which has also its claim on the talents and judgment of public men, that some casuist, skilled in political ethics, would define the limit of inconsistency beyond which politicians shall not be allowed to wander.

The navy estimates, the unparalleled amount of which was accurately described in the brief protest of Mr. Williams, were agreed to without further opposition; and it is in connection with this fact that the reader is asked to regard the demonstration which now calls for notice.

On the 1st May, 1860, Lord Lyndhurst rose in the House of Peers, pursuant to previous notice, to call for explanations from the Government respecting the progress of the naval reserve, when he delivered a speech identical in spirit and object with that of the previous year.

Of the many voices that have been raised to agitate the public mind on the subject of our armaments, none has found a louder echo on the Continent than that of this learned peer. It is only the natural result of his high position and great ability. To him in the Lords, and Mr. Horsman and Sir

Charles Napier in the Commons, and to the connivance of successive Governments, are mainly attributed, in France, the success of the invasion panic. "The motions of Lord Lyndhurst and of Mr. Horsman," says M. Cucheval Clarigny, "the speeches and letters of Sir Charles Napier; the exaggerations, sincere or pretended, of the orators of the Government and of the opposition, about the forces of France—all had contributed to create a kind of panic in England."*

Lord Lyndhurst had, on a previous occasion, resented the remarks of an adverse critic in the House of Commons, who had alluded to his great age. It must be allowed that his speeches invite no such allusion, unless to elicit even from an opponent the tribute of admiration for their great intellectual merits. The close and logical reasoning of his latest speeches, so free from the garrulity, or the tendency to narrative, which generally take the place of argument in the discourses of the aged, presents an instance of the late preservation of the mental powers for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. In conceding to him, however, all the authority which attaches to the possession of unimpaired faculties, he becomes divested of that privilege by which the venerable in years are shielded from an unequal conflict with other men, and he must consent to be held amenable to criticism for his public utterances, and for the proper exercise of the influence which his learning and rank confer on him.

England and France had been at peace for forty-five years, and just previously a treaty of commerce had been entered into which was designed to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries. Passing over this event, with a sneer at "the further exchange of pottery and cotton for silks and wine," he seized this inopportune moment for going back half a century to disinter the buried strife of our fathers, and again to taunt our brave neighbours with their naval reverses: —"The French navy," he said, "was, by the great victory of the Nile, the victory of Lord Duncan, that of Lord St. Vincent, and the great and splendid victory of Trafalgar, reduced at the termination of the war to such a state that for twenty years after that period we remained, as far as our navy was

* *"The Navy Budgets of England and France,"*

concerned, in a state of perfect tranquillity." The aim of the speaker was to show that the restoration of the French navy was the work of Louis Napoleon. He must be allowed to be heard in his own language:—

"Such, my Lords, was the result of the efforts made during the great French war. Very little change took place until after the memorable event which I now beg to call to your attention, I mean the accession to supreme power of the present Emperor of the French. In the year 1848 he was elected President of the Republic; and in the following year that celebrated Commission was appointed for the purpose of considering the re-organisation of the navy of France. That Commission was composed of fifteen or more of the most able men selected from the navy and from the civil service of France, and they have framed a code of regulations of the most complete kind, for the purpose of stimulating and directing the efforts of the French navy. I have stated one remarkable date with respect to the issuing of that Commission. There is another date equally remarkable. No report was called for from that Commission until after the celebrated event of the 2nd of December. About twelve or fourteen days after that *coup d'état*, namely on the 15th of December, a report was called for by Louis Napoleon, and from that time the most strenuous exertions have been made to carry all the recommendations of that Committee into effect."*

Now, here are specific and tangible facts, which are not often found in speeches on this topic. In the first place, it is alleged that there was very little change in the relations of the English and French navies until after the election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic. It has been shown in the preceding pages, that the French navy bore a much larger proportion to that of England during the latter part of Louis Philippe's reign, than it has done since Louis Napoleon has been at the head of affairs. If the reader will give himself the trouble to turn to the tables in the first page, and compare the period between 1840 and 1848, with that between 1849 and 1859, he will see how much more largely the disproportion has

* *Hansard*, clviii. 425.

been to the disadvantage of France during the latter than the former period.

Next, there is an allusion to a Commission appointed in 1849, the year after the election of Louis Napoleon as President, to consider the reorganisation of the French navy, and it might be inferred that this Commission was named by the President. It was, however, an *Enquête Parlémentaire*, emanating from the National Assembly, by a law of the 31st October, 1849, at a time when Louis Napoleon had acquired no ascendancy over that body.

Then, we have the portentous revelation, that this Commission had framed "a code of regulations of the most complete kind," that no Report was called for until after the 2nd December, 1851 (the date of the *Coup d'Etat*) that about twelve or fourteen days after, "namely on the 15th December, a report was called for by Louis Napoleon, and from that time the most strenuous exertions have been made to carry all the recommendations of that Committee into effect." Now, this is not only an ingenious argument, but an effective appeal to our imaginations. Here was an ambitious man who had just thrown down the gauntlet to the National Assembly, which he had dissolved, and had appealed to the country to arbitrate between him and that body: and yet, while his fate was trembling in the balance, and it was still to be decided whether he should take a step towards the throne, or be again driven into exile, the one great dominant purpose of his life was never for a moment forgotten, the only absorbing thought of his mind was vengeance to England! How deep and enduring must have been his hate, that, even whilst the vote by universal suffrage was going on, instead of thinking of the state of the poll, he should call for the Report on the state of the navy! The argument was worthy of the speaker in his best days, in Westminster Hall; but, unluckily for the noble and learned lord, he departed from the usual vague declamation on this topic, and appealed to facts and dates. It is really almost incredible that a judicial peer, speaking in the highest assembly in the kingdom, conscious of the weight that would attach to his words, and accustomed to weigh and examine evidence, should have permitted himself to be the medium for making this extraordinary statement. These are the simple facts:—

The Commission, or *Enquête Parlémentaire*, was, as has been stated, appointed by the *Assemblée Nationale*, on the 31st October, 1849. It pursued its labours for upwards of two years, examining witnesses, visiting the dockyards, and calling for accounts and papers. The result of these investigations was printed in two thick quarto volumes, which we should call "blue books," comprising the minutes of evidence, and an appendix of official documents. The preface to these volumes, dated 30th January, 1852, gives a brief and simple narrative of the singular fate of the commission, which was cut off, at the most critical moment of its existence, by the *coup d'état* of the 2nd December, 1851, when the National Assembly itself was dissolved.

It appears that M. Dufaure, the Reporter—or, as we should say in England, the Chairman—of the Commission had read to his colleagues a part only of his Report, which was ordered to be printed, and to be distributed among the members previous to their deliberations, but the preface proceeds to say, "This was rendered impossible after the 2nd December. Neither the Commission nor the Assembly from which it emanated could meet again. Its task, therefore, remained unaccomplished." It further states that, "the whole of the resolutions of the Commission were only provisional, and on some important points they had not even deliberated": and it adds, in conclusion, that, "If the Report should be published, with the documents which ought to accompany it, it will not have been submitted to the Commission; it will only be the production of the individual Reporter, who alone will be responsible for the opinions expressed in it."

Upwards of 200 "provisional" votes of the Commission are recorded in the minutes of proceedings. The first on the list, after the routine votes, and the most important as affecting ourselves, is a recommendation that the maximum of the number of line-of-battle ships should thenceforth be forty-five; namely, thirty afloat and fifteen on the stocks, and that they should all be furnished with screws. It was a moderate limit compared with the old naval establishment of France. "From that time," says Lord Lyndhurst, "the most strenuous exertions have been made to carry all the recommendations of the Commission into effect." There were no recommendations of the

Commission, for it never made a Report. But, so far was the Government from taking prompt measures to carry out the "provisional" resolution respecting screw line-of-battle ships, that in 1854, in the height of the Crimean war, the French had only ten screw liners;* and Sir Charles Napier stated that they had but one in the Baltic in that year.† Indeed, it is now universally agreed, that it was subsequently to that period that serious efforts were made to convert the French sailing ships into a steam navy: "the great increase in the naval force of France," says a writer already quoted, "may, therefore, be considered to date from the Crimean war."‡

But the gravest inaccuracy in Lord Lyndhurst's statement remains to be noticed, where he links the present state of the French navy with the labours of the Commission of 1849. "The result of that Commission," he said, "and of the admirable system which was formed under it, has turned out to be a formidable navy—a formidable navy of steam-vessels, to which alone I confine my observations."§ He was clearly not aware of what had taken place subsequently to the untimely dissolution of that body. In 1855, a Commission was appointed by the Emperor's Government, to consider the organisation of the navy; and the result was a Report from the Minister of Marine, which was approved by a decree of the Emperor, in 1857, fixing the number of ships to be built, from year to year, until 1870; and this decree was published to the whole world. The line-of-battle ships were to reach a maximum of forty, instead of forty-five, as recommended by the resolution of the Commission of 1849. The Report contains the exact nomenclature of French shipping, with the strength of each ship in guns and horse-power. In fact, if it were not for the innovations which science is incessantly making, involving the reconstruction of her navy, all Europe might know, from this decree, for nearly ten years to come, what ships of all kinds France would possess.

If we turn to that part of Lord Lyndhurst's speech, which referred to the state of our own navy, we shall find that, instead of dealing with the Estimates of the year in which he spoke,

* *Navies of the World*, p. 88.
† *Hansard*, clv. 702.
‡ *Navies of the World*, p. 89.
§ *Hansard*, clviii. 426.

he preferred to revive those figures of Sir John Pakington, which had done such good service the previous year. Leaving totally out of view upwards of 300 of our steam ships of war afloat, ranging from corvettes to gun-boats, all capable of carrying the heaviest guns, and the hundreds of large merchant-steamers which would be available in case of war, and omitting all allusion to the great increase in our ships of the line and frigates during the preceding year, he thus proceeded to lay before his audience the state of our navy:—

"At the beginning of last year, our fleet consisted of twenty-nine sail of the line, and the French fleet of precisely the same number; while we had twenty-six frigates, they had thirty-four." And he added, with singular candour, that "what addition has been made to our fleet, since the commencement of last year, I am not informed." It would have been only an act of ordinary prudence to have perused the speech of Lord Clarence Paget, delivered more than two months before; or, at least, to have possessed himself of a copy of the Navy Estimates for 1860. He would have then learnt that England had 456 steamers of all kinds afloat, against 244 in France; and it would have saved him from falling into the erroneous opinion which he expressed, in proceeding to say: "I do not imagine that at this moment our fleet exceeds, or if it does, only in a small degree, the steam naval force of France."

The object of the speech, however, was to show the danger we were in from want of seamen,—a point on which the noble speaker would also have been better informed, if he had perused the speech of the Secretary of the Admiralty, who had taken a vote for 85,500 men and boys, and had declared that more seamen were offering than the Admiralty required. "In point of material," said Lord Lyndhurst, "that is to say in ships, you are far below the requirements of the country; while, so far as the manning of the ships is concerned, you are in a situation the most deplorable. I do not mince the matter. Our position, in this respect, ought to be known throughout the country. No man ought to be ignorant of the real facts of the case."* Now, considering that he was, by his own con-

* *Hansard*, clviii. 435.

fession at the moment, in ignorance of all that had occurred in the navy since the previous year, this confident tone of the speaker implied, at least, a strong belief in the favourable temper of his audience.

And it was undoubtedly to this favourable state of feeling in the Peers that the success of these speeches, both indoors and without, was mainly due; for they did not contain one fact that would bear the test of fair examination. The Upper House had, indeed, been the platform whence this invasion agitation spread throughout a large portion of the middle ranks of society. The Peers had made it fashionable to believe in the hostile designs of Louis Napoleon, and it became, to a certain extent, a test of respectability to be zealous in the promotion of rifle-corps, and other means of defending the country. To contend against the probability of invasion was to take the side of the enemy, to be called anti-English, or accused of being for peace at any price; nay, to require even proofs or arguments to show the reality of the danger, was to invite suspicion of want of patriotism. There was a kind of genteel terrorism exerted over everybody in "society," which, for a time, put down all opposition to the invasion party,—which was tacitly understood to be the aristocratic, anti-radical party. This *animus* (reminding one of 1791) reveals itself in the speech before us in a manner which would have been to the last degree impolitic, if there had really been any danger from a foreign enemy, requiring "every class to unite in support of the honour and independence of the nation." In his concluding sentences, the noble speaker, who is too logical to have introduced such irrelevant matter had it not been to conciliate those he was addressing, protests against a reform of Parliament, and animadverts severely on those whom he characterises as being in favour of direct taxation or desirous of introducing among us the social "equality, without liberty, that exists in France," or who are seeking to "pull down the wealthier and aristocratic classes."

The Duke of Somerset, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in his reply to Lord Lyndhurst, gave the following account of the labour which the Government was employing in the construction of those large wooden vessels which had been

condemned as worse than useless by some of the highest naval authorities in Europe and America*:—

"And I can say that during the last eight months more men have been employed in our dockyards than at any previous period of the history of the country. I do not exclude the time of the great war, down to 1815; and in this statement, I exclude the factories altogether, which form another great division of our naval establishments. I speak of the ship-building department only."

* * * *

"The noble and learned lord referred to the ships which we have now afloat. I find that we have built, and that there are now afloat, fifty ships of the line.

"*Lord Lyndhurst.*—Do you include block-ships?

"*The Duke of Somerset.*—I am not taking the block-ships into account." †

The little question and answer, at the close of the above extract, illustrates the manner in which the Coast-Guard block-ships are, by all Governments, left out of the numerical list of our ships of the line. It is true, they are sometimes alluded to, incidentally, as being fit for guarding harbours or mouths of rivers. But the question always recurs: seeing that these ships have the full complement of officers, the most complete armament, and picked seamen provided for them, seeing that they have a fleet of fifteen to twenty steam gun-boats attached to them, besides sailing vessels, and that they are all placed under a flag-officer,—why, during the time when scores of good sailing line-of-battle ships were decaying in ordinary, were not some of them fitted with screws and substituted for such of the block-ships, as are alleged to be not fit for Channel service? Some people will be uncharitable enough to suspect that the object is to have an excuse for another Channel fleet.

The following is the manner in which the "First Lord"

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* Lord Clarence Paget had, a fortnight previously stated, in the House of Commons, that "the total number of persons employed in the dockyards, on the 1st March, was 20,032"; and he stated subsequently (8th June), that the greatest number employed during the great war with France, was only 14,754."—*Hansard*, clvii. 2014.

† *Hansard*, clviii. 438-9.

replied to Lord Lyndhurst upon the progress which had been made since the previous year in manning the navy:—

"The noble and learned lord says we have the ships, but the ships are not half manned; but it so happens, that it is just the contrary difficulty under which we have laboured. On coming into office, I found certain estimates prepared, and a £10 bounty in existence. I adopted these, and before the month of August I found that the number of men voted by Parliament was exceeded by 1000. The news of the Chinese disaster arrived in September, and I did not think it was prudent, under these circumstances, to put a stop to the enrolment of seamen; the result is that, for the last six months, we have been 5000 in excess of the vote. This year we determined to cover that larger number by a larger vote, but they were still coming in so rapidly that I was obliged to come to the determination only to take able seamen, or ordinary seamen who had already served on board the fleet and been drilled to the guns. When the noble and learned lord says, that, if we look to the last month or so, it will be found that we were not getting men; of course that was so. The men we have are included in the estimates, and it was not likely I should be taking additional men when I had already 5,000 men more than had been provided for."*

This statement completely cut the ground from under the feet of Lord Lyndhurst;—but it did more,—it showed that the Government had no excuse for entertaining the question of a reserve at that moment at all. The formation of a reserve would be a legitimate measure in connection with a peace establishment; but our navy was not on a peace footing. Let the reader be good enough to turn to the accounts in the first page, and placing his finger on the number of men in the English navy in 1852, the year before the Russian war, let him run his eye back over the table to the commencement in 1835, and he will find only four years in the eighteen in which the Seamen were *one half* the number (85,500) voted for 1860; and the highest number on record in a year of peace previous to the Russian war was 44,960.

The French state their complement of men for 1860 at 30,588, namely 26,329 afloat, and 4,259 in reserve. But as the

* *Hansard*, clviii. 440.

accounts for 1860 are not yet definitively audited, this *estimate* as it may be called, is open to the objection which has been recognised from the first. It will be better to take an authority which will not be disputed on this side of the water. In the month of March following, Lord Carence Paget* states the number of French seamen at 34,000, of which 10,000 were from the military conscription or landsmen. This statement was repeated by Lord Palmerston.† The reader is now asked to refer to the accounts in the first page, and casting his eye over the table of men in the French navy from 1852 back to the commencement, to compare the 34,000 maintained in 1860 with the numbers in each of those eighteen years. He will not find an increase comparable with that in the English table. In more than one of those years, the number exceeded that of 1860, and in many years of Louis Philippe's reign the numbers approached very nearly to that of the above year.

The more important test, however, is the *proportion* of force maintained by each of the two countries in 1860 and at former periods. The reader's attention is especially asked to this point, for it involves the whole question at issue as to the alleged responsibility of France for the great increase in our naval armaments. Turning to the accounts, we find, on looking down the two columns of seamen, that England generally had about twenty-five or thirty per cent more men than France. In portions of Louis Philippe's reign the superiority was much less on the side of England. In 1840-41, for instance, France approached very nearly to an equality with us. Taking the average number maintained by France for the whole period of eighteen years down to 1852, the year before the Russian war, and comparing it with the average number maintained by England, they were 27,962 French and 38,085 English. In 1860, as we have seen, they were 34,000 French and 85,500 English. In other words, in the former period our navy had 10,123 more seamen than France, and at the latter date the excess was 51,500.

But we are told, that the Maritime Inscription gives to the French Government the right of calling upon the whole of the merchant seamen to serve in the imperial navy. This power was, however, equally possessed by the Government of Louis

* *Hansard*, clxi. 1774. † *Hansard*, ib., 1789.

Philippe. The Maritime Inscription is an institution nearly two centuries old. It is a register which comprises every youth and man following a sea life, or employed on rivers running to the sea, or working in dockyards, etc., who are all liable to serve in the Government navy. The number of available seamen is apt to be much exaggerated, owing to the large proportion of landsmen included in the Inscription. The best way of comparing the naval resources of the two countries is by a reference to the amount of their merchant shipping. England possesses at least four times the tonnage of France, exclusive of colonial shipping; and although the ships of the latter country carry larger crews than those of the former, on the other hand the English people take more freely to the sea for boating, yachting, and fishing, than their neighbours. It is quite certain, then, that England has four times as many sailors to draw on as France, and against the power of impressment possessed by her, we must put the ability to pay for the services of our seamen which is possessed by England. If France has 60,000 merchant seamen from whence to draw by impressment the crews of her imperial marine, we have 240,000 to supply the men for the royal navy, in case of real emergency, by the equally sure process of voluntary enlistment for high pay.*

Lord Hardwicke, who ought to be well informed on the subject, remarked, in the course of this debate, that "it was stated that the French had a reserve of 60,000; but he believed it was known to officers of their own fleet, that not more than half that number was at any time available to man the navy. 30,000 trained seamen was, however, a most formidable force, etc."† But let us suppose the whole of these 30,000 men added

* The following statement of the loss and gain by impressment, made by Lord Clarence Paget, shows, that it is a very unreliable mode of manning the navy:—"During the years 1811, 1812, and 1813, the closing period of the great war with France, there were pressed into the service 29,405 men, while the number of those who deserted was 27,300—so that the total gain to the country, during those three years, by impressment was 2,105 men. But, in order to bring those men thus compulsorily into the service, 3,000 good sailors had been employed on shore as press-gangs Therefore the country actually lost about 1,000 men during those three years under the system."—*Hansard*, cliv. 909.

† *Hansard*, clviii 449.

to the French imperial marine, nay, let us even empty every merchant ship of their able-bodied crews, and suppose that 50,000 in addition to the present 34,000 were placed at the service of the French Government, and it would still leave the number less by 1,500 than the 85,500 men that had been already voted by our Parliament for 1860; and we were told the men were pressing to enter the service faster than the Admiralty required them.

That, under such circumstances, a Government should lend its sanction to the cry of the alarmists, and pretend to be occupied in securing a reserve to protect us against France, was something like an abuse of public confidence. All this costly and complete preparation to meet some hypothetical danger implies a total want of faith in those latent resources of the nation which patriotism would evoke in the event of a real emergency. It has been frequently said by those most competent to judge, that, in case of actual danger to our shores, the merchant seamen, of whom about one-third are estimated to be always in port, would come forward to a man for the defence of the country.

The opinion of the seamen themselves on this subject was no doubt correctly expressed in a few words of manly common sense quoted by the Duke of Somerset, as the declaration of the sailors of Hartlepool:—They say, "We are doing well in the merchant service, and we do not want to be sent out to any of your little wars, to China or the River Plate, or any of those places where you are always carrying on some small hostilities; but when it comes to a regular European war, we will take our share in it with any men."*

Such were the naval armaments of the two counrries in 1860. England had added to her navy since 1857 nearly as many men as were contained in the whole marine of France. Yet, during the spring and summer of this year, the cry of alarm was still heard, and, with a view to the greater security of our shores, the Rifle Corps movement was actively promoted under the most influential patronage. Already it was announced, that the numbers enrolled in the Corps amounted to 130,000, and it was said that the foreigner had been impressed in a salutary manner

* *Hansard*, clviii. 444.

by this martial demonstration. All this was, however, insufficient; and we now approach the climax of the third panic in the gigantic project for fortifications shortly to be initiated in the House of Commons.

A passing notice must, however, be taken of one or two of the little episodes in Parliament, which reflected the nervous excitement of certain classes out of doors. Mr. Kinglake "had been informed that great preparations were being urged forward for the supply of horse transports on the north coast of France."* Sir Charles Napier had heard from an American traveller that there were 14,000 men at work in Toulon dockyards, besides 3,000 convicts.† Both Houses of Parliament were simultaneously agitated upon the subject of a report which had appeared in the newspapers, announcing that English shipwrights were finding employment in Cherbourg and other French dockyards. Numbers of artificers were crowding to the police magistrates to obtain passports. The subject was brought under the notice of the Lords by Viscount Dungannon, and of the Commons by Mr. Johnstone, the latter said, "from information he had received, there were at this moment between 1,200 and 1,300 of our skilled artisans employed in the French dockyards," and he added, that "it was a very grave matter that some of our best shipwrights should be employed in building French ships."‡ Lord Clarence Paget replied that the regulations did not allow foreigners to work in French dockyards.

The Duke of Somerset stated, in answer to the question in the Lords, that the only vessel now being built in Cherbourg was a transport; that so far from the French taking on fresh hands, several hundreds of their own workpeople had been lately discharged; and that the British shipwrights who had gone there in consequence of the statements which had appeared in the English newspapers, not being able to find work, had "fallen into a pitiable condition, and bitterly repented their credulity."§

On the 23rd July, 1860, Lord Palmerston brought forward the Government measure, for "the construction of works for the defence of the royal dockyards and arsenals, and of the ports

* *Hansard*, clvi. 519. † *Hansard*, clviii. 1309.
‡ *Hansard*, clix. 209. § *Hansard*, clix. 844.

of Dover and Portland, and for the creation of a central arsenal," when he delivered what was pronounced by Mr. Horsman to be one of the most serious and alarming speeches he ever heard delivered by a minister of the Crown in the time of peace," and which he declared he had heard with "satisfaction."* This must be admitted to have been only natural, for Mr. Horsman found himself and his views in the ascendant. A Commission had been appointed (at the pressing instance, as he informed us, of Sir De Lacy Evans) to devise a scheme of fortifications, whose report, now laid before the House and adopted by the Government, recommended an expenditure, spread over a series of years, of £11,000,000, but which the opponents of the scheme predicted would, according to all analogous precedent, result in an outlay of double the amount.

The most striking feature of this speech is, that it does not contain one syllable of allusion to the navy—for which nearly £13,000,000 had been voted this year—as a means of defending our shores.† The only supposition of a naval battle is, that it occurs after the successful landing of a considerable force for the purpose of destroying our dockyards, and "cutting up our navy by the roots;" and then we are told that, if any naval action were to take place, whatever the success might be, "our enemy would have his dockyards, arsenals, and stores to refit and replenish, and reconstruct his navy; whilst, with our dockyards burnt, and our stores destroyed, we should have no means of refitting our navy and sending it out again to battle."‡

* *Hansard*, clx. 565.

† If the Secretary of the Admiralty keep a private diary, there will be found, probably, inserted a commentary on this speech not unlike the following, made on a similar occasion by his predecessor in the reign of Charles II.:—

"*March* 22, 1667.—The Duke of York, instead of being at sea as admiral, is now going from port to port, as he is this day at Harwich, and was the other day with the king at Sheerness, and hath ordered at Portsmouth how fortifications shall be made to oppose the enemy in case of invasion, which is to us a sad consideration, and shameful to the nation, especially for so many proud vaunts as we have made against the Dutch [French ?]."—*Pepys' Diary*.

‡ *Hansard*, clx. 25.

There is then a description of our large exports and imports, "our 10,000,000 quarters of corn imported annually, besides enormous quantities of coffee, sugar, tea, and of cotton, which is next in importance to corn for the support of the people"; followed by a picture of the consequences which would result from "such places as Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and London, that is to say the Thames, being blockaded by a hostile force."

But not only is it assumed, that an enemy has landed, but that an army is menacing the metropolis itself, and the fortifications of the dockyards are described as the "means for the defence of London, because they will set free a large amount of force for the defence of the capital by operations in the field," for it is contended that, "if large forces are required to defend your dockyards, you cannot concentrate for the defence of London that amount of force which would be necessary to meet an invading army." And again—"The only defence for London is an army in the field; and any means which enable you to make that army as large as your military establishments will allow are directly subservient to the defence of the capital itself."* There is not one syllable to indicate that we had at that moment a fleet with 85,500 seamen, whilst, according to the authority of the Prime Minister himself, the French navy contained only 34,000 men.

It must, however, here be stated, that Lord Palmerston has a peculiar theory respecting the effect of steam navigation on our maritime strength, which he proceeds to develop. He contends, that as long as the movement of ships depended on the chances of the weather, "and as long as naval warfare was carried on by means of sailing ships, we were in a position, by our superior skill and aptitude for the sea and for naval combat, to rest upon the strength which we then had afloat."—And he proceeds to say:

"The same difficulties which interposed in 1804-5 to prevent a large army drawn up on the opposite coast of the Channel from crossing over to this country, continued to exist; and, therefore successive Governments were justified in abstaining from any great effort for the purpose of artificial protection to

* *Hansard*, clx. 25, 26.

our dockyards and other vulnerable points. But the introduction of steam changed this state of things. The adoption of steam as a motive power afloat totally altered the character of naval warfare, and deprived us of much of the advantages of our insular position. Operations which, if not impossible, were at least extremely difficult while sailing vessels alone were employed, became comparatively easy the moment that steam was introduced; and, in fact, as I remember Sir Robert Peel stating, steam had bridged the Channel, and, for the purposes of aggression, had almost made this country cease to be an island."*

They who have sat for the last twenty years in the House of Commons, have observed throughout the successive debates on our National Defences, the constant reiteration of the opinion, on the part of the present Prime Minister, that the application of steam to navigation has supplied greater facilities for offence than defence; that it has, in fact, deprived us of our great bulwark, by throwing what he has repeatedly called a "steam bridge" over the Channel. It has been remarked, also, that many other speakers have adopted his view, at the same time, assigning to him the merit of its authorship. Thus, for instance, in the long debate on the Militia Bill of 1852, Mr. Walpole quoted this argument, as "so forcibly urged, on more than one occasion in the course of the debate, by the noble member for Tiverton"†; and Lord Lyndhurst urged the same view, with a similar acknowledgment of its origin.‡ It would, however, be difficult to adduce the testimony of one eminent authority in favour of this opinion, whilst a host of naval officers and others might be quoted on the other side. Two or three examples must suffice:—

Admiral Berkeley, a Lord of the Admiralty, in his evidence before the Committee on the Navy, in 1848, said, "I believe, myself, that the power which steam has given us, if we make use of it properly, is the best guarantee we have against invasion, if we choose to make use of our resources, and organise those resources in the best manner." §

Sir Thomas Hastings, President of the Commission for Coast

* *Hansard*, clx. 18. † *Hansard*, cxx. 1176.
‡ *Ante*, 72. § *Minutes of Evidence*, 3850.

Defences, under Sir Robert Peel's Government, in his evidence before the Ordnance Committee, of 1849, expressed the same opinion, and almost in the same terms.*

The opinion of Sir Charles Napier was thus expressed:—"With regard to the effect of steam, it had been said that it made blockading impossible; but, on the contrary, he believed that steam had, for the first time, made blockading effectual; for with a steam fleet it would be impossible for the ships blockaded to escape without the knowledge of the blockading squadron, as they had done in former times, when they landed in Ireland, and when the great portion of the fleet escaped from Brest unknown to those who were watching them."†

Captain Scobell, late member for Bath, whose utterances on Naval questions were characterised by a robust common sense, stated in the House that "he remembered being employed in blockading Boulogne, where the invading army of Napoleon was to have embarked, and his opinion was that this country was more vulnerable then than now, the agency of steam had done so much to strengthen it; for calms and fogs would have assisted the enemy much more then than now."‡

Sir Morton Peto thus gives expression to the scientific view of the question:—"We live in eventful times. The future of any nation will no longer be determined by its courage alone; science and its practical applications will decide our future battles; and surely this should not be a source of weakness, but of strength. We have unlimited supplies of iron and of coal; we have the best practical and scientific engineers. Our country has been the birth-place of the steam-engine itself. The rest of the world have copied us in its application to the thousand ways in which it has contributed to the advancement of civilisation and progress. It is a new thing that has happened to our country, that in naval affairs, instead of leading, we are taught by France and the rest of Europe."§

In a quotation given above, from Lord Palmerston's speech, there is a very curious error in attributing to Sir Robert Peel an opinion on this subject the very opposite of that which he

* *Minutes of Evidence*, 5021.
† *Hansard*, clx. 545.
‡ *Hansard*, cxix. 1448.
§ *Hansard*, clxii. 437

entertained. It is a singular illustration of the fallibility of even the best of memories, that there should have been put into the mouth of that minister, in perfect good faith, no doubt, language, respecting a "steam bridge," which he emphatically repudiated, so long ago as 1845, when uttered by the very statesman who now assigned to him its authorship. The incident is so curious, that, for correct illustration, the quotations must be given textually, and in juxtaposition:—

Lord Palmerston (July 30, 1845.) "In reference to steam-navigation, what he said was, that the progress which had been made had converted the ordinary means of transport into a steam-bridge."*

Sir Robert Peel (same date in reply). "The noble lord (Lord Palmerston) appeared to retain the impression that our means of defence were rather abated by the discovery of steam-navigation. He was not at all prepared to admit that. He thought that the demonstration which we could make of our steam-navy was one which would surprise the world; and as the noble lord had spoken of steam-bridges, he would remind him that there were two parties who could play at making them."†

Lord Palmerston (July 23, 1860.) "And, in fact, as I remember Sir Robert Peel stating, steam had bridged the Channel, and for the purpose of aggression had almost made this country cease to be an island."‡

The above citations, if they do not warrant the conclusion, that the theory of steam-navigation having rendered our shores more vulnerable to attack originated exclusively with the present Prime Minister, prove at least, beyond dispute, that in the costly application of that theory to this plan of fortifications, he has been acting in opposition to the recorded opinions of the most eminent statesman, and the highest professional and practical authorities of the age.

But to return to the speech before us. There is one striking resemblance between all the oratorical efforts on the invasion question, in their total omission of all allusion to the numerical

* *Hansard*, lxxxii. 1233.
† *Ibid.*
‡ *Hansard*, clx. 18.

strength of our own forces. If the reader will take the trouble to refer back to the speech delivered by the noble lord on the 30th July, 1845, when urging Sir Robert Peel's Government to an increase of our armaments, it will be found that our peril then arose from the existence in France of an army of "340,000 men, fully equipped, including a large force of cavalry and artillery; and, in addition to that, 1,000,000 of the National Guard."* The danger on the present occasion is owing to "an army of six hundred and odd thousand men, of whom four hundred and odd thousand are actually under arms, and the remainder are merely on furlough, and can be called into the ranks in a fortnight."† The million of National Guards of France had disappeared; but there is no allusion to the addition which we had in the mean time made to our own force of more than 200,000 volunteers and militia, besides the large increase of regulars.

But this characteristic omission will be more apparent in the case of the navies. In 1845, we were told that the French had a fleet in "commission and half commission" equal to that of this country. We are now informed, that "the utmost exertions have been made, and still are making, to create a navy very nearly equal to our own—a navy which cannot be required for purposes of defence for France, and which, therefore, we are justified in looking upon as a possible antagonist we may have to encounter—a navy which, under present arrangements, would give to our neighbours the means of transporting, within a few hours, a large and formidable number of troops to our coast."‡ To bring the statement, that the French Government had been, and still was, striving to create a navy very nearly equal to our own, once more to the test of figures, let us compare the increase which had taken place in the two navies in the interval between 1847, the last year of Louis Philippe's reign, and 1860, the year in which this speech was made. The comparison is limited to the men, because the definitive audit of the French accounts not being yet published for 1860, it will avoid all dispute to take the present number of

* *Ante*, p. 6. † *Hansard*, clx. 22.
‡ *Hansard*, clx. 23.

French seamen on the authority of the Prime Minister at 34,000,* although the French *Estimate* admits only 30,588.

Strength of the English and French Navies in Number of Seamen, in the Years 1847 *and* 1860.

	1847. No. of Men.	1860. No. of Men.	Increase.
English . .	44,969	85,500	English 40,531
French . .	32,169	34,000	French 1,831

It will be seen, by the above figures, that whilst England had increased her force 40,531 men, France had augmented hers only 1831. If the French estimate of the number of their seamen be correctly given, which has not been disproved by any statement of facts, then the force maintained by them is actually less in 1860 than it was in 1847. Nor must it be forgotten, that in proposing the Navy Estimates, the Secretary of the Admiralty had informed us a few months before that we had 456 steamers afloat to 244 French. It has been shown, too, that our dockyard expenditure for wages in 1859 was £1,582,112, whilst in France it amounted to £772,931, or less than one-half; and in proof that this activity in the Government yards had been unabated in 1860, it is only necessary to refer to the First Lord's statement on the 1st May, already quoted,† that during the preceding eight months more men had been employed in our dockyards than at any previous time, not even excepting the period of the great war with France which terminated in 1815.

It must here be mentioned, that this state of things led to the publication of a semi-official French pamphlet, in the summer of 1860, under the sanction of the Minister of State, with a view to expose the unprecedented and disproportionate increase of our navy, as compared with that of France. This pamphlet‡ contains a detailed comparison of the English and French naval expenditures, accompanied with elaborate statistics of their respective forces. The writer of these pages has, how-

* *Hansard*, clxi. 1789. † *Ante*, p. 101.
‡ *The Navy Budgets of France and England.* By M. Cucheval Clarigny.

ever, preferred to rely exclusively upon official sources of information; namely, the definitively audited accounts of France, and our own parliamentary reports, and the statements of our official men.

Such were the comparative forces of the two countries, when the speech under consideration was delivered. Englishmen had a perfect right, if they saw in the act no derogation from the attitude of their fathers, who boasted of needing "no bulwarks, no towers along the steep," to ensconce themselves behind fortifications, in addition to a fleet of more than double the strength of that of France. It was purely a question of security and national honour, and in itself was not an aggressive measure towards other countries. It was made an act of offence towards France, solely by the speech which accompanied it, and which was an amplification of the invasion-speeches of 1845 and 1851. The objects of the invaders were now more minutely described; they were to make a sudden descent on our shores, to burn and destroy our naval arsenals, and this not with a view to conquest, for the speaker "dismissed from his mind the idea that any foreign power would dream of conquering this country with the view of permanent possession;" nor did he believe that an invasion would "ever be likely to be attended with permanent advantage to an enemy, except in so far as it might inflict injury on this country." The argument, in fact, assumed that we were in precisely the same state of insecurity as if our neighbours had been a barbarous tribe whose actions were inspired by mere love of vengeance and plunder, without any restraining forethought or calculation of consequences, and who afforded none of those hostages for peace which are to be found in the possession of great wealth, or extensive manufactures and commerce.

There was a tone of assumed defencelessness on our part pervading the whole speech, which found repeated utterance in such phrases as, "You cannot, you are not entited to rely upon the forbearance of a stronger neighbour," or, "For the sake of peace, it is desirable that we should not live upon forbearance, but that we should be able fully and effectually to defend ourselves." The speaker then assumes that a difficulty has arisen with some foreign power, and says, "With the utmost desire that such matters may be amicably adjusted; yet, if one country

is greatly the stronger, and another country greatly the weaker, it is very difficult for any arrangement to be made"; and then, that there may be no doubt which is the feebler party, it is assumed that, "the weaker power consists of a high-spirited and patriotic nation, with free institutions and with the popular feeling manifested on every occasion by means of a free press." Now, if such language had been addressed to a people whose shores were really in danger from a more powerful neighbour, this would have been a legitimate appeal to their patriotism, but when it emanated from the Prime Minister of a nation, whose ability to defend its coasts was double that of its neighbour to assail them, such an attitude was very similar to what, in individual life, would be represented by a man, in possession of both his hands, taunting and accusing another, possessing but one, with the design of assaulting him.

There was a remarkable contrast between the present speech, and those delivered by the same speaker in 1845 and 1851—a contrast all the more significant that he was now Prime Minister, whereas on former occasions he spoke only as an opposition member of parliament; namely, that it did not content itself with an abstract hypothesis of a possible invasion, but pointed to France as the menacing cause of actual danger. The cry of "Wolf!" had been so repeatedly heard for fifteen years, that it seemed as though it was necessary not only to name the wolf itself, but to depict the scowling aspect and crouching attitude of the beast of prey. The following passage leaves no doubt about the quarter from whence the attack was to be expected:—

"Now, Sir, as to the necessity for these works, I think it is impossible for any man to cast his eyes over the face of Europe, and to see and hear what is passing without being convinced that the future is not free from danger. It is difficult to say where the storm may burst; but the horizon is charged with clouds which betoken the possibility of a tempest. *The Committee of course knows, that, in the main, I am speaking of our immediate neighbours across the Channel, and there is no use in disguising it.*"*

* *Hansard*, clx. 21.

To appreciate fully the scope and bearing of these words, it is necessary to refer to the precise circumstances under which they were spoken. The speech was delivered on the 23rd July, 1860. At that moment, the negociation of the details of the Commercial Treaty with France, upon the liberal arrangement of which depended the whole success of the measure, was at its most critical and important stage. The public mind was under considerable misapprehension respecting the progress of the measure, owing to the systematic misrepresentations which were promulgated in certain political circles, and by a portion of the press.* The British ministry alone knew that, up to that time, the French Government had manifested a disposition to carry out the details of the Treaty with even unexpected liberality, and they could not have been unaware how important it was, at such a juncture, to preserve a conciliatory tone towards that Government. It was, at this critical moment, that the speech burst upon the negociations in Paris. Had its object been to place the British Commissioners at the greatest possible disadvantage, it could not have more effectually accomplished the purpose. It cut the ground from under their feet, in so far as the French Government had been actuated by the political motives (apart from politico-economical considerations) of seeking to strengthen the friendly relations of the two countries as represented by their governments. This plea of high state-policy, with which the Emperor's government had met the complaints of the powerful interests which believed themselves compromised by the Treaty, was in a moment silenced and turned against itself. The offensive passages in the speech were instantly transferred to the pages of the protectionist organs, accompanied with loud expostulations addressed to their own government: "You are sacrificing us," they said, "in the hope of conciliating the political alliance of our ancient rival; and now, behold the reward you are receiving at the hands of the

* In justice to the newspaper press, which almost universally took a hopeful view of the Treaty, and gave a generous support to the negociations, the notorious exception must be mentioned. The *Times* persisted in its attacks and misrepresentations, until silenced by the all but unanimous expression of opinion on the part of the manufacturing and commercial community in favour of the Treaty.

Prime Minister of England." These taunts resounded in the salons of the enlightened Minister of Commerce, and murmurs were heard even in the palace itself. A profound sensation was produced among all classes by this speech; and no other words could adequately express the emotions experienced by the French negociators, but astonishment and indignation. Had the Emperor seized the occasion for instantly suspending the negociations, he would have undoubtedly performed a most popular part; but on this, as on other occasions, his habitual calmness and self-mastery prevailed, and to these qualities must be mainly attributed the successful issue of the Treaty.

It is impossible to construct any theory of motives to account for this speech, consistent with a wise or serious statesmanship, and it probably met with the only appropriate commentary, in the following remarks which fell from Mr. Bernal Osborne:—

"At the commencement of the session, I gave my humble support to a Commercial Treaty with France, under the idea that I was promoting good and substantial relations with that country. The noble lord (Lord Palmerston) has told us that we should not speak of this Treaty with levity; but his actions are inconsistent with his words, for the resolution before us is the oddest sequel imaginable to a Commercial Treaty. After taking off all the duties on French manufactures, we are asked to vote nominally £9,000,000, though I believe it will ultimately be nearer £20,000,000, for the construction of defences to keep out our friends and customers. Why, Sir, if this was not an expensive amusement, it would be the most ludicrous proceeding ever proposed to a deliberative assembly." *

This project was voted by the House on the 2nd August, after a few hours' debate, in which scarcely any of the leading members spoke. Mr. Sidney Herbert, who took a prominent part in the discussion, declared that it was unwise in England "to leave a great temptation—to leave her vast property and her reputation at stake, and at the mercy of any nation which may choose to send an expedition in consequence of some diplomatic quarrel"; † —totally oblivious of the 456 Government steamers, the 85,500

* *Hansard*, clx. 553. † *Hansard*, ib. 506.

seamen, and upwards of 300,000 armed men, including volunteers, then ready to meet an invading enemy!* This was spoken ten days after the delivery of the Prime Minister's speech, which had, of course, produced its natural effect out of doors, and to which Mr. Herbert could thus triumphantly appeal, in replying to Mr. Bright:—

"Is it not a fact, I ask him, that the whole nation is full of alarm and suspicion? The people feel that they ought to obtain security at any price. We have, therefore, spent a large sum in putting our stores and munitions of war in order. We have an increase of the army—not a large increase, it is true, but still an increase. All these things are cheerfully borne by the people, and more is called for—more, perhaps, than the Government are willing to do. Is not that an indication that there must, in the minds of an immense majority of the people, be some cause for alarm? The country feels that it is not in a proper state of defence, and that, if we deal with the question at all, we should deal with the whole of it if we can. Such are the feelings which I believe animate the public out of doors."†

This is a fair illustration of the manner in which panics are created and sustained. A Government proposes a large expenditure for armaments, on the plea that France is making vast warlike preparations; and the public, being thereby impressed with a sense of impending danger, takes up the cry of alarm, when the Minister quotes the echo of his own voice as a justification of his policy, and a sufficient answer to all opponents. This mode of argument was thus commented upon on a subsequent occasion by Mr. Bright, when replying to another speaker:—

"But he knows perfectly well that what is called the country must necessarily take its opinions at second-hand. Manufacturers, farmers, professional men, shopkeepers, artisans, and

* With a similar obliviousness of our own armaments, the Fortifications Bill was thus greeted by the Earl of Ellenborough in the Lords:—"I have, during the last thirteen years, endeavoured to draw the attention of this House and the country to the almost defenceless state of the realm, earnestly desiring that we should not remain unarmed in the midst of an armed world."—*Hansard*, clx. 1563.

† *Hansard*, clx. 502.

labourers do not con over these blue-books of ours, and read the accounts minutely given in the French votes. They know very little of this. They take their opinions from what is stated in this House and in the public press. And, of course, when there are men of the high position of the noble lord at the head of the Government and others associated with him, who have been in the service of the country for twenty, thirty, or forty years, it is only reasonable that the opinions which they express, and the statements which are made in their hearing, but which they do not take the trouble to contradict, should sink into the minds of the people, and become with them a fixed belief, although founded upon no knowledge whatever."*

This gigantic scheme of fortifications is without a parallel in any single project of the kind; and, judging by the analogy of Keyham and the Channel Islands, it may be predicted that, if allowed to go on, it will eventually involve an expenditure of double the amount of the original estimate. In the course of the debate Mr. Sidney Herbert stated that "it was chiefly on the advice of Sir Howard Douglas that the Government acted in making the proposition they now made."† Now it is known that this officer entertained to the last a faith in large wooden ships, and even believed that sailing line-of-battle ships would play a part in future naval wars. He could form no idea of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the other dockyards, but that which was suggested by the past appearance of their harbours, crowded with wooden vessels, some in commission or half commission, some afloat in ordinary, and others in process of construction, with timber enough in store for two or three years' consumption, at the rate of thirty or forty thousand loads a-year. The scheme of fortifications approved by him might be very consistent with these views.

But if in accordance with the advice of Sir William Arm-

* *Hansard*, clxi. 1785.

† *Hansard*, clx. 562. It is one of the evils of our day that men are often retained in the direction of great national undertakings long beyond the period of life when they are considered eligible for employment in conducting private concerns.—Sir Howard Douglas was, when consulted by the Government on this occasion, in his 83rd year; an age when men may be said to live only in the past, and to retain, for the affairs of this life, scarcely any interest in the future.

strong, Mr. Fairbairn, Sir Morton Peto, and other high authorities, on whose engineering skill the Government profess to rely, our ships of war are henceforth constructed entirely of iron (not wood cased in iron), and if they are built, as they will be if the country be wise, by contract in private yards, the "roots" of our navy will henceforth be on the Clyde, the Thames, the Mersey, and the Tyne, and not in Portsmouth or Plymouth. As for repairs, a vessel built wholly of iron four or five inches thick will, like an iron bridge, be practically indestructible. With railroads running from the interior into all our dockyards, perishable stores for the navy may be kept at the Tower, Weedon, or other inland depôts. It is, besides, notorious that great waste and abuse of various kinds arise from the unnecessarily large amount of these stores kept on hand.

With the revolution thus glanced at now going on in naval armaments, it is possible that when the grand scheme of fortifications for Portsmouth, extending to the South Downs, are complete, to prevent the "cradle of our navy from being burnt and destroyed," an enemy will find very few combustible materials in that arsenal except the coal. Our dockyards will then possess, comparatively, only a traditional importance, unless, indeed, we adopt the dishonouring theory that our fleets require fortified places in which to take refuge from an enemy.

The first proof to be offered by the Government, to whatever party it may belong, of the triumph of common sense in the conduct of our national affairs, will be the suspension of this panic-begotten scheme.

The speech of the Premier was calculated to give a renewed impulse to the agitation out of doors; but, owing to a cause which will be immediately explained, a reaction was taking place on the invasion question in the manufacturing districts, and the most exciting of the martial demonstrations which were witnessed during the ensuing autumn and winter occurred in obscure agricultural places.*

* The following specimen will suffice to recall to the reader's recollection the scenes that were passing at the close of 1860:—

"Dinner to Major Watlington, M.P. for South Essex.—On Wednesday afternoon, Major J. W. Perry Watlington, M.P., was entertained at dinner at Harlow Bush House by the members of the B troop of West Essex Yeomanry Cavalry, on his promotion from the rank of captain of the troop to the rank of major of the regiment. Major Watlington having thanked the company for the compliment paid him, and made some remarks regarding the character of the yeomanry cavalry and the volunteer rifle movement, proceeded to say, if this country was in danger it would be necessary to make preparation; but when such a man as Lord Palmerston, who had the command of all the resources of knowledge and information to enable him to know correctly the state of the pulse of the Emperor of the French, and tell rightly to what end each pulsation of that pulse tended, asked the House of Commons to grant millions for our defence in fortifications — when he pointed to the other side of the Channel, and held the Emperor of the French up as the bugbear, then it would be positive madness to doubt there was danger, and it would be culpable negligence not to be prepared for it. (Hear hear.)"

During the negotiation of the details of the French commercial treaty, which extended over nearly the whole of 1860, deputations from our manufacturing districts, and from the metropolis, paid repeated visits to Paris, to afford information to the British Commissioners respecting their various productions. These intelligent capitalists returned to England impressed with the conviction that a great commercial revolution was being inaugurated in France; and this conviction found expression in the reports which the deputations made to their constituents. A natural revulsion from the state of panic followed. Reflecting men began to ask themselves if it could be possible that the most logical people were contemplating at the same time a policy of free trade and of unprovoked hostile aggression,—that the Emperor, whose great intelligence no one disputed, could really be aiming at pursuing, in his own person, the incompatible careers of the first Napoleon and Sir Robert Peel!

But the warning voice of the Prime Minister, which still rang in the public ear, coupled with the gigantic project of fortifications, made even intelligent men pause in their final judgment upon the designs of the ruler of France. This conflict of public opinion induced several members of parliament to institute a personal inquiry into the naval preparations of France. Mr. Dalglish, M.P., for Glasgow, who had served on

a Commission * for inquiring into the management of the dockyards, visited France to examine the system of government accounts, and to inform himself as to the progress making in her naval armaments; and he took an opportunity of saying in the House, that, "having been to Toulon and Cherbourg, within the last fortnight, he could assure the hon. gentleman, the member for Norfolk, who appeared not to have got over the panic about a French invasion, that all his fears were groundless, so far as the preparations connected with shipbuilding, in those quarters were concerned." † Sir Morton Peto, who had been largely connected with industrial undertakings in that country, despatched an intelligent agent to report to him the state of its various dockyards. Every facility for these investigations was afforded by the French Government; and the result was invariably to disprove the statements of the alarmists, and to corroborate the accounts contained in the semi-official pamphlet of M. Cucheval Clarigny.

Mr. Lindsay, M.P. for Sunderland, also visited Paris, and sought an interview with the Minister of Marine, to obtain information respecting the actual state of the French navy, and he was so convinced, by the frank and unreserved explanations of that Minister, of the erroneous impression which prevailed in England, that he comunicated the information, in the first place, by letter, to Lord Clarence Paget, and afterwards to the House

* This Commission reported as follows :—

The Royal Commission, appointed in 1860, to inquire into the management of the dockyards, report that the control and management of dockyards are inefficient from the following causes :—

1. The constitution of the Board of Admiralty.
2. The defective organisation of the subordinate departments.
3. The want of clear and well-defined responsibility.
4. The absence of any means, both now and in times past, of effectually checking expenditure, from the want of accurate accounts.

"The want of accurate accounts," seems to be a chronic malady at the Admiralty, if we may judge by the following penitent confession of the quaint Secretary, in the time of Charles II. :—

"*Nov.* 10, 1666.—The Parliament did fall foul of our accounts again yesterday: and we must arme to have them examined, which I am sorry for; it will bring great trouble to me, and shame to the office."—*Pepys' Diary.*

† *Hansard*, clxii. 465.

of Commons, soon after the opening of the session. It seems from the following extract from his speech, that the French Minister, imitating the example of his predecessor, M. Ducos, in 1853, invited our Secretary of the Admiralty (but in vain) to make a personal inspection of the French dockyards :—

"The Minister of Marine was anxious that the feeling of alarm in England on that subject should be got rid of. He said 'I have shown you everything; I have given you official documents; I will do more if you desire. Will you go and visit our dockyards and arsenals? I will send a gentleman with you, who will throw open everything to you, and you may see with your own eyes everything.' He (Mr. Lindsay) declined, saying he was tired of wandering about; but the statement which he had received, confirmed by these books, was so different from what was commonly believed, that he had sent the figures of the Minister of Marine, to his noble friend the Secretary of the Admiralty, and extended to him the invitation of the Minister of Marine to visit the French dockyards and arsenals. He had received a reply, in which the noble lord pleaded want of time and pressing engagements, but still seemed to entertain doubts as to the accuracy of the statements." *

On the 11th March, 1861, the Secretary of the Admiralty introduced the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year. He stated, "that in consequence of the termination of the China war, the number of seamen actually borne in the previous year, had not exceeded 81,100, being 4,400 less than the 85,500 voted; and he now asked for 78,200, which he considered to be only a reduction of 2,900 upon the force of the previous year. "But," he added, "the House would be glad to hear that there was a force of something like 25,000 reserves, available at a moment's notice if an emergency should make it necessary to man a large fleet."

With respect to ships, he proceeded, "We have expended during the present year, or, at least, shall have expended by the end of the month, no less than 80,000 loads of timber—more than double the ordinary rate of consumption," and he laid before the House the result in vessels : "We have built during

Hansard, clxi. 1147.

this year 9,075 tons of line-of-battle ships, 12,189 tons of frigates, 4,138 tons of corvettes, 6,367 tons of sloops, 1,409 tons of gun and despatch vessels, and 102 tons of gun-boats, making a total of 33,280 tons." He announced that for the ensuing year it was the intention of the Government to confine themselves to the construction of frigates and smaller vessels, adding, "I may further observe, that so far as large vessels are concerned, we are in a very satisfactory position."* At a subsequent stage of these naval discussions, he defined more clearly this position by a comparison with other countries, showing that we had seventeen more of these large ships (besides block-ships) than all the rest of the world—"We have," he said, "67 line-of-battle ships built or building. France has 37, Spain 3, Russia 9, and Italy 1, making 50."† The nine coast-guard block-ships have again passed entirely into oblivion!

Bearing in mind, that this prodigious increase in large wooden vessels had been going on after actual experiment had verified the success of iron-cased batteries in resisting combustible shells, it is really a waste almost unparalleled for recklessness and magnitude. It may be illustrated in private life, by the supposition that a large proprietor of stage-coaches doubled his stock of vehicles and horses at the very time when the locomotive and the railroad had entered into successful competition with the traffic of the turnpike-roads! A reaction against this policy now manifested itself in the very able opposition speeches delivered by Mr. Baxter, Mr. Lindsay, and Mr. Bright.

Lord Palmerston took a part in the debate. "The French," he said, "make no secret of their preparations; but when some well-intentioned gentleman asks them if they really mean to invade this country, if they really have any hostile intentions towards us, of course, they say 'Not the least in the world,' their feeling is one of perfect sympathy and friendship with us, and that all their preparations are for their own self-advancement."‡ And, again, "Really, Sir, it is shutting one's eyes to notorious facts, to go on contending that the policy of Franceof whic h I certainly do not complain—has not for a great length of time

* *Hansard*, clxi. 1747. † *Hansard*, clxii. 142.
‡ *Hansard*, clxi. 1791.

been to get up a navy which shall be equal, if not superior, to our own."*

For the last occasion let us bring this statement that the French had for a long time been trying to be our equals, if not superiors, at sea, to the test of figures—not French, but British figures. In this very debate, both Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarence Paget give the French naval force at 34,000 seamen, which shall be accepted as correct, though the French *estimate* is under 31,000. The Secretary of the Admiralty had, just before the Premier spoke, proposed a vote of 78,200 men for our navy for 1861. Now let the reader turn once more to the table in the first page, and he will seek in vain for any year, except 1859 and 1860, when the same noble lord was Prime Minister, when our force was double that of France, or even approached to such a disproportionate number. And it must be remembered, that the French consider that the reserve of 25,000 brings our force up to 100,000 men.

But, in order to test the statement, that France had been trying to get up a navy equal to our own by a comparison of ships as well as men, the following extract is given from the speech, delivered the same evening by the Secretary of the Admiralty:—

"He assumed that hon. gentlemen would accept the statement of the British navy he had laid before them as correct, and that showed that we had 53 screw line-of-battle ships afloat and 14 building and converting, making a total of 67. The French had 35 afloat and two building, making a total of 37. We had 31 screw and 9 paddle frigates afloat and 12 building, making a total of 52; the French had 21 screw and 18 paddle frigates afloat and 8 building, making a total of 47. He did not think that the discussion had extended to the smaller classes of steam-ships; but including them, the French had 266 vessels afloat and 61 building, making a total of 327; while we had 505 afloat and 57 building, making a total of 562."†

Now let us take, for comparison, the large ships; for our immense superiority in smaller vessels has been admitted from the first. The constant cry of alarm has been founded on the asser-

* *Hansard*, clxi. 1788. † *Hansard*, ib. 1773

tion that France was attempting to rival us in ships of the line. The date at which we have now arrived, and when the speech from which the above extract is given was delivered, is the 11th March, 1861. It is here said, that France has thirty-seven line-of-battle ships built and building. On the 18th May, 1857, nearly four years previously, Sir Charles Wood, then First Lord, stated that France had forty liners built and building.* The same number is given for 1858 in the Report already quoted, presented to Parliament by Lord Derby's Government.† And on the 25th February, 1859, the country was startled by the statement of Sir John Pakington, that England and France were on an equality of twenty-nine‡ each "completed" ships of the line. What, then, has been the progress made by the French in nearly four years, during which we had the great invasion-speeches of Lord Lyndhurst, and Mr. Horsman, the almost incessant agitation of Sir Charles Napier, the rifle corps movement, the unparalleled expenditure in the dockyards, the gigantic fortification scheme, and all on the pretext that France was making great efforts to rival us at sea? Why,—it turns out, on the authority of our own Government, that France had fewer line-of-battle ships in 1861 than she was alleged to possess in 1857; she had forty built and building in 1857, and thirty-seven in 1861, or less by three;—the French Government, be it remembered, state officially their number to be only thirty-five. Our own liners, which were fifty in 1857, were now sixty-seven in 1861 (besides the block-ships), being an increase of seventeen. The number of French frigates is given at forty-seven in 1861, and they were stated by Sir John Pakington, in 1859, at forty-six§, being an increase of one only in two years. Our own frigates were put down at thirty-four in 1859,‖ and fifty-two in 1861, being an increase of eighteen.

It would be a waste of the reader's time and patience to offer any further evidence in a case which, having been subjected to so many tests, is at last demonstrated to be utterly groundless on the authority of British officials and our own public documents.

In the above quotation from Lord Palmerston's speech, the

* *Ante*, 44. † *Parliamentary Paper*, 182 1859, p. 16.
‡ *Ante*, 55. § *Ante*, 56. ‖ Ibid.

allegation, that the French had for a long time been trying to equal or surpass us at sea, is accompanied with the remark, "of which I certainly do not complain." If such a design on the part of the French Government really did exist (which has been disproved), it would be a matter of grave concern, and even of complaint, to the tax-paying people of this country:—for with what legitimate or peaceful object could that Government be seeking to disturb the immemorial relations which England and France have borne to each other as maritime powers?

France possesses less than a fourth of our mercantile marine; she has not, perhaps, the hundredth part of our possessions to defend beyond the seas. She has more than double our military force; and whilst her land frontier gives her access to the Continent, and thereby to the whole world, we have no means of communication with any other country but by water. She has, therefore, no necessity for, and no legitimate pretensions to, an equality with us at sea; nor is there in her history any precedent for such a policy. If, under such circumstances, the present French ruler attempted for the first time to equal if not surpass us in naval armaments, the reasonable conclusion would be, that either he had some sinister purpose in view, or that he was a rash and unreflecting, and therefore a dangerous neighbour. If, after the offer of frank explanations on our part, with a view to avert so irrational a waste, that ruler persisted in his extraordinary preparations, there is no amount of expenditure which this country would not bear to maintain our due superiority at sea. But such a state of things would be accompanied with a sense of grievance; and it would make it quite inconsistent with all serious statesmanship to attempt to unite the two Governments in alliances for peace or war in other parts of the world, until the vital question respecting our own security at home had received a better solution than is offered by the maintenance of a war-establishment to protect us from an invasion by a so-called friend and ally.

The reaction which had taken place in intelligent minds against our injudicious naval armaments found expression in the House on the 11th April, 1861, when Mr. Lindsay, after an able speech, carried a resolution for putting an end to the further construction of large wooden vessels. The speech of Sir Morton Peto in support of this measure contains much

valuable advice for the guidance of Government in iron ship-building, and Sir Joseph Paxton and Mr. Dalglish spoke with practical force for the motion. Not one word could be said, in any quarter, in behalf of wooden ships of the line, and a pledge was extorted from Government that no more of these vessels should be built, and that those still on the stocks should remain unfinished, thus tacitly admitting that the immense fleet of line-of-battle ships now afloat were worse than useless, and that if they had not been built, under the excitement of the panic, they would not now have been ordered to be constructed. This might be inferred from the remark which fell from Captain Jervis. "The shell," said he, "now acted as a mine; it burst in passing through the side of the vessel, and would so shatter it that wooden line-of-battle ships would be nothing better than mere slaughter-houses."* In fact, it is doubted by intelligent naval authorities whether, in case of a war between two maritime powers, wooden ships of the line would be ever subjected to the fire of modern shell guns.

We now arrive at the last, and not the least, characteristic scene of the third panic.

On the 31st May, 1861, Sir John Pakington rose in the House, and addressing the Speaker said, "Sir, I now rise to call attention to a subject, the importance of which no one will deny. I have received information with respect to the French Government, in building armour-covered ships, to which I think it my duty to call the attention of the House and of her Majesty's Government without any loss of time." The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to say, that he was about to make his important statement on the authority of a British naval officer of high professional reputation, who, during the last three weeks had visited all the French ports and arsenals with the exception of Toulon; but he weakened the zest of the coming disclosure, by adding that Admiral Elliot did not wish to be under the suspicion of having acted as a spy:—"I should, therefore," said the speaker, "state that whatever information he has obtained was obtained in an open manner, and he visited the French dockyards with the advantage of having received the permission of the Minister of Marine. [Mr. Lindsay;

* *Hansard*, clxii. 460.

hear, hear!] I understand the motive of that cheer, and it is only due to the French Government to state that on the part of the French Admiralty there has been nothing like any intention to conceal its preparations." There is a curious resemblance, in the tone of this speech, to that which was delivered in moving the Navy Estimates of 1859;—the same disavowal of the idea of alarming; the like absence of any exclusive information; and yet the apparent disposition to invest the whole proceeding with the character of a revelation. "I have no wish," he said, "to excite alarm by making this statement. I make it, because I think it my duty to communicate to the Government and the House, in this public manner, information of so startling a character."

The statement thus heralded was, that the French were preparing to build fifteen armour-plated ships, besides nine gun-boats, and floating batteries. There was not a word of information as to the precise stages in which these twenty-four vessels and batteries had been found; it was admitted that some (it was not said how many) "were only lately laid down." Lord Clarence Paget* spoke subsequently of nine having, during the last few months, been "laid down, or prepared to be laid down"; and, on the same occasion, Lord Palmerston† said the French Government were "beginning" to lay them down. No test of accuracy can be applied to the vague statements respecting those projected vessels. But the allusion to the *Magenta* and *Solferino*, two ships which everybody knew to be building as the companions to *La Gloire*, is more precise. "These two vessels," said the right hon. gentleman, "are to be launched the ensuing month, and to be added immediately to the strength of the French navy." At the time when these pages are going to press (March, 1862), these ships are still unfinished, and are expected to remain so for several months. Throwing aside all dependence on the wooden fleets, which the Admiralty had just completed, he proceeded, for the second time, to proclaim the danger of French maritime ascendancy:—

"Why are these preparations being made in France? I will not enter into the motives by which the French Government may be influenced in making such efforts. Every one is able to

* *Hansard*, clxiii., 425. † *Hansard*, ib., 535.

judge for himself for what ultimate end these preparations are intended. The point to which I invite attention is, that whatever may be the motive of France, the practical result is that we are rapidly becoming the second maritime power of Europe. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this statement. Is it true, or is it not true? If it be true, what are the intentions of the Government." *

Admiral Walcott confirmed the statement of the preceding speaker, and said, "he felt quite convinced that a neighbouring country was at that moment in command of a most formidable number of iron-cased ships." And Sir James Elphinstone, also a naval officer, followed in the same strain, declaring the report they had just heard "ought justly to alarm the Government and people of this country."

It is a curious feature in this discussion, that the alarm was chiefly confined to the naval officers, whilst those members who resisted, what Mr. Dalglish designated the "attempt that had been made by the right hon. member for Droitwich, to startle the country" represented precisely those constituencies whose interests would be the most compromised by the loss of the protection which our navy is designed to afford. Mr. Lindsay (Sunderland), Mr. Dalglish (Glasgow), and Mr. Baxter (Dundee), who had spoken previously, all represent important commercial sea-ports.

But to return to the question put by Sir John Pakington—"Why are these preparations being made in France"? There was not one of his audience so competent to answer this question as the right hon. gentleman himself: for when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, he laid on the table of the House, on the 4th April, 1859, that Report on "The Comparative State of the Navies of England and France," to which allusion has been so frequently made, drawn up by his own confidential officials for the special information of the Government, in which the following passage occurs, with reference to the future policy of the French Government:—

"It is stated that these iron-sided ships, of which two are more than half completed, will be substituted for line-of-battle ships; their timbers are of the scantling of a three decker;

* *Hansard*, clxiii. 417.

they are to have thirty-six heavy guns, most of them rifled 50-pounders, which will throw an 80 lb. hollow percussion shot; they will be cased with iron; and *so convinced do naval men seem to be in France of the irresistible qualities of these ships, that they are of opinion that no more ships of the line will be laid down, and that in ten years that class of vessels will have become obsolete.*" *

With this document in his hand, the right hon. gentleman commenced, in 1859, with frantic haste, the reconstruction of our wooden navy, which was carried on still more frantically by his successor, notwithstanding that the Report of 1859 informed them that "no line-of-battle ship had been laid down since 1856, in France, and there had not been a single three-decker on the stocks since that year." † And now, on the 31st May, 1861, when, as Mr. Lindsay stated in the course of this debate, England possessed a greater number of efficient steam-ships of war than all Europe, and when the Secretary of the Navy, himself, admitted we had seventeen more line-of-battle ships than all the rest of the world (besides the nine block-ships), ‡ the House was startled with the declaration that we were rapidly becoming the second maritime power of Europe, because France had one iron-clad frigate (*La Gloire*) at sea, whilst our much more powerful ship, the *Warrior*, still wanted a few months for completion!

Now, let us see whether France had taken any clandestine or precipitate steps to justify her being teased and worried by such demonstrations as these: for it must not be supposed that the sensibilities of the French people are not wounded § by

* *Parliamentary Paper*, No. 182—1859, p. 15. † Ibid, p. 19.
‡ *Hansard*, clxii. 442.

§ The following is extracted from an article on this subject in the *Journal des Débats*:—"Is there not something calculated to try the patience of a less excitable people than ours, to find ourselves constantly denounced as plotting an invasion of England—and denounced by whom? By those whom we have not invaded—by those who for three centuries have hired all the coalitions formed against us—by those who for three centuries have always marched in the front ranks of the invaders of our national territory. Is there nothing calculated to wound the just pride of a people, not wanting in self respect, to find ourselves incessantly called to account respecting our navy—and by whom? By those who maintain upwards of 80,000 men in active service, whilst our fleet does not contain more than 35,000—by those who are actually expending, on an average,

these imputations of sinister designs, reiterated by members of parliament who have filled the highest public offices. The value and efficiency of iron-cased vessels were proved (as will be seen immediately) to the knowledge of both England and France in 1854. England immediately possessed herself of double the number of iron-cased floating *batteries* built by France. The keel of the first *sea-going* frigate of this class, *La Gloire,* was laid down by the French Government in June, 1858. In the parliamentary report, dated January 6th, 1859, so frequently quoted, it is stated that this vessel is half completed. She made her first trial trip in August, 1860. *And she was the only completed iron-clad sea-going vessel possessed by France on the* 31*st May,* 1861, *when Sir John Pakington made his startling statement to the House, and when terrified admirals talked of her possessing a "most formidable number" of these ships.* There is certainly nothing in these facts to warrant the suspicion that our neighbours were endeavouring to steal a march on us in the construction of an iron fleet. Three years in the acquisition of only one sea-going iron-cased ship is surely a leisurely rate of progress, with which even our Admiralty might have kept pace!

As there has been a systematic, and to some extent a successful, effort made by the invasionists to keep alive the panic, by attributing to the French Government secret and extensive preparations of iron-clad vessels, it will be well, before concluding, to add a few words respecting the origin and progress of this innovation in ship-building.

More than fifteen years ago, when the mode of projecting combustible shells horizontally was adopted, it was foreseen that the nature of maritime warfare would be entirely changed. In his evidence before the Ordnance Committee, of 1849, Sir Thomas Hastings* said, that in consequence of the adoption of Paixhan's guns, in case of a naval action between two fleets, "instead of lasting ten hours, its duration will be nearer ten minutes." Here, then, was a clear necessity for some contrivance to meet this new danger: and the objects to be aimed at

£12,000,000 sterling annually on their navy; whilst for several years we have been spending, on an average, 125,000,000f., or £5,000,000 sterling.'

* *Minutes,* 5023.

in clothing the ships' sides with iron armour, are very clearly defined in the following extract from a Lecture by Mr. Reed, formerly of Her Majesty's Dockyard, at Portsmouth, and now editor of the *Mechanics' Magazine*:—

"It is time that all those who concern themselves with this great question of how iron may best be rendered available for the defence of ships' sides, should recur to the circumstance which gave rise to it, and to the true end to be at present attained. That circumstance, undoubtedly, was the introduction of Paixhan's shells into naval warfare; and the end desired is the application of means by which the entrance of those terrible missiles through the side of a ship may be avoided. The attainment of this end would leave us subject only to the entrance of solid shot, to which all our ships were exposed during the wars in which we won our supremacy, and from which no practical system of iron-plating can at present be expected to save us. The attempt to build ships which shall be proof to solid shot—at least, to wrought-iron solid shot—is an altogether illusory one; and such ships are not urgently required. It is as a defence against shells, and hollow charged projectiles generally, and against these only, that iron plating can yet be made available. By applying iron of very great thickness, between wind and water, we may reduce the liability to injury by shot at that important part, and it may be well to do this; but if the upper works are made shell-proof, we can expect no more."—p. 21.

The first trial in actual combat of these destructive missiles was at Sinope, November 20th, 1853, when the Turkish squadron was attacked by a Russian fleet, and when "their whole force of fourteen ships was, to a great extent, silenced in a few minutes, and utterly crushed in little more than an hour."* The Russians were well supplied with shell guns, while the Turks had nothing more effective than 24-pounders. During the progress of the Crimean war, an opportunity was afforded to our fleet of experiencing the effects of shells in the attack on the forts of Sebastopol, when some of our vessels were severely injured; and when the whole affair, which was lost sight of in face of the more absorbing operations on shore, was viewed

* *Lecture,* by Mr. E. J. Reed, p. 13.

with even less satisfaction by our navy than by the public. It was during this war, too, that the first trial of iron-clad batteries was witnessed at Kinburn. Our own batteries arrived too late, but those of our allies reached the scene in time to take a part in the siege. And Sir James Elphinstone, a practical authority on naval subjects, said, "When the French batteries, which had fortunately arrived, got an opportunity of acting at Kinburn, they showed that an iron-cased ship was impregnable; yet, after that, we spent three or four years experimenting on iron plates, while we had much better have been employed in building iron ships. We had, perhaps, found out what description of iron would stand hammering the longest, but the great fact of the impregnability of iron ships had been proved at Kinburn."*

The invention of these iron-clad batteries has been attributed to the Emperor of the French. Mr. Scott Russell, however, tells us that the introduction of iron plates originated with Mr. Stevens, the great steam-boat builder, of New York, who was in this country ten years ago, and who then communicated to him the results of some experiments that had been made by the United States' Government with regard to these plates. And Mr. Reed, in his Lecture, quotes an article in the *Mechanics' Magazine*, published in 1824, in which the writer, whilst noticing a memoir on this subject by M. de Montgery, a Captain in the French navy, attributes the use of plates of iron or brass, for covering ships and battering rams, to Archimedes, upwards of two thousand years ago.

There is but little merit due, in any quarter, for the adoption of this very obvious and necessary reform in ship-building. Foreign governments might, indeed very naturally shrink from an innovation, which, by substituting iron for wood in the construction of vessels of war, would confer such an immense advantage on England;—for whilst in the purchase of timber, and the raw materials of sails and rigging for our navy, we were only on a footing of equality with France, and were placed at a disadvantage, as compared with Russia and America, where those materials were produced, no sooner does iron take the place of wood, and steam of sails, then it gives us

* *Hansard*, clxi. 201.

a natural advantage over the whole world. The British Government did not, however, seem to realize this view; for, instead of proceeding with the construction of iron-cased vessels for resisting combustible shells, for which purpose everybody admitted they were perfectly successful, successive Boards of Admiralty amused themselves for several years with the comparatively useless experiment of trying to penetrate an iron target a few inches thick with solid shot; and this, whilst the engineering and naval authorities were loudly proclaiming that it was for protection against combustion and explosion, rather than penetration, that the iron armour was required.* A volume might be compiled of the letters in the newspapers, the pamphlets, and the speeches, not omitting a series of Lectures by Captain Halsted, which have been published, to stimulate the tardy movements of our Board of Admiralty.

In the meantime, the French Government have, for several years, professed not to lay down a vessel of war, intended for actual combat (as distinguished from *avisos*, transports, etc.), which is not designed to be clad in iron armour.

That portion of the naval expenditure of France, set apart for dockyard wages and materials for ship-building which was formerly laid out upon wooden vessels, will, therefore, henceforth be devoted to the construction of iron-cased ships: and it being the practice, as we have already seen, for the Minister of Marine to take a long prospective range in the publication of his plans, when we are told that fifteen or twenty iron-cased vessels are to be built, it is merely an announcement of what will be the future production of the French dockyards, spread over a series of years. Seeing that this is only a substitution of one class of ships for another, rendered necessary by the progress of science, in what respect can it be said to indicate hostility to us? Our government does not pretend to be in ignorance of the course France is pursuing, or of the motives which decide her policy. We choose to pursue another course.

* At the late meeting of the Scientific Association, at Manchester, Mr Scott Russell gave utterance to the opinion of nautical men, in a brief and pithy sentence: "The whole practical part," he said, "was incorporated in one expression of a great sailor, 'Whatever you do, for God's sake, keep out the shells.'"

Our Admiralty perseveres in building wooden line-of-battle ships, until compelled to desist by the House of Commons. Then "My Lords" throw all their energies into the construction of wooden vessels of a smaller size, having yet to learn that small wooden ships are as combustible as large ones. And then we are startled with the cry of alarm for the safety of our shores, because the French are said to be building more iron-clad vessels than ourselves! What can our neighbours do to put an end to these periodical scoldings, so trying to their national temper, and so lowering to our own dignity and self-respect? Nobody will expect the Minister of Marine to descend, with his eyes open, to the level of the wasteful mismanagement of our Board of Admiralty. His only hope of peace must, therefore, be in an improvement in our naval administration; and this is the view of the ablest writer in France on the state of the English and French navies, as expressed in the following extract from a private letter, written in consequence of the above incident in the House of Commons:—

"The great cause of the irritation, and of the disagreeable discussions which have taken place on this subject, I don't hesitate to say, is the ignorance, the incapacity, and the absolutely false organisation of the Board of Admiralty in England. Whatever increase of power the English may derive from it, I believe, in the end, it would be better for us to see something reasonable established in England, in place of that inactive, blind, wasteful, expensive machine, which is called the Admiralty, rather than to serve as the scape-goat, as we always do, when they discover that we, not having fallen into all the blunders that have been committed at Somerset House, have obtained results which displease British pride, and which serve as a pretext for railing at our ambition, when, in justice, John Bull ought to blame himself for his own short-comings."

"Rien n'est plus dangereux qu'un imprudent ami,
Mieux vaudroit un sage ennemi."

Before the close of the session, two incidents occurred which were calculated to impart renewed life to the panic during the recess. On the 19th July, Mr. Kinglake moved a resolution respecting a rumoured intention of the Piedmontese Government to cede the Island of Sardinia to France. Owing to the known views of the hon. member for Bridgewater, this motion would

have excited little interest, had it not derived substance and validity from the speech delivered on the occasion by Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, who, whilst in possession of the disavowals of the governments concerned, contrived to leave the public mind in doubt and uncertainty, by weighing probabilities, speculating on possible dangers, uttering hypothetical threats, and advocating the maintenance of armaments, with a view even to "offensive" operations, in certain undefined contingencies. This speech, which found a subsequent echo out of doors, drew from Sir James Graham, afterwards, the remark that, "Whatever alarm has been created resulted from the speech of the noble lord the Foreign Secretary when the question of Sardinia was brought forward." *

On the 26th July, 1861, Lord Clarence Paget, Secretary of the Admiralty, moved for a vote of £250,000, in addition to the ordinary estimate, as the first instalment of an outlay which it was calculated would ultimately amount to £2,500,000, for building iron, and iron-cased vessels, and for supplying them with machinery.

This mode of bringing forward unexpected supplementary votes, on the plea that other nations were making sudden additions to their navies is admirably contrived for keeping alive a sense of uneasiness and panic. The present proceeding could only have been rendered necessary by the useless application of the estimates previously voted for the construction of wooden ships. On the 23rd May, a vote for £949,371 for timber had been carried by the Secretary of the Admiralty, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Lindsay, who described it as an unprecedented amount, and said that the sum voted the previous year had only been £722,758, and that for a long period of years, prior to 1859, the average amount did not exceed £350,000. This was, perhaps, the most extravagant proposition ever made by the Admiralty; for the year before the Secretary had declared that "it was the line-of-battle ships which required the large establishment of timber, for there never was any difficulty in finding timber for frigates, corvettes, and vessels of a smaller class." † The further construction of line-of-battle ships was now arrested; the success of the iron

* *Hansard*, clxiv. 1636. † *Hansard*, clvii. 2029.

ships had been established, and yet more timber than ever was wanted! Had one-half of the amount been applied to iron ship-building, there could have been no pretext for this startling supplementary estimate.

In the course of the exciting discussion which followed, Lord Palmerston said, "We know that France has now *afloat* six iron vessels of various sizes, two of them two-deckers, not frigates, all large vessels." And the Secretary of the Admiralty gave a list of nine iron-cased ships "afloat," including *La Gloire*. There is an inexactness in the word *afloat*, calculated to convey an erroneous impression. Iron ships are not launched with their armour on, but are cased in iron after they are afloat. This is a slow process. The keel of *La Gloire*, for instance, was laid down in June, 1858, she was floated in November, 1859, and made her first trial trip at sea, in August, 1860. *She was the only completed sea-going iron-clad vessel at the time when this discussion took place.* To give the name of iron ships to the floating hulls of wooden vessels (sometimes old ones), intended, at some future time, to be clad in armour, is obviously an inaccuracy of language, calculated to excite groundless suspicion and alarm.

It has already been shown that the French Government had abandoned the construction of wooden ships of war, and that in future all her vessels would be cased in iron. "We know," said Lord Palmerston, "that they have laid down lately the keels, and made preparations to complete, ten other iron vessels of considerable dimensions. The decision as to these vessels was taken as far back as December last, but was not carried into effect until May, because they were waiting to ascertain what were the qualities and the character of *La Gloire*, and other ships afloat." And, he added, "there is no illusion about them, for we know their names and the ports at which they are being built." * In the course of the debate Lord C. Paget gave a list of these vessels. All this proved the very opposite of concealment or suddenness of determination on the part of the French Government, and that they were pursuing precisely the same course with iron as they had done with wooden ships. It has been seen that in 1857, consequent on the report of the

* *Hansard*, clxiv. 1672, 1673.

Commission appointed in 1855, the French Government published a programme of their future naval constructions, with the nomenclature of all the vessels in their intended fleet, extending over a period of twelve years. The progress of science had rendered it necessary to substitute iron for wooden ships; and again the plans of the Minister of Marine are fixed for a series of years, and the whole world is acquainted with his plans. The marvel is at the ingenuity with which our statesmen could find anything in these proceedings with which to produce an evening's sensation in the House of Commons!

But the most remarkable incident in this debate remains to be noticed. Mr. Disraeli, on this, as on a former occasion, recommended an arrangement between the English and French Governments, for putting some limit to this naval rivalry, asking, "What is the use of diplomacy? What is the use of governments? What is the use of cordial understandings, if such things can take place"? * There is a vacant niche in the Temple of Fame, for the ruler or minister who shall be the first to grapple with this monster evil of the day. "Whatsoever nation," says Jeremy Bentham, "should get the start of the other, in making the proposal to reduce and fix the amount of its armed force would crown itself with everlasting honour."

On the 28th August, 1861, on the occasion of a mediæval holiday ceremonial, the Prime Minister stood on the heights of Dover, surrounded by a force of regular troops, sailors, and volunteers, when reviving the reminiscences of the projected invasion, from the opposite coast, more than half a century ago, he made an eloquent appeal to the volunteers of England, to improve and perpetuate their organisation. There was no one in the United Kingdom, or in Europe, who, in perusing his speech, doubted the Power to which allusion was made, when he said: "We accept with frankness the right hand of friendship wherever it is tendered to us. We do not distrust that proffered right hand because we see the left hand grasping the hilt of the sword. But when that left hand plainly does so grasp the hilt of the sword, it would be extreme folly in us to throw away our shield of defence."

In the last week of November, 1861, news reached England

* *Hansard*, ib., 1679.

that Captain Wilks, of the American navy, falling into the error, not uncommon to men on land or sea, of constituting himself his own lawyer, had carried off four American citizens from the deck of a British vessel, in violation of international law. During the intervening period, between the arrival of this intelligence and the time when an explanation could be received from the government at Washington, that party which had for years been the promoters of the invasion panics sounded the tocsin of alarm at the prospect of a war with America. The circumstances of the case were certainly not favourable to the alarmists. The people of the United States were plunged in civil war, and the President, beleaguered at Washington, had demanded half a million of men to defend the Union against nearly as large a force of Confederates. The Federal Government had, therefore, every possible motive for wishing to avoid a rupture with England. To meet this objection, the alarmists had recourse to an expedient which had been employed in the case of the French invasion panic. A theory was invented, which the credulous were expected to accept for a fact. Nay, two or three theories were propounded which were in direct contradiction to each other. In the case of France, it was one day the Emperor, whose blind "destiny" was to hurl him on our shores; the next day, we were told that his wise and pacific policy would be overruled by the army and the populace.

In the case of America, we were asked, one day, to believe that Mr. Seward (who possesses no more power or responsibility, under the American Constitution, than one of President Lincoln's clerks) had a long cherished scheme for closing the war with the South, and turning it against Canada; the next day, we were informed that the government at Washington was disposed for peace, but that it would be overruled by the "mob." * These assumptions furnished the ground for warlike

* The writer, who has twice visited the United States at an interval of twenty-four years, and travelled through nearly the whole of the free States, never saw any mob there, except that which had been imported from Europe. In a few of the large cities, where foreign immigrants are very numerous, they constitute an embarrassment in the working of the municipal governments owing to their inaptitude for the proper discharge of the duties of free citizens. But this foreign element exercises no sway over the policy of the Federal Government at Washington, or even of the separate State legislatures. The United States, like England, is governed by landowners, with this difference, that they are numbered by thousands in one country, and by millions in the other.

prognostications, and for appeals to the combative passions of our people throughout the month of December. Meantime, it is more important to consider the course pursued by the British Government.

A despatch, courteously worded, dated November 30, 1861, was forwarded by the British Cabinet to Washington, expressing the belief that Captain Wilks had acted without the authority of his Government, and requiring the surrender of the captured envoys. It was calculated that an answer to this despatch could be received in about a month. It arrived, in fact, on the 9th January. It is to this interval of six weeks that the following statement of facts applies. On the 3rd December, three days after the date of the British despatch, the French Government forwarded a communication, through their minister at Washington, expressing their disapproval of the act of Captain Wilks, accompanied with the courteous intimation that all the neutral powers were interested in the disavowal of the proceeding on the part of the United States' Government. This despatch was formally communicated to the British Government on the 6th December. On the 19th December, Mr. Adams, the American Minister, waited on our Foreign Minister to say that, "no instructions were given to Captain Wilks to authorise him to act in the manner he had done. Neither had the United States' Government committed itself with regard to any decision upon the character of that act. The government would wait for any representation the British Government might make before coming to any positive decision." On the 18th December the Austrian, and on the 25th the Prussian Government sent despatches to Washington supporting the claim of the British Government. The Russian Ambassador, at London, wrote to his colleague at Washington, condemning the conduct of Captain Wilks, and this was confirmed by the Russian Government. These proceedings of the three great powers were immediately made known to the British Government.*

* These extracts and dates are taken from the *Parliamentary Paper*, "North America, No. 3, 1862."

This was tantamount to the Arbitrators giving judgment in our favour before they were called on for their award; and as it was known to our Cabinet (but concealed from the public), that the President's Government had not authorised the act of Captain Wilks, the chances of war were removed almost beyond the bounds of possibility. There was thus every motive for waiting in calm confidence the reply from Washington. It was but a question of a month or six weeks. Even if the Congress of the United States, which alone can declare war, had, without debate, thrown down the gauntlet to Europe, a campaign, in the depth of winter, on the frontiers of Canada, is as impracticable as in the Gulf of Finland. So long as peace continued, the Convention between the two countries remained in force which prevented any addition being made to the armaments on the Lakes which separate the United States from Canada, until after six months' notice; and the highest military authority* has declared that the fate of a war in that region will depend on the superiority upon the Lakes.

All this, however, did not prevent our Government from employing the interval between the 30th November, and the 9th January, in hurrying forward preparations for war, as though an immediate rupture was all but inevitable. The country was startled by the instant appearance of a proclamation, prohibiting the exportation of the munitions of war. Expedition after expedition was despatched across the Atlantic. In three weeks, as we were afterwards informed by the Secretary of the Admiralty, from 10,000 to 11,000 troops were on their way to America, and our naval force on that station was nearly doubled.

These proceedings were trumpeted to the world, amid cries of exultation, by the organs of the invasion party, not one of whom seemed to occupy himself for a moment with the reflection that we were exposing our flank to an attack from that formidable neighbour against whose menacing attitude, even whilst extending the right hand of friendship, we had been so eloquently warned from the heights of Dover. This is the more remarkable, when we recollect that the Report of the Commission on Fortifications had completely laid bare all our

* Duke of Wellington.

weak places, and, had drawn from Sir Charles Napier a cry of alarm:—"And what," he exclaimed, "were we to do while these fortifications were building? Would the French wait three years before they went to war, while we built our fortifications? * * * * The Commissioners ought to be brought to trial for high treason, seeing they pointed out to the Emperor of the French all the possible places at which he might land an army."*

The difficulty in which we found ourselves, when under the sudden necessity of providing warm clothing for our troops, brought the disposition of the French Emperor to a singular test. Such is the severity of the winter in Canada, that sentries are often required to be relieved every half hour to avoid being frozen, and there is frequently a fall of seven feet of snow during the season. For such a rigorous climate, a corresponding equipment of clothing was indispensable. Among other articles of necessity were long boots, in which we found ourselves deficient. The following little incident must be given in the words of Sir G. C. Lewis, the Secretary for War, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 17th February, 1862, and, as it is taken from the newspaper report of the speech, the expressions of feeling, as they were elicited from the House, are also retained:—

"There was one article that was not used by any of our regiments, and which was not in store in this country,—the article of long boots. The French Government having been informed of our difficulty, undertook the supply of 1,500 pairs of boots, which came over in forty-eight hours from Paris (cheers), and at a cost for which they could have scarcely been obtained from our contractors. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to mention this as a proof of the friendly action of the French Government (hear, hear)."

And thus ends the third panic!

It has been demonstrated in the preceding pages, by evidence drawn from our own official statements, totally irrespective of the French accounts, that as a nation we have borne false witness against our neighbours,—that without a shadow of

* *Hansard*, clx. 545, 6.

proof or justification we have accused them, repeatedly, during a long series of years, of meditating an unprovoked attack on our shores, in violation of every principle of international law, and in contempt of all the obligations of morality and honour.

This accusation involves an impeachment of the intelligence, as well as the honour of France. In attributing to the government of that country the design of entering into a naval war with England, and especially in a clandestine or secret manner, we have placed them on a par, for intelligence, almost, with children. There is not a statesman in France that does not know, and admit, that, to provoke a contest with England, single-handed, for the supremacy of the seas, would be to embark in a hopeless struggle; and this, not so much owing to our superiority in government arsenals, where notorious mismanagement countervails our advantages, as to the vast and unrivalled resources we possess in private establishments for the construction of ships and steam-machinery.

In inquiring into the origin of these panics, it would be folly to conceal from ourselves that they have been sometimes promoted by those who have not themselves shared in the delusion. Personal rancour, professional objects, dynastic aims, the interests of party, and other motives, may have played their part. But successive governments have rendered themselves wholly responsible for the invasion panics, by making them the plea for repeated augmentations of our armaments. It is this which has impressed the public mind with a sense of danger, and which has drawn the youth of the middle class from civil pursuits to enrol themselves for military exercises—a movement not the less patriotic because it originated in groundless apprehensions.

If the people of this country would offer a practical atonement to France, and at the same time secure for themselves an honourable relief from the unnecessary burdens which their governments have imposed on them, they should initiate a frank proposal for opening negotiations between the two governments with the view of agreeing to some plan for limiting their naval armaments. This would, undoubtedly, be as acceptable to our neighbours as it would be beneficial to ourselves. It would tend to bring the attitude of the French Government into greater harmony with its new commercial policy, and thus save

them from a repetition of those taunts with which they were, with some logical force, assailed, a few weeks ago, by M. Pouyer-Quertier, the leader of the Protectionists in the *Corps Legislatif*:

"If, indeed," said he, "in exchange for the benefits you have conceded to England, you had only established a firmer and more faithful alliance! Had you been only able to effect a saving in your military and naval expenditure! But see what is passing in England, where they are pushing forward, without measure, their armaments. * * * * Can we be said to be at peace while our coasts are surrounded with British gunboats, and with iron-cased vessels? Are these the fruits of the alliance; these the results of that *entente cordiale* on which you calculated as the price of your concessions? Let the free-trade champions answer me. The Treaty has not only inflicted on us commercial losses, but its effects are felt in our budget as a financial disaster. The measures of the English Government compel you to increase your armaments, and thus deprive us of all hope of retrenchment."

It must be remembered, that such is the immense superiority of our navy at the present time, so greatly does it surpass that relative strength which it was formerly accustomed to bear in comparison with the navy of France, that it devolves on us, as a point of honour, to make the first proposal for an attempt to put a limit to this most irrational and costly rivalry of armaments.

Should such a step lead to a successful result, we must not be surprised if the parties who have been so long employed in promoting jealousy and discord between this country and France should seek for congenial occupation in envenoming our relations with America, or elsewhere. There is but one way of successfully dealing with these alarmists. Speaking in 1850, at the close of his career, the most cautious and sagacious of our statesmen said, "I believe, that, in time of peace, we must by our retrenchment, *consent to incur some risk*. I venture to say, that if you choose to have all the garrisons of all your colonial possessions in a complete state, and to have all your fortifications secure against attack, no amount of annual expenditure will be sufficient to accomplish your object."

If, hereafter, an attempt be made, on no better evidence than

that which has been subjected to analysis in the preceding pages, to induce us to arm and fortify ourselves against some other power, it is hoped that, remembering the enormous expense we have incurred to insure ourselves against imaginary dangers from France, we shall meet all such attempts to frighten us with the words of Sir Robert Peel, "We consent to incur some risk."*

NOTE.—It may perhaps be permitted to add a few words of explanation, of a personal nature. The writer took a part, both in the House and out of doors, in opposition to the first two panics, and to the expenditure to which it was attempted to make them subservient. At the dissolution, in the spring of 1857, consequent on the vote of the House against the China war, he was not returned to Parliament, but was elected for Rochdale during his absence in America, and took his seat on his return home, in June, 1859. In the following autumn, he went to France, and remained there, and in Algiers, till May, 1861. The only occasion on which he spoke in the House, during the interval between the spring of 1857 and the spring of 1861, was in opposition to Mr. Horsman's fortification motion, on the 31st July, 1859, when he gave expression, at some length, to many of the views contained in this pamphlet, and when he analysed the contents of the *Parliamentary Paper*, No. 182, 1859, to which reference has been so frequently made.

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* *Hansard*, cix. 766.

APPENDIX.

SINCE the preceding pages were written, the news of the single combat between the two American iron-clad vessels, the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, has reached this country, and has been followed by something like an attempt to create an *American* invasion panic. Again the cry has arisen from the old quarters for precipitate preparations, and again, as in the case of France, there is a disposition to forget all that we have already done. The United States' Government, being actually at war, have, we are told, determined to spend fifteen million dollars on armour-cased vessels. England, being at peace, had already incurred, or committed herself to, a much larger expenditure for the same purpose. As nearly the whole of the projected outlay in America is for gun-boats, or coast batteries, and not for vessels adapted for crossing the Atlantic, there is nothing in their preparations that is menacing to Europe; and we may, therefore, wait in safety whilst the Americans are subjecting to the test of actual warfare the rival powers of artillery and iron shields. Under the intense stimulus now imparted to the mechanical genius of that inventive people, every month will probably witness the production of some new contrivance for aggression or defence; and should the civil war unhappily continue, it may, not improbably, lead to discoveries which will supersede existing armaments altogether.

Meantime, the experience which we have already gained from this deplorable contest has proved that our existing wooden fleet is worse than useless,—that it is absolutely dangerous. When, in the pursuits of private industry, a manufacturing capitalist discovers that his machinery has been superseded by new inventions, and that he can only continue to work it at a serious loss, he does not hesitate at once to throw it aside, however cautious he may be in making choice of a new investment to replace it. Precisely the same principle is applicable to nations.

The following Memorandum, which was forwarded to the Prime Minister in October last, will be, probably, in some

quarters, considered to have acquired increased force from the late American news.

MEMORANDUM.

"The present peculiar and exceptional state of the English and French navies, the result of scientific progress in maritime armaments, offers an opportunity for a reciprocal arrangement between the two governments of the highest interest to both countries.

"During the last century, and down almost to the present day, the relative naval strength of the two countries has been measured by the number of their line-of-battle ships. But, owing to the recent improvements in explosive shells, and other combustible missiles, and in the modes of projecting them, these large vessels have been pronounced, by competent judges, no longer suited for maritime warfare, and warning voices have even proclaimed that they will henceforth prove only a snare to those who employ them.

"This opinion has found utterance in several emphatic phrases.

"'Wooden ships-of-the-line,' says one, 'will, in a future naval war, be nothing but human slaughter-houses.' 'They will be blown to lucifer matches,' says another. A third authority tells us, that in case of a collision between two such vessels, at close quarters, the only words of command for which there will be time will be, 'Fire, and lower your boats!' Whilst a fourth declares that 'any government that should send such a vessel into action against an iron-plated ship would deserve to be impeached.'

"It hardly required such a weight of evidence to convince us, that to crowd nearly a thousand men upon a huge wooden target, with thirty or forty tons of gunpowder at their feet, and expose them to a bombardment with detonating shells and other combustible projectiles, must be a very suicidal proceeding.

"The governments of the great maritime states have shown that they share this opinion by abandoning the construction of line-of-battle ships.

"America, several years since, gave the preference to long low vessels, possessing the utmost possible speed, and being capable of carrying the largest guns.

"France was the next to cease building ships of the line.

"The British Government have come to the same decision, and they gave a pledge last session, with the approval of Parliament, that they would not complete the vessels of this class which were unfinished on the stocks.

"It is under these circumstances, that the two countries find themselves in possession of about one hundred wooden ships of the line with screw propellers. England has between sixty and seventy, and France between thirty and forty of these vessels, the greater part of them in commission; and their maintenance constitutes one of the principal items in the naval expenditure of the two countries.

"It will be admitted that, if these vessels did not exist they would not now be constructed, and that when worn out they will not be renewed. It is equally indisputable, that they have been built by the two governments with a view to preserve a certain relative force towards each other.

"In proof that this rivalry has been confined exclusively to England and France, it may be stated, on the authority of the official representative of the Admiralty in the House of Commons, that Spain has only three, Russia nine, and Italy one, of this class of ships. America has only one.

"These circumstances suggest, as an obvious course, to the two governments, that they should endeavour to come to an amicable agreement by which the greater portion of these ships might be withdrawn and so disposed of as to be rendered incapable of being again employed for warlike purposes. This might be effected by an arrangement which should preserve to each country precisely the same relative force after the reduction as before. For instance, assuming, merely for the sake of argument, England to possess sixty-five, and France thirty-five, then for every seven withdrawn by France, England should withdraw thirteen; and, thus, to whatever extent the reduction was carried, provided this proportion were preserved, the two countries would still possess the same relative force. The first point on which an understanding should be come to is as to the number of ships of the line actually possessed by each—a very simple question, inasmuch as it is not complicated with the comparison of vessels in different stages of construction. Then, the other main point is to agree upon a plan for making a fair selection, ship for ship, so that the withdrawals on both sides may be as nearly as possible of corresponding size or value. If the principle of a proportionate reduction be agreed to, far fewer difficulties will be found in carrying out the details than must have been encountered in arranging the plans of co-operation in the Crimean and Chinese wars, or in settling the details of the Commercial Treaty.

"And is this principle of reciprocity, in adjusting the naval forces of the two countries, an innovation? On the contrary, it would be easy to cite the declarations of the leading statesmen on both sides of the Channel, during the last twenty years, to prove that they have always been in the habit of regu-

lating the amount of their navies by a reference to each other's armaments. True, this has been invariably done to justify an increase of expenditure. But why should not the same principle be also available in the interest of economy, and for the benefit of the taxpayers? A nation suffers no greater loss of dignity from surrendering its independence of action in regulating its armaments, whether the object be to meet a diminution or an increase of its neighbours' forces.

"Although this reduction of the obsolete ships of the line presents a case of the easiest solution, and should, therefore, in the first place, be treated as a separate measure, it could hardly fail to pave the way for an amicable arrangement for putting some limit to those new armaments which are springing out of the present transition state of the two navies.

"The application of iron plates to ship-building, which has rendered the reconstruction of the navies necessary, must be regarded as the commencement of an indefinite series of changes; and, looking to the great variety of experiments now making, both in ships and artillery, and to the new projects which inventors are almost daily forcing upon the attention of the governments, it is not improbable that, a few years hence, when England and France shall have renewed their naval armaments, they will again be rendered obsolete by new scientific discoveries.

"In the mean time, neither country adds to its relative strength by this waste of national wealth; for, as both governments aim at only a proportionate increase, it is not contemplated that either should derive exclusive advantage from the augmentation. An escape from this dilemma is not to be sought in the attempt to arrest the march of improvement, or to discourage the efforts of inventive genius; a remedy for the evil can only be found in a more frank understanding between the two governments. If they will discard the old and utterly futile theory of secrecy,—a theory on which an individual manufacturer or merchant no longer founds his hopes of successful competition with a foreign rival,—they may be enabled, by the timely exchange of explanations and assurances, to prevent what ought to be restricted to mere experimental trials from growing into formidable preparations for war. If those who are responsible for the naval administration of the two countries were consulted, it would probably be found that they are appalled at the prospect of a rivalry, which, whilst it can satisfy neither the reason nor the ambition of either party, offers a boundless field of expenditure to both.

"Nor should it be forgotten that the financial pressure, caused by these rival armaments, is a source of constant irritation to the populations of the two countries. The British taxpayers

believe, on the authority of their leading statesmen, that the increased burden to which they are subjected is caused by the armaments on the other side of the Channel. The people of France are also taught to feel similarly aggrieved towards England. The feelings of mutual animosity, produced by this sacrifice of substantial interests, are not to be allayed by the exchange of occasional acts of friendship between the two *governments*. On the contrary, this inconsistent policy, in incessantly arming against each other at home, whilst uniting for common objects abroad, if it do not impair public confidence in their sincerity, tends at least to destroy all faith in an identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, by showing how little advantage the peoples derive from the friendship of their governments.

"But the greatest evil connected with these rival armaments is, that they destroy the strongest motives for peace. When two great neighbouring nations find themselves permanently subjected to a war expenditure, without the compensation of its usual excitements and honours, the danger to be apprehended is that, if an accident should occur to inflame their hostile passions—and we know how certain these accidents are at intervals to arise—their latent sense of suffering and injury may reconcile them to a rupture, as the only eventual escape from an otherwise perpetual war taxation in a time of peace.

"Circumstances appeal strongly to the two governments at the present juncture, in favour of a measure of wise and safe economy. In consequence of the deplorable events in America, and the partial failure of the harvests of Europe, the commerce and manufactures of both countries are exposed to an ordeal of great suffering. Were the proposed naval reduction carried into effect, it would ameliorate the financial position of the governments, and afford the means for alleviating the fiscal burdens of the peoples. But the moral effect of such a measure would be still more important. It should be remembered that although these large vessels have lost their value in the eyes of professional men, they preserve their traditional terrors for the world at large; and when they move about, in fleets, on neighbouring coasts, they excite apprehension in the public mind, and even check the spirit of commercial enterprise. Were such an amicable arrangement as has been suggested accomplished, it would be everywhere accepted as a pledge of peace, and, by inspiring confidence in the future, would help to reanimate the hopes of the great centres of trade and industry, not only in France and England, but throughout Europe.

"Will not the two governments, then, embrace this opportunity of giving effect to a policy, which, whilst involving no risk, or sacrifice of honour, or diminution of relative power, will

tend to promote the present prosperity and future harmony of the two countries, and offer an example of wisdom and moderation, worthy of this civilised age, and honourable to the fame of the two foremost nations of the earth?"

A Letter to a Friend on Joining the Church.

MY heart goes out fully to you, in this the first morning of your new relation to our dear Saviour. Now His child, you are to claim all His promises.

First, You are to realize that you have an ever-present friend and guide in the dear Holy Spirit, who more and more will make you acquainted with Jesus.

Second, He will open to you more and more the Holy Scriptures, which He has written on purpose for the comforting and strengthening of the believer.

Third, He will open up yourself to yourself more and more. You look at many things very differently from what you did six months ago. Things about yourself of which you had never thought, or thought but little, have come to be clear; and thoughts that never seemed to you other than innocent are now clearly wrong, and therefore to be avoided. This process will go on, and you will see yourself more and more as God sees you.

Fourth, Unless you understand clearly that the opening up of yourself to yourself is to be expected, you will become discouraged, for you will seem not to be going on, and even you may think you are falling back. This does not at all follow. It is inevitable that the true follower of God should see more and more the purity and holiness of God, so that he is always comparing himself with an ever-rising standard. So, you see, you cannot so come to think *better* of yourself. No; the goal of your desire will always be as far from your attainment.

Remember two things always: Your position as a child of God is owing to Jesus' death in your place. "He who knew no sin was made sin for you, that you might be the righteousness of God in Him." "He bore your sins in His own body on the tree;" and so God can be "just and yet justify you." What you were required to do was to believe this and to confess Him. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

This was your part, and you did the former last night. You believed before with the heart. Therefore you are born again, and are now the true child of God, because he says, "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name." Without a doubt, then, of your acceptance, *go on*, as you were told, "from strength to strength in the grace of Christ."

But remember also that all is by this "grace." Grace first called you, grace alone can keep you,—you will not grow in personal strength. Your growth will be in knowing your need more and more; and as you find yourself more and more needy, you will more and more take hold of what Christ is ready to give you. You will seem to yourself blacker and blacker, but it will be in contrast to your view of God's holiness; and the words "Be ye holy, for I am holy," a most discouraging command, are yet oh! how sweet to the believer, who is always longing for it, and would on no account have the standard lowered. His heart is always saying to Jesus, "Show me Thy face," and the soul will never be satisfied till it does see Him, and awakes in His image.

Remember, too, that you are now of the communion of saints, and can enter into all the blessed benefits of the prayers of God's people, both here and in heaven,—prayers which His children are continually offering.

And also, greatest of all blessings, you now have your place at the altar, God's Holy Table, to fulfill His command to remember His death till he come, and to feed upon Him.

The Christian life is a constant fight to the end He fights not only against flesh and blood,—all his own evil desires and evil influences about him,—but also against "principalities and powers, against wicked spirits in heavenly places."

Left to herself, the poor soul has no chance. "She is as a bird in the snare of the fowler." "I know," says St. Paul, "that in me, that is in *my flesh, dwelleth no good thing*." "Who shall de-

liver me from this body of death?" But, then he triumphantly adds, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ my Lord." "When I am weak, then am I strong." "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." The fight may be a short one—it may be long and hard; but Jesus says, "I will never leave thee." "Thou hast put thine hand in Mine." "I will hold thy right hand." "If God be for me, who can be against me?" "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him freely give us all things?" "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerers *through Him that loved us*"; for "I AM PERSUADED that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

"I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, . . . being confident of this very thing, that He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. But be ye faithful, for faithful is He which hath promised, 'I will never leave thee.'"

Therefore comfort yourself with these words.

A Guide For Meditation

— II —

PREPARATION

I Repeat the Lord's Prayer.

II Recall from memory a few Bible verses.

III In a brief petition ask that your mind and heart be made sensitive to the possibilities of this meditation.

THE POSSIBILITY

In this sanctuary where you now are you can have one of the very deep experiences of life. You can get rid of tensions and anxieties; you can be cleansed of vindictiveness and bad feeling; you can pull yourself together and before you go out on the street you can have a sense of confidence and purpose.

The following suggestions should help you.

I. Take hold of the fact that you are surrounded by the greatness of God.

Just as you are surrounded by the air and cannot separate yourself from it so you are completely encompassed by the strength and love of the Heavenly Father.

> "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit: or whither shall I flee from Thy Presence? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea: even there shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me."

Inhale into your mind and heart this creative truth. Take a deep breath — throw back your shoulders and take a deep spiritual breath. Try to possess the fact that just as this sanctuary is above and beneath and all about you, so the life of God entirely surrounds and sustains you.

PRAYER — *Dear Heavenly Father, Thou art in the north of space, and in the south of space and in the east of space and in the west of space. Thou art in the lowest depths and in the loftiest heights. Thou art everywhere. Thou art in the morningtime and in the eveningtime. All events and experiences take place within the embrace of Thy goodness.*

Help me, Dear God, to feel Thy all-encompassing presence. In my present situation and in all situations enable me to realize that Thou art near. I am never alone. Even down in the valley Thou art with me. Down every road and throughout every day I will be accompanied by Thy all-sufficient strength.

Help me, O God and Father, to take hold of this blessed fact, through Jesus Christ, the Saviour. Amen.

II. Take hold of the fact that you can be freed from the things that pull you down.

Most of us, in one way or another, become weighted down by something evil. Unwittingly we acquire tendencies, habits, desires, egotisms, resentments, ambitions, appetites, which when indulged can only create difficulties and even sickness. We may not be weighted down by the "sins of the flesh," but how many of us are free from the "sins of the spirit?"

Enslaved though we may be, we do not have to remain so. The shackles can be broken. The desires can be overcome. The associations can be severed. Enthusiasms and loyalties can be formed that will take the place of the destructive things and turn our minds toward the constructive things.

The initial need is a decision — a positive, courageous and absolute decision — and God is

waiting to empower such an act. A decision to stand up and walk across the room will be empowered by Him and a decision to break with wrong ways and to embrace right ways will likewise be empowered. God is always ready and waiting to support us in our aspirations.

There is not a decision that we ought to make or a step that we ought to take that cannot be done now. There is no habit or destructive tendency that can not be left behind when we walk out of this sanctuary. All we need to do is to clasp God's hand and say decisively, "This I now do. With God's help I can do no other. The matter is now settled. I have done it. From this moment on I am a free and different person."

PRAYER — O God, Thou who knowest the secrets of every heart and knowing them art unfailing in understanding and forgiveness, look with compassion on me. Be Thou my strength and guide. Give me the insight which recognizes the folly of egotism and selfish gratification and which knows the satisfaction that comes from loyalty to the good. As I now resolve to turn away from and to separate myself forever from the things that make life deficient, take hold of my outstretched hand and give me the upward pull. Surround me with confidence and courage. Hold before me the eternal dream. Give me Christian valor. Enable me to stand firm. Grant a portion of Thy comfort and peace, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Dr. Ralph Emerson Davis

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THE CUP OF LOVING SERVICE

BY ELIZA D. TAYLOR.

"AND A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

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OF LOVING SERVICE

BY

ELIZA DEAN TAYLOR

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—Isaiah xi: 6.

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TO

MY MOTHER.

PREFACE.

YIELDING to solicitation, I send forth this little book, and I think, if we all try to possess and to keep the jewels that the little lad names in the story, we will find that there are many Cups of Loving Service that each one of us can fill.

E. D. T.

EASTERTIDE, 1890.

THE CUP OF LOVING SERVICE.

ONE day, a long, long while ago, and in a distant country, a little boy stood shading his eyes with his little hand and gazing up the steep, rough road which wound about the mountain, then down to the valley, which seemed shut in, and so far away as if it were forgotten. Behind him was a small house, not much more than a cabin, set in a patch of grass and garden. Yet, with all its signs of poverty and isolation, it bore, somehow, the evidences of carefulness and content.

The child looked a moment longer, then, running to a small shed adjoining the house, he took from a peg within his reach a pewter mug, a tin pail and cover, and a coarse but clean cloth from the next nail, and, hastening to a spring near by, and almost hidden by an overhanging rock, he filled his pail with the clear, cool water, covered it tightly, and bound it round with the cloth—for the day was warm, and in all the fulness of noontide; then, fastening the cup to the belt about his waist, he ran swiftly and began the toilsome ascent of the mountain, his little face aglow with the intentness of his errand.

He came at last to the spot at which he had been looking—for his

eyes had learned all the signs of danger and distress in this wild mountain region. A traveller had dismounted from the horse which stood by him, and was lying down as if prostrated by the heat or from weariness after a long ride in the saddle. Pale and travel-stained, he had about him the unmistakable appearance of distinction.

The lad put down the cup and pail, and stood for a moment as if uncertain how to proceed—he was such a little fellow; then, uncovering the pail and getting down quite close to the man, he carefully slipped his hand underneath the head, saying:

"Please wake up, sir; I know you must be thirsty, and it is so warm today; please wake up."

The man moved slightly, with a murmur of impatience, and, slowly opening his eyes, saw bending over him a little boy's face, and near his mouth was held a cup filled to the brim with the sparkling drink which he had craved for hours.

He drained it at a draught, and, somewhat revived, he raised himself and sat against the trunk of an old tree beside the road where he had halted.

"What angel of mercy sent you to me, child, in this forsaken wilderness? for neither man nor beast has crossed my path, and I have seemed to wander in a maze that leads to nowhere, so far as I can see. How did you know that I was weary and so thirsty? Never was a draught so sweet; never was a face more welcome! Give me

another cup; to look at it, even, is refreshment."

The boy stooped down, filled the cup, and, lifting it carefully, said, "Let me hold it to your lips, sir; you seem so very tired," and gently the little fellow poised the cup, the man drinking eagerly again, his eyes looking the while at the bright little face so near his own.

"My good little Samaritan! How can I ever recompense thee? Thou dost not know how much I owe to thee," speaking in his light and inconsequent yet wholly grateful fashion, and drawing a glittering coin from a small wallet concealed beneath his coat.

The boy drew back, putting his little hands behind him. "Oh, no, sir! This is the cup that mother

says is 'without money and without price,' and although we are very poor, sir, God has been so good to us! For He has given us a beautiful spring which is always running beneath the rock right by our home; and mother says we must always feel so thankful for it, and we must not forget that verse somewhere in the Bible—'Freely ye have received, freely give.' I believe that's the way mother reads it; and—oh, no, sir; I could not take your money. You see, this is the cup of 'loving service,' mother says, and we must fill it and share it with those who pass by and are very tired and thirsty—like you, sir; and if you'll just look at it, you'll see what mother wrote on it a long, long while ago."

He gave the cup into the man's hand, then, lifting up the pail and standing on a stone near by, he gave the horse to drink of the water that was left. The pail emptied, he took the piece of cloth and began to brush away the dust from the traveller's coat, one little hand resting on the man's shoulder.

"Can you read the words, sir? Mother wrote them there with a pin or something, so that I might never forget them."

The man had read them. "Yes, child, I can read them: 'For Ready and Loving Service in the Name of Christ!' Child, suppose the spring should cease to flow?"

The little face looked troubled, and, stopping for a moment his busy

little hand, and looking off down the mountain toward his home, with almost a sigh he said :

"How could we do without the spring, and the cup never lifted down and filled? But then, sir, I'd still be ready to show the path to those who'd lost their way. But oh, I'm quite sure the spring will always run, sir!"

"Child, for your dear sake, I hope so, and the cup be yours to fill."

The boy was kneeling now close to the man's side, working at a button of the collar, his cheek often in contact with the other's face.

"I suppose you know the story of the cups, sir? Mother says every one has one 'the cup of service,' and some have very many. Away out

in the world there are so very, very many, and yours must be very beautiful, I think, for mother says some are of gold and silver, and some just poor, like mine; and mother says all are set in jewels, and that every one must keep their own cups; and unless they're bright and shining they are not 'service cups' and the jewels will look dull. And on every cup of service there are always the words that are on mine.

"And mother says there is one cup that every one has, never mind if they are rich or poor, and it's called" (going round to the other side, and rubbing at a corresponding button) "it's called the cup of" (thinking) "op-op-oppor-tunities. Mother says I'll understand it when I grow up

but I believe it's to be quite ready to fill the cup with a word of kindness—'to listen,' mother says, 'when any one's in sorrow; to fill it with the little things that make each other happy'—and we can have that cup, never mind how very, very poor we are.

"Oh, yes; I love to hear the story and all about the jewels, for they have a name, you know; and yet, although they shine so, you can never see them; and they are not the names of the beautiful jewels mother reads about in the Bible somewhere, for these all round the cups are called courtesy, patience, forbearance, faith, truth, cheerfulness, loving-kindness, honor, self-denial, and one very, very large one, that means all of the jewels, and is called charity; and when I grow up I'll know what they all mean so much better than I do now.

"And mother says that if we love these jewels the cups are never heavy to hold, and that God gives different gifts to fill them. He doesn't give the same to every one. And He must have been very kind to you, because He's been so very good to us, you see."

Having brushed the coat, he lifted up the cup, and, patting it lovingly with his little hand, said:

"Those other cups, sir, must be very beautiful, for mother says so; but I think I like mine best, for I can take it in my hand, and fill it, and see it hanging up; but all the others you never see at all, although

they are always hanging right by every one, ready to be filled. And where do you think they're hanging, sir?—and it's true, for mother says so"—and, standing up, his little face flushed with the knowledge of so strange a fact, "where do you think they're hanging? Why, mother says they're always—hanging in the heart!"

The man arose, and without speaking walked across the path, and stood looking down the mountain road and way beyond, till he saw a thin, pale curl of smoke over the tree-tops, and turning to the boy, who had been silently fastening the cup securely to his belt, and stood waiting till the stranger should address him, asked:

"Child, is that your home, where the smoke rises above the trees?"

"Yes, sir," he said, coming to his side, "and mother is building a little fire to warm the broth for dinner. She has seen the cup is gone, and she will wait to take the meal with me. You will find the road all safe, sir; keep on always to the right, and when you reach the valley it is easy then. Were you coming my way, sir? There would be broth enough for you."

"Dear little one, let me lift you in my arms a minute," and, taking up the boy in his strong arms, he carried him to the horse's side and placed him in the saddle, and, standing by him there, said:

"Child, put your arms about my neck, and lay your face by mine, and

promise me, when with your mother you say your prayers to-night, you will ask God to help me learn to fill many a cup of loving service as your little hands and heart have filled yours so lovingly for me to-day. I am going very far away on a distant mission, and your little face will always be beside me; and when I return, if I am spared, I shall come along this mountain road and drink from your loving cup again."

He lifted the child to the ground, bade him hasten, and the boy, looking up with a bright and happy smile, took up the pail and turned with the fleet steps of healthful boyhood toward his home.

The traveller mounted his horse and rode thoughtfully away.

"Oh! loyal, loving little soul! Faithful and true almoner of God's bounty—a bounty of just a little spring which I in my worldliness would fail to recognize as a gift from Heaven, how have my pride and selfishness been rebuked! And when all other gifts had been withdrawn he would 'still be there to show the path to those who'd lost their way.' And then the faith of 'mother says,' and oh, the cups that hang midst all my possessions unfilled and never offered, the golden opportunities unheeded, my blessings all unshared; and do I ever carry in my heart a single jewel that he named? My time and means spent freely with the midnight cups that are black beside his own! How can I redeem the

talents that have been intrusted to my keeping?"

He never saw the child again. A desolating war had overspread the country, and when, after a three years' absence, he was coming eagerly along the rough road again, a box strapped carefully to the saddle, and inquiring of a kindly mountaineer for the little lad, he learned of the dreadful battle which had taken place just there, a retreat followed by the victorious troops, a rush and carnage in the valley, and how the child, with steps like wings, had filled and refilled his pail from the spring, and had gone in so fearlessly among the wounded, holding his cup to many thirsty lips, and, just at sundown, when giving drink to a dying soldier,

a shot had pierced his little heart and torn the cup in two. How at nightfall they carried him tenderly and silently into the thicket, and, digging a grave, the colonel took the little form up in his arms, and, wrapping his own cape about him, laid him in the ground.

"And, sir," said the mountaineer, "they told us that the only prayer was the sobbing of the men. We miss them—the mother and the lad; death did not divide them long; but we're better men, sir, for having known their loving, gentle ways.

"I see, sir, that you're one who has not forgotten his dear face. He seemed never to think of himself at all; and once, not so very long before that dreadful day, a man came

to their home, bringing a box from his master, he said, who was far away, and who had bade him journey to the valley, find the little lad, and say his master sent a little gift to him in token of his gratitude.

"How I can see the child when he showed me the shoes, the soft leather leggings, the cap and jacket, the purse of gold pieces for the mother, and many other things beside. 'Ambrose,' he said, 'I know who sent them; and he told me he'd come again; and I'm sure he will, for he took me in his arms and kissed me; and Ambrose, there was a tear on his cheek when he said good-bye—so I must have all these things on when I run to meet him, for his servant said he'll soon be home; and

mother and I pray every night that God will bring him safe across the sea, for all I gave him was a cup of water—so I must be ready to thank him when he comes.'"

Overcome with grief and bitter disappointment the traveller had bowed his head to the mane of his horse, and made no effort to conceal his emotion, and the mountaineer, suddenly made aware that the stranger was indeed the unknown friend, stood in silent and not unmoved sympathy, regarding him; then, going up and laying his rough but honest hand upon the stranger's arm, said:

"Sir, it may be that the cup of water was sent by God's own hand to be indeed a fountain to make green

the waste places in your heart, and from thence to flow clear, loving streams of benefit and blessing, to give comfort and help to many as your years roll on; for I have learned, in my plain, unlettered way, just here among the hills, that we are to be stewards of God's gifts of mind, body, and estate; and we are none of us too poor or too rich to learn that we must be humble and happy accountants of God's mercies—ready and willing cup-bearers, like the little lad."

The traveller held out his hand, and, face to face, in a strong hand-clasp, the two men, so opposite in condition and circumstances, by a common and sacred memory were brought for the moment side by

side, heart to heart, never to meet again.

The man lived many years—years of many a struggle with the temptations of a life passed in positions of power and preferment, and, conquering these, he lived Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.

Afterward, among his treasures was found a carved case, fastened with two gold clasps; opening it, on one side was seen the picture of a little spring beneath a rock, and above, on the wide, white margin, was painted a well-worn cup and pail, and in illuminated letters about them the words:

"For Ready and Loving Service in the Name of Christ."

On the other side, on clear white, in beautiful letters of blue and gold, just these words:

"And a little child shall lead them."

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SOCIÉTÉ

DE PAIX ET D'ARBITRAGE

DU FAMILISTÈRE DE GUISE

Fondée par J.-B.-A. GODIN

LA

QUESTION DE LA PAIX

CONFÉRENCE

DE

M. Frédéric PASSY

Membre de l'Institut, Ancien Député

AU FAMILISTÈRE DE GUISE (AISNE)

le 8 Avril 1891

GUISE

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Aimez-vous la Paix, cher lecteur? Oui, sans doute, car tout le monde l'aime. Toutes les religions, par l'organe de leurs ministres, l'exaltent comme un bien suprême, ne cessant de répéter : « **Que la « Paix soit avec vous! Aimez-vous les uns les autres!** » On dit élogieusement : « **Vivre en paix** ». **C'est un homme de Paix** ». Cependant les hommes se battent avec acharnement, presque sans relâche, depuis que le monde est monde ! Les nations ont toutes sur la conscience des guerres abominables, atroces, provoquées par des motifs futiles, parfois grotesques, le plus souvent criminels. C'est par millions, par nombreux millions, que des frères abusés ont massacré leurs frères. Aujourd'hui encore, ô honte de la civilisation ! la moitié de l'Europe, l'arme au pied, n'attend qu'un signal pour se ruer sur l'autre moitié et se livrer à un massacre sans précédent dans l'histoire !

Voulez-vous prouver que vous aimez réellement la Paix ? Voulez-vous travailler à faire cesser cette terrible inquiétude et que dans un avenir prochain soient pratiquées ces belles et douces maximes : « **Aimez-vous les uns les autres! Soyez frères! Vivez en Paix!** » Voulez-vous que l'abondance succède à la misère, la richesse au déficit ? Voulez-vous que la société ne laisse sans pain aucun de ses membres ?

Demandez à faire partie d'une société de Paix !

Voulez-vous, **mère**, conserver un père à vos enfants ? Vous, **jeune fille**, préserver les jours de votre frère, ceux de votre fiancé? Vous, **père**, dont les cheveux déjà blanchissent, voulez-vous éviter que la mort, comme une épée de Damoclès, reste suspendue sur la tête de votre fils, sur qui vos vieux ans comptent s'appuyer ?

Demandez tous à faire partie d'une société de Paix !

Réfléchissez que si chacun manifestait **ostensiblement** sa ferme intention d'avoir la Paix, la guerre serait devenue impossible !

Sachez que c'est là la **Terre Promise**, et faites que ce soit le couronnement du XIX^e^ siècle, prédit par Victor Hugo.

Et si ces lignes ont rencontré un converti, si vous êtes résolu à faire la guerre à l'infâme guerre, à augmenter le bataillon militant des amis de la Paix, à combattre ce bon combat pour le bonheur de l'humanité ; si, enfin, vous avez au cœur la vraie charité, le vrai, le réel patriotisme, et que le temps vous manque pour dire tout cela en vue d'une propagande pour la bonne cause, **glissez cette feuille dans une prochaine lettre à un ami !**

Société de Paix et d'Arbitrage international du Familistère de Guise (Aisne).

LA QUESTION DE LA PAIX

SOCIÉTÉ
DE PAIX ET D'ARBITRAGE INTERNATIONAL
DU FAMILISTÈRE DE GUISE

Le 8 avril, à 8 heures du soir, M. Frédéric Passy, membre *de l'Institut, a fait au théâtre du Familistère une conférence* sur la paix et l'arbitrage. Cette conférence eut un grand succès. La salle était pleine de monde. De chaleureux applaudissements ont à plusieurs reprises montré à l'orateur que ses arguments, présentés d'une parole chaude et vibrante, avaient su conquérir tous les auditeurs.

M. Bernardot, président de la société de paix, ouvre la séance et lit une lettre de M. Dequenne Administrateur-Gérant de la société du Familistère, lequel s'excuse de ne pouvoir présider la réunion, ainsi qu'il se l'était proposé, une affaire importante concernant les intérêts de l'association l'ayant forcé de s'absenter.

M. Bernardot présentant le conférencier à l'assemblée, ajoute :

C'est une bonne fortune pour le Familistère de posséder aujourd'hui à sa tribune un homme aussi vénérable que M. Frédéric Passy dont la vie peut se résumer en deux mots : amour ardent de la liberté.

Avant de lui donner la parole, permettez-moi de vous faire la lecture d'une page de l'un de ses livres " *L'Histoire du Travail.* " M. Frédéric Passy dit en conclusion dans cet ouvrage :

« Il y a, et c'est mon dernier mot, il y a deux paroles qui me frappent dans l'histoire : L'une, qui retentit tristement dans l'antiquité, c'est ce mot sinistre et si longtemps vrai « *Homo Homini lupus, l'homme à l'homme est un loup* ; » l'autre, c'est cette parole que j'ai déjà citée et qui la remplace : « *Quant à vous, vous êtes tous frères.* » « Eh ! bien à ces deux paroles correspondent deux théories économiques, ou plutôt une théorie économique et une théorie antiéconomique.

« La théorie antiéconomique c'est celle de l'antagonisme naturel des intérêts. Si les intérêts sont contraires, il est clair qu'on ne peut satisfaire les siens qu'aux dépens de ceux des autres; qu'il faut prendre à son voisin pour avoir et que, comme le disent Montaigne et Bacon, le profit de l'un est le dommage de l'autre.

« L'autre théorie, c'est la théorie de l'accord naturel des intérêts légitimes et de l'identité de la justice et de la prospérité, du progrès matériel et du progrès moral. C'est la théorie qui apprend aux hommes, et non-seulement aux hommes, mais aux sociétés et aux nations, qu'il y a plus de profit à s'aider qu'à se nuire et à s'aimer qu'à se haïr.

« C'est la théorie qui dit que les prospérités rayonnent et que les adversités se partagent.

« C'est la théorie de l'harmonie, pour l'appeler par son nom. Dieu merci, c'est à cette théorie-là que l'histoire et l'expérience nous convient.

« C'est celle à laquelle l'avenir, plus heureux que le passé, appartiendra si nous savons la comprendre et la servir ; et c'est celle que je voudrais, en achevant ce trop rapide et trop incomplet exposé, être pleinement assuré d'avoir mis à l'abri de tout doute pour tous les esprits aussi bien que pour tous les cœurs. »

Je vous ai donné lecture de cette page afin que vous puissiez apprécier les sentiments qui animent l'homme qui nous a fait l'honneur de venir au milieu de nous.

Vous l'apprécierez encore mieux lorsque vous l'aurez entendu et je fais cesser votre impatience en lui donnant immédiatement la parole.

DISCOURS DE M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY

(*Résumé*)

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Je dois vous dire que j'ai une mauvaise habitude que je garde néanmoins parce qu'elle me réussit presque toujours : je ne prépare ni exorde ni entrée en matière, certain que les circonstances me les fourniront.

Et, ce que vient de dire M. Bernardot et dont il ne m'avait pas prévenu à l'avance me donne raison une fois de plus.

Il y a vingt-cinq ans que j'ai écrit les pages qu'il vient de vous lire. Je les avais presque oubliées, mais je n'ai pas oublié le sentiment qui me les avait dictées, sentiment de l'harmonie des intérêts et de la supériorité des solutions amiables sur les procédés de l'égoïsme et de la force, qu'il s'agisse de rapports entre individus, ou de rapports entre peuples.

Oui, Messieurs, la force et la violence sont contraires à nos intérêts. Ainsi que le disait l'éminent président du tribunal arbitral de Genève, au sujet de l'affaire de l'Alabama, il est temps que le bien succède au mal. A l'odieuse maxime : *La force prime le droit*, il est temps d'opposer le cri de revanche éclatante du droit contre la force. (*Applaudissements*)

C'est de cela que s'occupent les sociétés de paix. Elles se donnent pour mission de combattre les animosités entre les peuples, de répandre et de faire prévaloir cette idée que le mal terrible de la guerre appelle des remèdes, et qu'il peut être sinon supprimé du jour au lendemain, au moins combattu, diminué et peut-être à la fin supprimé comme l'ont été l'esclavage et l'intolérance.

Messieurs, on vous a montré plusieurs fois déjà que cette politique meilleure que nous préconisons n'est pas, quoi qu'on en dise, une utopie et une chimère.

Les objections qu'on fait aujourd'hui à l'organisation de la paix internationale, on les eut faites autrefois à ceux qui auraient prévu qu'un jour viendrait où l'esclavage cesserait d'être.

Si, il y a quelques siècles, par exemple, dans les sociétés du moyen âge, ou dans ces sociétés où certains hommes étaient

considérés comme un bétail, une marchandise, quelqu'un s'était levé disant : Un jour viendra où il n'y aura plus d'esclaves, plus de serfs; où, — bien que des différences morales, intellectuelles et physiques doivent subsister toujours entre individus parce qu'elles tiennent à la nature même, — les hommes néanmoins seront égaux en droit, pourront, à mérite égal, aspirer à la même situation ; où aucun n'aura le droit de dire aux autres : je suis d'une espèce supérieure, et de poser sur eux la main du despote : Qu'aurait-on répondu à celui qui se fût exprimé ainsi ? On lui eût répondu avec le plus grand génie de l'antiquité, avec Aristote : « La nature a fait deux espèces d'hommes ; l'une pour commander, l'autre pour obéir. »

Le temps est venu cependant, où la prédiction s'est réalisée. Aristote avait méconnu cela et pourtant il avait entrevu l'évolution industrielle et scientifique d'où devait surgir l'émancipation de l'esclave. Il avait dit qu'un jour viendrait où l'homme assujettissant les forces naturelles leur ferait accomplir la plus rude part de ses travaux. Ce progrès en entraînait un autre : celui de donner à l'esclave les connaissances, l'instruction voulue pour qu'il pût commander à la machine, faire passer pour ainsi dire, en elle, son intelligence et sa volonté.

L'esclave de jadis est devenu serf, puis homme libre et citoyen. Nul ne peut dire aujourd'hui qu'il est, devant la loi, supérieur à un autre. Tous nous sommes des égaux, des citoyens, des frères. (*Applaudissements*).

Eh ! bien, ce qui s'est passé d'homme à homme, doit se passer dans les rapports entre ces personnalités collectives qui sont les peuples et les nations.

Longtemps aussi on a cru que l'avantage de l'une ne pouvait être obtenu que par la spoliation des autres ; que l'état d'une nation prospère était celui d'une bande de brigands heureux.

Nous n'en sommes plus là, ou du moins nous commençons à n'en être plus là. Ces mœurs barbares tendent à s'effacer sous les lumières du progrès. S'il y a encore quelques hommes arriérés dont l'idéal est la force ; s'il y a encore de ces politiques comme un feld-maréchal célèbre qui croient que la guerre est bonne en soi, qu'elle est un stimulant utile ; que, sans elle, le monde s'étiolerait, ces hommes voient

leur nombre diminuer chaque jour et, déjà aujourd'hui, ne constituent plus la majorité.

Vous qui connaissez le prix de la paix, vous qui vivez du travail et savez voir en lui la source de tout progrès, de tout bien, de toute richesse, vous savez combien il exerce en même temps les puissances morales.

Vous savez ce qu'il exige de persévérance, de courage, quelquefois même d'héroïsme. Le chauffeur qui expose sa vie pour sauver des centaines de voyageurs, le médecin qui affronte les épidémies pour porter des soulagements à des frères souffrants, l'ingénieur qui transforme un pays marécageux où règne la fièvre en un terrain utile à la civilisation, tous ces hommes, vous le savez, sont aussi méritants, aussi héroïques que ceux qui sacrifient leur existence pour la défense de leur patrie. Ils le sont plus même, car le sacrifice de tous les instants est plus difficile et plus méritoire qu'un élan d'héroïsme amené par l'entraînement.

Ces vérités sont connues depuis longtemps, mais il est nécessaire de les répéter souvent ; il faut répandre autour de nous ce que j'appellerai la contagion de la justice et de la vérité. (*Applaudissements*).

Il nous faut montrer l'énormité de la guerre, et indiquer le remède qui doit atténuer d'abord, puis guérir le mal épouvantable qui menace de détruire l'humanité.

Permettez-moi de vous faire entrevoir ce que serait la guerre, si elle se faisait, et ce que nous coûte cette demi-guerre que l'on appelle la paix armée.

Mon savant confrère, M. Paul Leroy-Baulieu, a calculé que, de 1854 à 1866, dans le monde civilisé seulement, il a été sacrifié près de deux millions de vies humaines, sans compter les hommes qui meurent après coup des suites de la guerre. Il a compté, que le prix de ces morts, en chiffres ronds, peut être évalué à 50 milliards.

Ce n'est pas tout. Les guerres de la Révolution ont coûté 1.500 mille hommes. Napoléon Ier en a fait détruire 6 millions, c'est-à-dire de quoi peupler un pays comme la Belgique, où j'étais ce matin encore.

Pour expliquer ce chiffre disons que, de 1804 à la fin de son règne, Napoléon a fait tuer 1.750 mille conscrits français ; ajoutez le nombre des tués chez les alliés et les adversaires et vous arriverez aisément au chiffre cité plus haut. Pour

avoir une idée du coût de ces massacres, rappelons-nous que la guerre de 1870 ne nous a pas coûté seulement les cinq milliards de rançon que vous avez tous présents à la mémoire, mais en outre une dizaine d'autres milliards! Ajoutez ce qu'ont coûté les autres guerres depuis le commencement du siècle et vous arriverez à cette conclusion : le massacre de vingt millions d'hommes au prix de la dépense de 250 à 300 milliards, c'est-à-dire la fortune entière de la France !

Messieurs, il y a des gens, et des français sont du nombre, qui trouvent les habitants du Dahomey très barbares, parce qu'à l'avènement de leur roi ceux-ci croient utile de faire voguer une petite barque dans le sang humain, afin de savoir si le règne du nouveau monarque sera heureux. Or, le sang d'un millier d'esclaves suffit pour remplir le petit lac en question, tandis que dans nos pays dits civilisés, les Puissances pour assurer leur prestige, affermir leur pouvoir, ou simplement pour se venger de la lettre offensante d'une nation voisine, — lettre qu'après examen on reconnaît n'avoir jamais été écrite — ces Puissances dites civilisées peuvent tout d'un coup se ruer les unes sur les autres et verser le sang non pas de *mille hommes, mais de 10.000*, de 500.000, de millions d'individus, c'est-à-dire non de quoi remplir de sang humain le lac du Dahomey, mais de quoi changer en fleuve de sang le plus puissant cours d'eau de l'Europe et même de l'Amérique. Et nous osons traiter de barbares les gens du Dahomey !

La guerre qui se ferait, si elle se faisait, ah ! cette guerre là ! demandez ce qu'ils en pensent aux médecins d'armées !

L'année dernière, je présidais une séance de l'Union des femmes de France, société de dames charitables qui se préparent à atténuer, dans la mesure du possible, les maux horribles de la guerre; je demandais, à l'un de nos médecins militaires les plus éminents, ce qu'il pensait d'une guerre future, au point de vue des secours à donner aux blessés ? Quinze jours après la déclaration de guerre, me répondait-il, nous aurions 100 mille blessés sur les bras, nous en aurions 300 mille au bout d'un mois ; or, comme il faut une personne pour soigner sérieusement 4 ou 5 blessés ou malades, nos soldats mourraient forcément faute de soins nécessaires et immédiats, et beaucoup même auraient succombé avant qu'il soit possible de les retirer de la boue sanglante où ils seraient couchés.

Encore ces calculs sont-ils basés sur l'ancienne manière de combattre, mais avec les engins perfectionnés qui rendront plus horribles les tueries humaines, l'esprit se perd devant les désastres entrevus.

Des régiments entiers pourront être anéantis; des villes entières disparaîtront dans des explosions. Avec les canons énormes dont chaque coup tiré coûte 10 à 12.000 francs, c'est-à-dire le budget annuel de plusieurs familles ouvrières, avec ces engins qui portent la mort et la destruction à plusieurs kilomètres, on fauchera les hommes comme le moissonneur dans les champs fauche, au mois d'août, les épis dorés... et peut-être laissera-t-on à la place de l'Europe civilisée des déserts analogues à ceux d'Orient où furent autrefois Ninive et Babylone !

Voilà de quoi nous sommes menacés ; que deux puissants empires soient lancés l'un contre l'autre ainsi que deux locomotives qui se rencontrent, se heurtent, s'enfoncent, se déchirent, et il n'en restera bientôt plus que des débris informes !

Et la guerre qui ne se fait pas ! Mon maître Bastiat disait, en 1850 : « *L'ogre de la guerre dévore autant pour ses digestions que pour ses repas.* »

Nos voisins d'Angleterre nous en fournissent la preuve palpable dans le tableau graphique que voici. Au bas vous voyez une petite bande bleue : elle représente la totalité de ce qui est dépensé par an pour les services publics et productifs ; — au-dessus une énorme bande rouge divisée en deux parties; l'une, celle du bas, représente les frais de l'armée et de la marine ; l'autre, au-dessus, montre la portion du budget affectée au paiement des intérêts des dettes contractées par suite de guerres antérieures.

Par ce tableau, vous avez la représentation de ce qui se fait dans la majeure partie des nations civilisées. Ainsi, chacune d'elles consacre à des œuvres de mort ou à des œuvres mortes les 2/3 ou les 3/4 de son budget. Et nous-mêmes, en France, qui consacrons 1 milliard à l'armée et à la marine, 1.350 millions pour la dette, ne gardons guère plus d'un milliard pour les services civils : instruction, magistrature, travaux publics, etc., c'est-à-dire pour les services les plus indispensables à l'entretien de l'activité féconde et au progrès humain.

Cependant, telle est la vitalité de notre nation, que, malgré tout cela, nous continuons à tenir un certain rang dans le

monde. Que serait-ce donc, si nous pouvions ramener la majeure partie de nos ressources à un emploi utile, ou si on la laissait dans la bourse du contribuable au lieu de lui enlever le produit de sa sueur et de son activité !

N'y aurait-il donc pas d'autres moyens d'arranger les différends entre nations que ce procédé que l'on appelait, lorsqu'il s'exerçait d'homme à homme, jugement de Dieu, et qui serait mieux nommé jugement du diable ? Si, certainement ; il n'est pas plus impossible aux nations de faire régler leurs différends par des arbitres, qu'aux citoyens en particulier de faire régler les leurs devant les magistrats.

On disait autrefois, à propos de certaines injures : ce n'est que dans le sang qu'on lave un tel outrage. Le sang ne lave rien, et qui plus est il ajoute quelquefois de nouvelles taches. J'ai lu au sujet du duel cette petite anecdote : un monsieur était assis près d'un voisin qui sentait mauvais, il le lui fit entendre. Offensé, le voisin demanda réparation par les armes. Mais, lui répondit son adversaire, si nous nous battons cela arrangera-t-il les choses ? Si je vous tue, vous sentirez encore plus mauvais, et si vous me tuez, nous sentirons mauvais tous les deux. (*Rires et applaudissements*).

Des batailles pour des motifs aussi futiles se passent entre nations. Nous l'avons vu, hélas ! en 1870. A propos d'une dépêche prétendue insultante, dépêche qu'on a reconnu plus tard n'avoir jamais été écrite, la guerre a été déclarée, des milliers d'hommes ont été voués à la mort, le malheur a été dans toutes les familles et deux belles provinces, enfin, sont passées aux mains des vainqueurs ! Tout cela c'est le triomphe de la force sur le droit, tandis que ce qu'il faut organiser maintenant, c'est la suprématie du droit sur la force. Il faut qu'en tout, partout, la force soit au service du droit, et la première des choses pour atteindre à ce but, c'est de mettre du côté du droit cette puissance morale qui s'impose à tous aujourd'hui : l'opinion publique, la conscience du genre humain.

C'est à cette œuvre que vous convient les sociétés de paix et d'arbitrage. Or, leurs efforts quoiqu'on en dise ont été déjà assez féconds pour prouver le mérite et la praticabilité de l'idée qui les anime.

Jetons les yeux sur les progrès réalisés depuis quelques années par l'idée de l'arbitrage international.

Mais, d'abord, montrons que cette idée n'est pas sans précédents dans l'histoire. Notre roi Saint Louis, au moyen âge, était si connu pour sa justice et son esprit d'équité, que, plus d'une fois, des Princes en désaccord s'en rapportèrent à lui pour juger leurs querelles.

Ce que demandent les sociétés de paix, ce que nous demandons, comme le disait mon illustre ami Henry Richard, c'est tout simplement un tribunal qui soit pour les nations ce que sont les justices de paix pour les particuliers. Il n'est plus aujourd'hui permis de se faire justice soi-même. Les gouvernements imposent aux citoyens de recourir aux tribunaux pour régler leurs différends, pourquoi les nations n'agiraient-elles pas ainsi ?

Elles le font du reste le plus souvent ; que de fois, un conflit imminent est conjuré sans que nous nous en soyons même doutés : il naît, entre deux gouvernements, des difficultés ; aussitôt se produit un échange de notes diplomatiques, et, ordinairement, après quelques concessions de part et d'autre, on finit par s'arranger. Car, comme dit Franklin : « Un mauvais arrangement vaut mieux qu'un bon procès. » Ce qui n'empêche pas de rechercher les bons arrangements. Si les choses vont plus loin, un voisin s'interpose, et c'est encore généralement la solution amiable qui prévaut.

En deux ou trois circonstances mêmes, à propos de dissentiments entre les États-Unis et d'autres puissances, tantôt l'Angleterre, tantôt un État de l'Amérique du Sud, il arriva qu'un simple citoyen de la grande République fut chargé, par les deux parties, de se prononcer sur leurs différends, et, une fois au moins, l'arbitre donna tort à son pays, lequel s'inclina devant cette décision.

J'ai là une liste de près de cent cas d'arbitrage et elle n'est pas complète.

Depuis quelque temps, les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne se disputent pour la pêche dans le détroit de Behring. Chacun s'appuie sur de bonnes raisons et on ne peut s'entendre. Que fait le premier ministre anglais ? Il demande à la Haute cour des Etats-Unis d'examiner l'affaire, de l'arranger amiablement. Nous espérons qu'il sortira de là une solution avantageuse aux deux pays.

La France et l'Angleterre sont en désaccord depuis longtemps aussi au sujet du droit de pêche dans les eaux de Terreneuve. Vous connaissez la question ; les Français pêchaient la morue, mais cette pêche ne donnant plus de bénéfices rémunérateurs nos compatriotes ont entrepris la pêche du

homard ; or, les Anglais font également cette pêche ; ils veulent empêcher la concurrence française. L'affaire a commencé par une patte de homard et, maintenant, le homard menace d'y passer tout entier. La Grande-Bretagne et la France se sont entendues pour nommer des arbitres afin de régler cette question qui menaçait de s'envenimer.

Une fois cette question résolue, les arbitres seront appelés, nous n'en doutons pas, à juger les autres questions pendantes entre les deux pays et, cela, au grand avantage de tous. Car lorsque des nations en sont venues à réfléchir aux avantages d'un tel système, il y a beaucoup de chances pour qu'elles résolvent ainsi, l'un après l'autre, les points qui peuvent être en litige entre elles.

Ainsi nous voyons les cas d'arbitrage se multiplier avec rapidité ; on n'attend plus 10 ans, 6 ans, 3 ans, pour voir le fait se reproduire, mais 10 mois, 6 mois, 3 mois. Si bien que les journalistes qui se sont tant moqués de cette idée que nous préconisons, sont les premiers, lorsqu'il nait des difficultés qu'on ne sait comment trancher, à s'écrier : Comment, on est en désaccord et l'on n'a pas encore pensé à l'arbitrage !

Il se produit une opinion grandissante qui met en demeure les gouvernements de recourir à l'arbitrage, et l'arbitrage, reconnu en fait, le sera bientôt en droit. Quelques journalistes ont avancé que l'arbitrage ne serait possible que pour des questions de détail, et dans des cas où l'on serait d'avance prêts à s'entendre. Les deux faits suivants démentent cette assertion.

Ce n'était pas une petite question que celle de l'Alabama ! Pendant que les États-Unis se déchiraient, le Nord luttant contre le Sud, un navire corsaire du parti sudiste, l'Alabama, fut ravitaillé en Angleterre. Quand les États du Nord furent vainqueurs, ils demandèrent à l'Angleterre raison du tort qu'elle leur avait fait, et l'on commençait de part et d'autre à armer des navires, lorsqu'on parvint à faire accepter l'arbitrage. La question jugée, l'Angleterre fut condamnée à payer aux États-Unis 15.500.000 dollars, plus de 80 millions de francs. Les Anglais trouvaient la somme énorme, les Américains, de leur côté, la trouvaient dérisoire ; mais comme après tout John Bull et frère Jonathan savaient calculer, ils se dirent qu'en réalité une guerre coûterait au vainqueur dix fois plus que l'indemnité demandée. Ils se résignèrent donc et l'on raconte que, peu de temps après cette

solution, l'ambassadeur de la reine Victoria, abordant le ministre des États-Unis lui dit, en souriant : M. le ministre, est-ce que mon pays n'a pas une petite dette envers le vôtre ? si vous vouliez, nous pourrions régler cela avant déjeuner. Sur quoi l'ambassadeur remit au Ministre un petit chèque de 15.500.000 dollars, et il est permis de penser que l'ambassadeur et le ministre déjeunèrent ensemble de meilleur appétit, s'étant débarrassé l'esprit d'un poids assez lourd.

Et l'affaire des Carolines ! Un navire allemand avait violé le territoire espagnol ; les espagnols irrités avaient arraché le drapeau allemand de l'ambassade, l'avaient déchiré et piétiné dans la boue. Il y a 50 ans, on n'aurait pas évité une guerre, aujourd'hui, il n'en est pas ainsi, on régla l'incident par l'arbitrage, et les deux pays s'y soumirent. Quand on voit l'orgueil castillan et l'orgueil germanique aux prises après de telles injures, et la guerre n'en pas résulter, on est bien forcé de reconnaître que l'esprit de paix a fait du chemin dans la conscience publique, et dans l'esprit des gouvernements.

En 1856, on a pour la première fois introduit dans un traité cette clause, que les nations qui le signaient s'engageaient avant d'en venir aux armes en cas de dissentiment entre elles, à recourir, aux bons offices d'une puissance amie. Plus tard, à Berlin, on a sinon repris formellement cette clause, du moins stipulé que les dispositions antérieures restaient valables. De même les Puissances signataires du traité mettant le Congo sous la protection du roi des Belges s'engageaient, en cas de contestations, à recourir aux bons offices d'une puissance amie. Elles se réservaient en outre formellement le recours à l'arbitrage. Tous ces faits ne sont-ils pas une répudiation solennelle du droit de la guerre ?

Dernièrement, un incident très grave est survenu entre l'Angleterre et le Portugal. Les sociétés de paix se sont empressées d'intervenir et ont envoyé une note à toutes les nations européennes ; douze gouvernements ont répondu non par la formule ordinaire entre gens bien élevés, mais en traitant longuement et à diverses reprises la question en cause. Car l'idée d'arbitrage poursuit son chemin ; elle gagne peu à peu l'opinion publique et les gouvernements sont obligés de compter avec elle.

C'est à fortifier encore l'idée d'arbitrage que nous vous convions, Messieurs. Les gouvernements ne sont rien et ne

peuvent rien sans les peuples ; c'est de vous que peut venir cette grande marée qui submergera les vieilles erreurs et les vieilles barbaries du passé.

John Bright, le célèbre démocrate anglais, a prononcé des paroles que je veux vous répéter pour terminer. Un jour, dit-il, je me promenais sur le rivage, la mer était d'une tranquillité extraordinaire et je regardais cet immense miroir qui s'étendait à mes pieds lorsque je vis le flot monter, monter toujours, franchir les rochers, tous les obstacles qui auraient pu s'opposer à son passage, monter encore et bientôt couvrir toute la grève découverte un instant auparavant. D'où venait cette force prodigieuse ? de millions de gouttes d'eau unies et solidaires ; et je me disais qu'il en est des nations comme de la mer. Elles sont formées d'individualités qui, unies entre elles, pourraient agir avec une force immense et briser tout ce qui s'opposerait à leur passage.

Ayons donc au cœur, Messieurs, l'amour de la justice et de la liberté, travaillons pour la paix, pour le bien, pour la vérité et, comme les ondes de la mer, la marée humaine montera plus haut, toujours plus haut, et une nouvelle ère de bonheur règnera sur notre globe d'où nous aurons banni la guerre et tous les maux effroyables qu'elle entraîne à sa suite.

De longs applaudissements soulignent la belle péroraison de l'orateur. M. Bernardot se lève et remercie M. Frédéric Passy en ces termes :

Ce n'est pas seulement au nom de la société de paix du Familistère, ni au nom de la ville de Guise, mais encore au nom de l'humanité que je remercie M. Frédéric Passy qui depuis plus de 30 années met au service de la grande cause de la paix sa sublime éloquence. Il nous donne là un grand exemple de patriotisme car, en travaillant à la pacification des nations, il travaille au bonheur de sa propre patrie. (*Applaudissements.*)

La séance est levée.

Principaux ouvrages de M. Frédéric PASSY

A la librairie Hachette : **Les machines et leur influence sur le progrès social, le petit Poucet du XIX^e^ siècle** (Georges Stephenson et la naissance des chemins de fer). **L'industrie humaine, la population** (Malthus et sa doctrine), **la liberté commerciale, la monnaie et le papier-monnaie, la propriété et l'hérédité, etc., etc.** Dans la collection des entretiens populaires et des cours d'économie industrielle.

A la librairie Guillaumin : **Leçons d'économie politique, Mélanges économiques, la Propriété intellectuelle, l'économie politique en une séance, l'Enseignement obligatoire, la Question des octrois, la Part de la France dans l'Économie politique, l'Enseignement secondaire en France, Édouard Laboulaye, Frédéric Bastiat, le Rétablissement des tours, la Barbarie moderne, la Liberté individuelle en 1881, la Véritable égalité, la Liberté du travail et les traités de commerce, DISCOURS PARLEMENTAIRES : sur les syndicats professionnels, le Programme économique du gouvernement, les Expéditions lointaines et les crédits pour le Tonkin et Madagascar, les Modifications aux tarifs des douanes (Céréales et bétail) la réglementation des heures de travail et la responsabilité des accidents industriels, la liberté des funérailles.**

Au siège de la Société Française d'arbitrage entre Nations, 111, Boulevard St-Germain : **Discours, rapports et brochures diverses sur la paix et la guerre ; l'Arbitrage international, etc.**

Chez Fischbacher et chez Guillaumin : **Les Fables de la Fontaine.**

A la bibliothèque des Annales économiques et à la librairie Guillaumin : **Discours au Congrès Monétaire de 1889, etc., etc.**

Conférences : **sur l'impôt, sur le revenu, à la chambre syndicale des propriétés immobilières, la paix sociale, conférences pour les sociétés du travail, l'idée de Dieu et la liberté, conférences sur l'union des Femmes de France, le devoir social, etc., etc.**

A la société de Paix et d'Arbitrage du Familistère de Guise :

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R. B. Howard

SUMNER'S ORATION

ON THE

True Grandeur of Nations.

Friends' Publishing House Press, New Vienna, Ohio.

THE

TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS:

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES

OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,

July 4, 1845.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

Oh! yet a nobler task awaits thy hand!
For what can War but endless War still breed?
Till Truth and Right from Violence be freed.

MILTON, SONNET TO FAIRFAX.

FROM THE SECOND BOSTON EDITION.

NEW VIENNA, O:
PEACE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.
1877.

Certainly if all who look upon themselves as men, not so much from the shape of their bodies, as because they are endowed with reason, would listen awhile unto Christ's wholesome and peaceable decrees, and not, puffed up with arrogance and conceit, rather believe their owne opinions than his admonitions; the whole world long ago (turning the use of iron into milder workes), should have lived in most quiet tranquility, and have met together in a firm and indissoluble League of most safe Concord.—ARNOBIUS, ADVERSUS GENTES, LIB. 1, p. 6.

All high titles come hitherto from fighting. Your herzog (Duke, Duc) is leader of armies; your Earl (Jarl) is strong man; Marshal, cavalry horse-shoer. A millennium, or reign of Peace, having been prophesied, and becoming daily more and more indubitable, may it not be apprehended that such Fighting titles [also General, Admiral, Colonel, Captain] will cease to be palatable, and new and higher need to be devised.—CARLYLE'S SARTOR RESARTUS.

CITY OF BOSTON.

In the Board of Aldermen, July 7, 1845.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be presented in behalf of the City Council, to CHARLES SUMNER, Esq., for the able and eloquent oration, delivered by him, before the Municipal Authorities of the City, at the recent celebration of the anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States;—and that he be requested to furnish a copy for the press.

Attest, S. F. McCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

Boston, July 10, 1845

SIR:

I am grateful to my fellow-citizens for listening with such indulgence to sentiments which, I was sorry to believe, would not be in harmony with the opinions of all; and I now place at your disposal a copy of the Oration, much of which was necessarily omitted in the delivery, on account of its length.

In undertaking to present my views of the *True Grandeur of Nations*, I thought that I was most fitly fulfilling the trust that had been reposed in me, when I was selected as the voice of the City of Boston on the National Anniversary. Believing that, in the present state of Christian society, all war and all preparation for war, are irrational, unnecessary and inconsistent with that true greatness at which our republic should aim, I deemed it my duty on that occasion to uphold that truth. I was also anxious that our country should seek the true glory, and what is higher than glory, the great good, of taking the lead in the disarming of the nations.

Allow me to add, that I wish to be understood as restraining my opinions precisely within the limits which I have assigned them in these pages; and, particularly, to disclaim the suggestion which has been volunteered with regard to them, that Force may not be employed, under the sanction of Justice, in the conservation of the laws and of domestic quiet. All good men must unite in condemning, as barbarous and unchristian, the resort to external Force; in other words, to the arbitrament of War; to *International* LYNCH LAW; or the great *Trial by Battle*, to determine justice between nations.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES SUMNER.

THOMAS A. DAVIS, ESQ., *Mayor, &c., &c.*

ORATION.

It is in obedience to an uninterrupted usage in our community that, on this Sabbath of the nation, we have all put aside the common cares of life, and seized a respite from the never-ending toils of labor, to meet in gladness and congratulation, mindful of the blessings transmitted from the Past, mindful also, I trust, of the duties to the Present and the Future. May he who now addresses you be enabled so to direct your minds, that you shall not seem to have lost a day!

All hearts first turn to the Fathers of the Republic. Their venerable forms rise before us, and we seem to behold them, in the procession of successive generations. They come from the frozen rock of Plymouth, from the wasted bands of Raleigh, from the Heavenly companionship of William Penn, from the anxious councils of the Revolution, and from all those fields of sacrifice, on which, in obedience to the Spirit of their Age, they sealed their devotion to duty with their blood. They seem to speak to us, their children; "Cease to vaunt yourselves of what you do, and of what has been done for you. Learn to walk humbly, and to think meekly of yourselves. Cultivate habits of self-sacrifice and of devotion to duty. May our words be always in your minds, never aim at aught which is not RIGHT, persuaded that without this, every possession and all knowledge will become an evil and a shame. Strive to increase the inheritance which we have bequeathed; know, that, if we excel you in virtue, such a victory will be to us a mortification, while defeat will bring happiness. It is in this way, that you may conquer us. Nothing is more shameful for a man,

than to found his title to esteem, not on his own merits, but on the fame of his ancestors. The glory of the Fathers is doubtless to their children a most precious treasure; but to enjoy it without transmitting it to the next generation, and without adding to it yourselves, this is the height of imbecility. Following these counsels, when your days shall be finished on earth, you will come to join us, and we shall receive you as friends receive friends; but if you neglect our words, expect no happy greeting then from us."*

Honor to the memory of our Fathers! May the turf lie gently on their sacred graves! But let us not in words only, but in deeds also, testify our reverence for their name. Let us imitate what in them was lofty, pure and good; let us from them learn to bear hardship and privation. Let us, who now reap in strength what they sowed in weakness, study to enhance the inheritance we have received. To do this, we must not fold our hands in slumber, nor abide content with the Past. To each generation is committed its peculiar task; nor does the heart, which responds to the call of duty, find rest except in the world to come.

Be ours, then, the task which, in the order of Providence, has been cast upon us! And what is this task? How shall we best perform the part assigned to us? What can we do to make our coming welcome to our Fathers in the skies, and to draw to our memory hereafter the homage of a grateful posterity? How can we add to the inheritance we have received? The answer to these questions cannot fail to interest all minds, particularly on this Anniversary of the birth-day of our country. Nay, more; it becomes us, on this occasion, as patriots and citizens, to turn our thoughts inward, as the good man dedicates his birth-day, to the consideration of his character and the mode in which its vices may be corrected and its virtues strengthened. Avoiding, then, all exultation in the prosperity that has enriched our land, and in the extending influence of the blessings of freedom, let us consider what we can do to elevate our character, to add to the happiness of all, and to attain to that righteousness which exalteth a nation. In this spirit, I propose to inquire *what, in our age, are the true objects of national ambition—what is truly national glory—national honor*—WHAT IS THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS.

* The chief of this is borrowed almost literally from the words attributed by Plato to the Fathers of Athens, in the beautiful Funeral Discourse of the Menexenus.

I hope to rescue these terms, so powerful over the minds of men, from the mistaken objects to which they are applied, from deeds of war and the extension of empire, that henceforward they may be attached only to acts of Justice and Humanity.

The subject will raise us to the contemplation of things that are not temporary or local in their character; but which belong to all ages and all countries; which are as lofty as Truth, as universal as Humanity. But it derives a peculiar interest, at this moment, from transactions in which our country has become involved. On the one side, by an act of unjust legislation, extending our power over Texas, we have endangered Peace with Mexico; while on the other, by a presumptuous assertion of a disputed claim to a worthless territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, we have kindled anew on the hearth of our Mother Country, the smothered fires of hostile strife. Mexico and England both aver the determination to vindicate what is called the national *honor;* and the dread arbitrament of war is calmly contemplated by our Government, provided it cannot obtain what is called an *honorable* peace.*

Far be from our country and our age the sin and shame of contests hateful in the sight of God and all good men, having their origin in no righteous though mistaken sentiment, in no true love of country, in no generous thirst for fame, that last infirmity of noble minds, but springing in both cases from an ignorant and ignoble passion for new territories; strengthened in one case, by an unnatural desire, in this land of boasted freedom, to fasten by new links the chains which promise soon to fall from the limbs of the unhappy slave! In such contests, God has no attribute which can join with us. Who believes that the *national honor* will be promoted by a war with Mexico or England? What just man would sacrifice a single human life, to bring under our rule both Texas and Oregon? It was an ancient Roman, touched, perhaps, by a transient gleam of Christian truth, who said, when he turned aside from a career of Asiatic conquest, that he would rather save the life of a single citizen than become master of all the dominions of Mithridates.

A war with Mexico would be mean and cowardly; but

* The official paper at Washington has said, "We presume the negotiation is really resumed, and will be prosecuted in this city, and not in London, to some definite conclusion—peaceably we should hope—*but we wish for no peace but an honorable peace.*"

with England it would be at least bold, though parricidal. The heart sickness at the murderous attack upon an enemy, distracted by civil feuds, weak at home, impotent abroad; but it recoils in horror from the deadly shock between children of a common ancestry, speaking the same language, soothed in infancy by the same words of love and tenderness, and hardened into vigorous manhood under the bracing influence of institutions drawn from the same ancient founts of freedom. *Curam acuebat, quod adversus Latinos bellandum erat, lingua moribus, armorum genere, institutis ante omnia militaribus congruentes; milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis compares, collegæque, iisdem pærsidis, sæpe iisdem manipulis permixti fuerant.**

IN OUR AGE THERE CAN BE NO PEACE THAT IS NOT HONORABLE; THERE CAN BE NO WAR THAT IS NOT DISHONORABLE.† The true honer of a nation is to be found only in deeds of justice and in the happiness of its people, all of which are inconsistent with war. In the clear eye of Christian judgment vain are its victories; infamous are its spoils. He is the true benefactor and alone worthy of honor who brings comfort where before was wretchedness; who dries the tear of sorrow; who pours oil into the wounds of the unfortunate; who feeds the hungry and clothes the naked; who unlooses the fetters of the slave; who does justice; who enlightens the ignorant; who enlivens and exalts, by his virtuous genius, in art, literature, in science, the hours of life; who, by words or actions, inspires a love for God and for man. This is the Christian hero; this is the man of honor in a Christian land. He is no benefactor, nor deserving of honor, whatever may be his worldly renown, whose life is passed in acts of force; who renounces the great law of Christian brotherhood; whose vocation is blood; who triumphs in battle over his fellow men. Well may old Sir Thomas Browne exclaim, "the world does not know its greatest men;" for thus far it has chiefly discerned the violent brood of battle, the armed

* T. Liv. VIII, c. 6.

† It will be observed that this proposition is restrained to *our age*. It is not intended to express any opinion with regard to the Past, and, particularly, with regard to the war of the Revolution. Wars are the natural consequence of the predominance of the *animal* part of our nature; but the day has now arrived in which we should *declare Independence* of the bestial propensities, and recognize the supremacy of the moral and intellectual faculties. The question of the justifiableness of the War of the Revolution has been handled with great strength and freedom by Hon. William Jay, in his admirable publication, Peace and War; in a sermon by Rev. Mr. Judd, and by the late Mr. Grimke, of South Carolina, in his address before the Connecticut Peace Society. For some considerations bearing on this question, and another occurring in these pages, I beg leave to refer to a letter printed in the Appendix, Note A.

men springing up from the dragon's teeth sown by Hate, and cared little for the truly good men, children of Love, Cromwells guiltless of there country's blood, whose steps on earth have been as noiseless as an angel's wing.

It is not to be disguised that these views differ from the generally received opinions of the world down to this day. The voice of man has been given mostly to the praise of military chieftains, and the honors of victory have been chanted even by the lips of woman. The mother, while rocking her infant on her knees, has stamped on his tender mind, at that age more impressible than wax, the images of war; she has nursed his slumbers with its melodies; she has pleased his waking hours with its stories; and selected for his playthings the plume and the sword. The child is father to the man; and who can weigh the influence of these early impressions on the opinions of later years? The mind which trains the child is like the hand which commands the end of a long lever; a gentle effort at that time suffices to heave the enormous weight of succeeding years. As the boy advances to youth he is fed, like Achilles, not only on honey and milk, but on bear's flesh and lion's marrow. He draws the nutriment of his soul from a literature, whose beautiful fields have been moistened by human blood. Fain would I offer my tribute to the Father of Poetry, standing, with harp of immortal melody, on the misty mountain top of distant antiquity; to all those stories of courage and sacrifice which emblazon the annals of Greece and Rome; to the fulminations of Demosthenes and the splendors of Tully; to the sweet verse of Virgil and the poetic prose of Livy. Fain would I offer my tribute to the new literature, which shot up in modern times as a vigorous forest from the burnt site of ancient woods; to the passionate song of the Troubadour of France, and the Minnesinger of Germany; to the thrilling ballads of Spain, and the delicate music of the Italian lyre. But from all these has breathed the breath of war, that has swept the heart-strings of innumerable generations of men!

And when the youth becomes a man, his country invites his services in war, and holds before his bewildered imagination the highest prizes of honor. For him is the pen of the historian and the verse of the poet. His soul swells at the thought, that he also is a soldier; that his name shall be entered on the list of those who have borne arms in the cause of their country; and, perhaps, he dreams, that he too may

sleep, like the Great Captain of Spain, with a hundred trophies over his grave. But the contagion spreads among us, beyond those bands on whom is imposed the positive obligation of law. Respectable citizens volunteer to look like soldiers, and to affect in dress, in arms and deportment, what is called "the pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war." The ear-piercing fife has to-day filled our streets, and we have come together, on this Anniversary, by the thump of drum and the sound of martial music.

It is not strange, then, that the spirit of war still finds a home among us; nor that its honors are still regarded. This fact may seem to give point to the bitter philosophy of Hobbes, who held that the natural state of mankind was war, and to sustain the exulting language of the soldier in our own day, who has said: "War is the condition of this world. From man to the smallest insect, all are at strife; and the glory of arms, which can not be obtained without the exercise of honor, fortitude, courage, obedience, modesty and temperance, excites the brave man's patriotism, and is a chastening correction of the rich man's pride."*

I now ask what is *war?* Let me give a short but strictly scientific answer. *War is a public, armed, contest, between nations, in order to establish* JUSTICE *between them;* as, for instance, to determine a disputed boundary line, or the title to a territory. It has been called by Lord Bacon "one of the highest trials of right, when princes and states, that acknowledge no superior upon earth, shall put themselves upon the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies by such success as it shall please him to give on either side."†

This definition may seem, at first view, to exclude what are termed by "martial logic," *defensive wars.* But a close

* Napier Penins. War. VI. 688. "Why, man," said a British General, "do you know that a grenadier is the greatest character in this world," and after a moment's pause, adding the emphasis of an oath to his speech, "and, I believe, in the next too." Southey's Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, I. 211.

† Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 40. This definition of Lord Bacon has been adopted by Mr. Chancellor Kent in his authoritative work.—Kent, Commentaries on American Law, Vol. I. p. 46. Vattel defines war as "that state in which we *prosecute* our *rights* by *force*."—Law of Nations, Book 3, ch. 1. § 1; in which he very nearly follows Bynkershoek, who says; Bellum est eorum, qui suæ potestatis sunt, *juris sui persequendi ergo*, concertatio per vim del dolum.—Quæst. Jur. Pub. Lib. I. c. 6. Mr. Whewell, in his recent work, says; Though war is appealed to because there is no other ultimate tribunal to which States can have recourse, *it is appealed to for justice.*—Elements of Morality and Polity, Vol. II. § 1146. Mr. Lieber says, in a work abounding in learning and sagacious thought, Political Ethics, II. 643, that war is a mode of obtaining rights; a definition which does not differ in subtance from that in the text; though he imagines that such wars may justly be regarded as defensive in their character. He advocates war with the ardor of one inspired by the history of the past, and looking no higher than to history for rules of conduct, while his own experience of suffering on fields of slaughter has failed to make him discern the folly and wickedness of such a mode of determining questions between nations

consideration of the subject will make it apparent that no war can arise among Christian nations, at the present day, except to determine an asserted right. The wars usually and falsely called *defensive* are of this character. They are appeals for justice to force; endeavours to redress evils by force. They spring from the sentiment of vengeance or honor. They inflict evil for evil, and vainly essay to overcome evil by evil. The wars that now lower from Mexico and England are of this character. On the one side, we assert a title to Texas, which is disputed; and on the other a title to Oregon, which is disputed. Who can regard the *ordeal by battle* in these causes as a defensive war? The object proposed in 1834 by war with France, was to secure the payment of five millions of dollars, in other words, to determine, by the arbitrament of war, a question of justice. It would be madness to term this a case of self-defense; it has been happily said,* if, because a man refuses to pay a just debt, I go to his house and beat him, that is not *self-defense;* but such was precisely the conduct proposed to be adopted by our country. The avowed purpose of the war, declared by the United States against Great Britain in 1812, was to obtain from the latter power an abandonment of her unrighteous claim to search American vessels. It is a mockery to miscall such a contest a *defensive* war.

I repeat, therefore, that war is a public armed contest, between nations, in order to establish justice between them.

When we have considered the character of war: the miseries it produces; and its utter and shameful insufficiency, as a means of establishing *justice*, we may then be able to determine, strictly and logically, whether it must not be ranked with crimes from which no true honor can spring, to individuals or nations, but rather condemnation and shame.

I. And first as to the character of war, or that part of our nature in which it has its origin. Listen to the voice of the ancient poet of Bœotian Ascra:

> This is the law for mortals ordained by the Ruler of Heaven;
> Fishes and Beasts and Birds [illegible] the air devour each other;
> Justice *dwells not among them; only to* MAN *has he given*
> Justice *the Highest and Best.*†

* Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, in his Address on the Nature and Influence of War, where he treats this topic, as well as the whole subject of war, with great point and effect.

† Hesiod, Works and Days, v 276—279. Cicero also says; Neque ulla re longius absumus a natura ferarum, in quibus inesse fortitudinem sæpe dicimus, ut in equis, in leonibus; justitiam, æquitatem, bonitatem non dicimus.—De Offic. Lib. 1 cap. 16.

The first idea that rises to the mind, in regarding war, is that it is a resort to force, whereby each nation strives to overpower the other. Reason, and the divine part of our nature, in which alone we differ from the beasts, in which alone we approach the Divinity, in which alone are the elements of *justice*, the professed object of war, are dethorned. It is, in short, a temporary adoption, by men, of the character of wild beasts, emulating their ferocity, rejoicing like them in blood, and seeking, as with a lion's paw, to hold an asserted right. This character of war is somewhat disguised, in more recent days, by the skill and knowledge which it employs; it is, however, still the same, made more destructive by the genius and intellect which have been degraded to its servants. The early poets, in the unconscious simplicity of the world's childhood, make this strikingly apparent. All the heroes of Homer are likened in their rage to the ungovernable fury of animals or things devoid of human reason or human affection. Menelaus presses his way through the crowd, "like a beast."* Sarpedon was aroused against the Argives, "as a lion against the crooked-horned oxen;"† and afterwards rushes forward "like a lion nourished on the mountains for a long time famished for want of flesh, but whose courage compels him to go even to the well-guarded sheep-fold."‡ The great Telamonian Ajax in one and the same passage is likened to "a beast," "a tawny lion" and "an obstinate ass;"§ and all the Greek chiefs, the flower of the camp, are described as ranged about Diomed, "like raw-eating lions or wild boars whose strength is irresistible."‖ And Hector, the hero in whom cluster the highest virtues of polished war, is called by the characteristic term, "the tamer of horses," and one of his renowned feats in battle, indicating only brute strength, is where he takes up and hurls a stone which two of the strongest men could not easily put into a wagon;¶ and he drives over dead bodies and shields, while the axle is defiled by gore, and the guard about the seat, sprinkled from the horse's hoofs and from the tires of the wheels;** and, in that most admired passage of ancient

* Οφρ' ἐσάωσε. Il. III. 449. † Αἶψα δὲ δὴ Διὸς υἱὸς. Il. XII 293.
‡ Il. XXII. 309—306. § Il. XI. 546—558. ‖ Il. V. 782.
¶ Il. XII. 445—449. See a similar act. Æneid XII. 826.
** Il. XI. 534. See a similar scene, Æneid XII. 337. In modern warfare, we find a similar sketch of the *great* Conde. The soul is startled by the picture of a distinguished person, in whom the human character has been blotted out: "Le Duc etait couvert de sueur, de poussiere, et de fumee; le feu jaillissait de ses yeux, *et le bras dont it tenait son epee etait ensanglante jusqu 'au coude.* 'Vous etes blesse, Monseigneur?' Lui demanda Bussaq. 'Non, non,' repondit Enghien [Conde]; '*c'est le sang de ces coquins!*' *Il voulait parler des ennemis.*" Mahon, Essai sur la vie du Grand Conde, p. 60.

literature, before returning his child, the young Astyanax, to the arms of his wife, he invokes the gods for a single blessing on his head, that "he may excel his father, and bring home *bloody spoils*, his enemy being slain and *so make glad the heart of his mother.*"*

Illustrations of this nature might be gathered from the early fields of modern literature, as well as from the more ancient, all showing the unconscious degradation of the soldier, who, in the pursuit of *justice*, renounces the human character, to assume that of the beasts. Henry V, in our own Shakespeare, in the spirit-stirring appeal to his troops, says:

> When the blast of war blows in our ear,
> *Then imitate the action of the tiger.*†

This is plain and frank, and reveals the true character of war. I need not dwell on the moral debasement of man that must ensue. All the passions of his nature are unleashed like so many blood-hounds, and suffered to rage. All the crimes which fill our prisons stalk abroad, plaited with the soldier's garb, and unwhipt of justice. Murder, robbery, rape, arson, theft, are the sports of this fiendish Saturnalia, when

> The gates of mercy shall be all shut up
> And the fleshed soldier, rough and hard of heart,
> In the liberty of bloody hand shall range
> *With conscience wide as hell.*

Such is the foul disfigurement which war produces in man; man, of whom it has been said, "how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God!"

II. Let us now consider more particularly the effects or consequences of this resort to brute force, in the pursuit of *justice.*

The immediate effect of war is to sever all relations of friendship and commerce between the two nations and every individual thereof, impressing upon each citizen or subject the character of enemy. Imagine this between England and the United States. The innumerable ships of the two countries, the white doves of commerce, bearing the olive of peace, would be driven from the sea, or turned from their

* Il. VI. 476—481. † Hen. V. Act 3, Scene 1.

proper purposes to be ministers of destruction; the threads of social and business intercourse which have become woven into a thick web would be suddenly snaped asunder; friend could no longer communicate with friend; the twenty thousand letters, which each fortnight are speeded, from this port alone, across the sea, could no longer be sent, and the human affections and desires, of which these are the precious expression, would seek in vain for utterance. Tell me, you, who have friends and kindred abroad, or who are bound to foreigners by the more worldly relations of commerce, are you prepared for this rude separation?

But this is little compared with what must follow. This is only the first portentous shadow of the disastrous eclipse, the twilight usher of thick darkness, that is to cover the whole heavens, as with a pall, to be broken only by the blazing lightnings of the battle and the siege.

The horrors of these redden every page of history; while, to the disgrace of humanity, the historian has rarely applied to their brutal authors the condemnation they deserve. A popular writer, in our own day, dazzled by those false ideas of greatness at which reason and Christianity blush, does not hesitate to dwell on them with terms of rapture and eulogy.*

At Tarragona, above six thousand human beings, almost all defenceless, men and women, grey hairs and infant innocence, attractive youth and wrinkled age, were butchered by the infuriated troops in one night, and the morning sun rose upon a city whose streets and houses were inundated with blood. And yet this is called "a glorious exploit."† This was a conquest by the French. At a later day Ciudad Rodrigo was stormed by the British, when there ensued in

* The same spirit pervades the *Histoire de la Revolution Francaise*, by Thiers, and so far as I have read it, his later work the History of the Consulate and Empire. For a degrading picture of what is called *glory* I would refer to the *Histoire de la Revolution*. Tom. 8, p. 430. War in every age has been the same: and to the shame of humrn nature has never wanted historians, who described its deeds with feelings kindered to those by which they were inspired. Froissart, who takes special delight in describing "les rencontres ou l'on pouvoit voir d'une et d'autre part, belles envahies belles rescousses, beaux faits d'armes, et belles prouesses," has recounted with much detail all the assaults of cities and castles, the almost constant result of which was, "que la ville etoit assez tot gagnee par force et tantot rolwe et mise a l'epee, sans mercy, hommes et femmes et enfans, et less eglises arses et bruslees." Lewis of Spain transported his troops to Basse-Bretannque, "pour aller ardoir et rober tout le pays, et trouverent si grand avoir que merveille seroit a raconter." Gaultier de Maury pursued them; but he occupied himself "a maisons et villes ardoir, et a gagn r du butin." Froissart, c. 178, p. 88. Sismondi has correctly remarked that Froissart accorded his admiration equally to bravery and to cunning, to the courtesy which pardoned as to the rage which caused the flow of torrents of blood. Sismondi Histoire des Frangais, Tom. X. 373. Even the beautiful soul of Wilberforce, which sighed that "the bloody laws of his country sent many unprepared into another world," by capital punishment, could hail the slaughter of Waterloo, on the Sabbath that he held so holy by which thousands were hurried into Eternity, as "a splendid victory!" Life of Wilberforce, IV. 256 261.

† Allison, Hist, of French Rev. VIII. 114.

the license of victory, a frightful scene of plunder and violence, while shouts and screams on all sides fearfully intermingled with the groans of the wounded. The churches were desecrated, the cellars of wine and spirits were pillaged; fire was wantonly applied to different parts of the city; and brutal intoxication spread in every direction. It was only when the drunken men dropped from excess, or fell asleep, that any degree of order was restored, and yet the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo is pronounced "one of the most brilliant exploits of the British army."* This exploit was followed by the storming of Badajoz, in which the same scenes were enacted again with added atrocities. Let the story be told in the words of a partial historian: "Shameless rapacity, brutal intemperance, savage lust, cruelty and murder, shrieks and piteous lamentations, groans, shouts, imprecations, the hissing of fire bursting from the houses, the crashing of doors and windows, and the reports of muskets used in violence, resounded for two days and nights in the streets of Badajoz! On the third, when the city was sacked, when the soldiers were exhausted by their excesses, the tumult rather subsided than was quelled! The wounded were then looked to, the dead disposed of."†

The same terrible war affords another instance of the horrors of a siege, which cries to Heaven for judgment. For weeks before the surrender of Saragossa, the deaths were from four to five hundred daily; the living were unable to bury the dead, and thousands of carcasses, scattered about the streets and court-yards, or piled in heaps at the doors of churches, were left to dissolve in their own corruption, or to be licked up by the flames of the burning houses. The city was shaken to its foundation by sixteen thousand shells thrown during the bombardment, and the explosion of forty-five thousand pounds of powder in the mines, while the bones of forty thousand persons of every age and both sexes bore dreadful testimony to the unutterable atrocity of war.‡

These might be supposed to be pictures from the age of Alaric, Scourge of God, or of Attila, whose boast was, that the grass did not grow where his horse had set his foot; but no; they belong to our own times. They are portions

* Napier, History of Penins. War IV. 431. † Allison, Hist. VIII 189.
‡ Napier, Hist. of Penn. War, II. 46. For the terrific storming of St. Sebastian, see Napier, VI. 197-219.

of the wonderful but wicked career of him, who stands out as the foremost representative of worldly grandeur. The heart aches, as we follow him and his marshals from field to field of glory.* At Albuera in Spain, we see the horrid piles of carcasses, while all the night the rain pours down, and the river and the hills, and the woods on each side, resound with the dismal clamors and groans of dying men.† At Salamanca, long after the battle, we behold the ground still blanched by the skeletons of those who fell, and strewn with the fragments of casques and cuirasses. We follow in the dismal traces of his Russian campaign; at Valentina‡ we see the soldiers black with powder, their bayonets bent with the violence of the encounter; the earth ploughed with cannon shot, the trees torn and mutilated, the field covered with broken carriages, wounded horses and mangled bodies, while disease, sad attendant on military suffering, sweeps thousands from the great hospitals of the army, and the multitude of amputated limbs, which there is no time to destroy, accumulate in bloody heaps, filling the air with corruption.§ What tongue, what pen, can describe the horrors of the field of Borodino, where between the rise and set of a single sun, more than one hundred thousand of our fellow men, equalling in number the population of this whole city, sank to the earth dead or wounded? Fifty days after the battle, no less than twenty thousand are found lying where they have fallen, and the whole plain is strewn with half-buried carcasses of men and horses, intermingled with garments dyed in blood, and bones gnawed by dogs and vultures. Who can follow the French army, in their dismal retreat, avoiding the pursuing spear of the Cossack, only to sink under the sharper frost and ice, in a temperature below zero, on foot, without a shelter for their bodies, and famishing on horse-flesh and a miserable compound of rye and snow-water? Still later we behold him with a fresh array, contending against new forces under the

* A living poet, of Italy, who will be placed by his prose, among the great names of his country's literature, in a deathless ode, which he has thrown on the Urn of Napoleon, leaves to posterity to judge, whether his was true glory.

Dall' Alpi alle Piramidi,
Dal Manzanare al Reno
Di quel securo il fulmine,
Tenea dietro il baleno,
Scoppio da Scilla al Tanai
Dall' uno all' altro mar.
Fu vera gloria? Ai posteri
L' ardua sentenza. *Manzoni, Il Cinque Maggio.*

When men learn to appreciate moral grandeur the easy sentence will be rendered, and the glory of the warrior will be scattered like the unclean dust of his earthly body.

† Napier, III. 543. ‡ Alison, VII. 241. § Alison, VII. 355.

walls of Dresden; and as the Emperor rides over the field of battle, having supped with the king of Saxony the night before, ghastly traces of the contest of the preceding day are to be seen on all sides; out of the newly made graves hands and arms are projecting, stark and stiff above the earth.* And shortly afterwards when shelter is needed for the troops, direction is given to occupy the Hospitals for the Insane, with the order "turn out the mad."†

But why follow further in this career of blood? There is, however, one other picture of the atrocious, though natural consequences of war, occurring almost within our own day, that I would not omit. Let me bring to your mind Genoa, called the Suburb, City of palaces, dear to the memory of American childhood as the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, and one of the spots first enlightened by the morning beams of civilization, whose merchants were princes, and whose rich argosies, in those early days, introduced to Europe, the choicest products of the East, the linen of Egypt, the spices of Arabia, and the silks of Samarcand. She still sits in Queenly pride, as she did then, her mural crown studded with towers, her churches rich with marble floors and rarest pictures, her places of ancient Doges and Admirals yet spared by the hand of Time, her close streets, thronged by one hundred thousand inhabitants, at the feet of the maritime Alps, as they descend to the blue and tideless waters of the Mediterranean sea, leaning with her back against their strong mountain sides, overshadowed by the foliage of the fig-tree and the olive, while the orange and lemon fill with their perfume the air where reigns perpetual spring. Who can contemplate such a city without delight? Who can listen to the story of her sorrows without a pang?

In the autumn of 1799, the armies of the French Republic, which had dominated over Italy, were driven from their conquests, and compelled with shrunk forces, under Massena, to seek shelter within the walls of Genoa. After various efforts by the Austrian General on the land, aided by a bombardment from the British fleet in the harbor, to force the strong defenses by assault, the city is invested by a strict blockade. All communication with the country is cut off on the one side, while the harbor is closed by the ever-wakeful British watch-dogs of war. Within the be-

* Alison, IX. 226. † Alison, IX. 267.

leaguered and unfortunate city, are the peaceful inhabitants, more than those of Boston in number, besides the French troops. Provisions soon become scarce; scarcity sharpens into want, till fell Famine, bringing blindness and madness in her train, rages like an Erinnys. Picture to yourself this large population, not pouring out their lives in the exulting rush of battle, but wasting at noon-day, the daughter by the side of the mother, the husband by the side of the wife. When grain and rice fail, flax-seed, millet, cocoas and almonds are ground by hand-mills into flour, and even bran, baked with honey, is eaten, not to satisfy, but to deaden hunger. During the siege, but before the last extremities, a pound of horse-flesh is sold for 32 cents; a pound of bran for 30 cents; a pound of flour for $1.75. A single bean is sold for 4 cents, and a biscuit of three ounces for $2.25, and none are finally to be had. The miserable soldiers, after devouring all the horses in the city, are reduced to the degradation of feeding on dogs, cats, rats and worms, which are eagerly hunted out in the cellars and common sewers. Happy were now, exclaims an Italian historian, not those who lived, but those who died! The day is dreary from hunger; the night more dreary still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. Recourse is now had to herbs; monk's rhubarb, sorrel, mallows, wild succory. People of every condition, women of noble birth and beauty, seek on the slope of the mountain enclosed within the defenses, those aliments which nature destined solely for the beasts. A little cheese and a few vegetables are all that can be afforded to the sick and wounded, those sacred stipendiaries upon human charity. Men and women, in the last anguish of despair, now fill the air with their groans and shrieks; some in spasms, convulsions and contortions, gasping their last breath on the unpitying stones of the streets; alas! not more unpitying than man. Children, whom a dying mother's arms had ceased to protect, the orphans of an hour, with piercing cries, seek in vain the compassion of the passing stranger; but none pity or aid them. The sweet fountains of sympathy are all closed by the selfishness of individual distress. In the general agony, the more impetuous rush out of the gates, and impale themselves on the Austrian bayonets, while others precipitate themselves into the sea. Others still (pardon the dire recital!) are driven to eat their shoes and devour the leather of their pouches, and the horror of human flesh

has so far abated that numbers feed like cannibals, on the bodies of the dead.*

At this stage the French general capitulated, claiming and receiving what are called "the honors of war;" but not before twenty thousand innocent persons, old and young, women and children, having no part or interest in the war, had died the most horrible of deaths. The Austrian flag floated over the captured Genoa but a brief span of time; for Bonaparte had already descended, like an eagle, from the Alps, and in less than a fortnight afterwards, on the vast plains of Marengo, shattered, as with an iron mace, the Austrian empire in Italy.

But wasted lands, ruined and famished cities, and slaughtered armies are only a part of "the purple testament of bleeding war." Every soldier is connected, as all of you, by dear ties of kindred, love and friendship. He has been sternly summoned from the warm embraces of family. To him there is, perhaps, an aged mother, who has fondly hoped to lean her decaying frame upon his more youthful form; perhaps a wife, whose life has been just entwined inseparably with his, now condemned to wasting despair; perhaps brothers, sisters. As he falls on the field of battle, must not all these rush with his blood? But who can measure the distress that radiates as from a bloody sun, penetrating innumerable homes? Who can give the guage and dimensions of this incalculable sorrow? Tell me, ye who have felt the bitterness of parting with dear friends and kindred, whom you have watched tenderly till the last golden sands have run out, and the great hour-glass is turned, what is the measure of your anguish? Your friend has departed, soothed by kindness and in the arms of love;

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* This picture has been drawn from the animated sketches of Botta (History of Italy, under Napoleon. vol, I. chap. I.) Alison, (Hist. of French Rev. vol. iV. chap. XXX.) and Arnold, (Modern History, Lec. IV.) The humanity of the latter is particularly aroused to the condemnation of this most atrocious murder of innocent people, and he suggests, as a sufficient remedy, a modification of the laws of war, permitting all non-combatants to withdraw from a blockaded town! They may be spared in this way the languishing death by starvation; but they must desert their firesides, their pursuits, all that makes life dear, and become homeless exiles; a fate little better than the former. It is strange that Arnold's pure soul and clear judgment did not recognize the great truth, that all war is unrighteous and unlawful, and that the horrors of this siege are its natural consequence. Laws of war! Laws in that which is lawless! order in disorder! rules of wrong! There can be only *one law of war;* that is the great law, which pronounces it unwise, unchristian and unjust. The term, Laws, or *Rights* of War, has been referred to the ancient Greeks; but, it is believed, that they are not chargeable with the invention of such a contradictory combination of words. Grotius was misled, and it would seem after him, Sir James Mackintosh (Lecture on the Law of Nature and Nations) into the belief that Aristotle wrote a treatise Δικαιωματα πολεμων, by a corrupted passage of Ammonius, the Grammarian, in his Treatise, of like and different words, where there is πολεμων *Wars*, instead of πολεων *States*. See Barbeyrac's note to § 38 of the Preliminary Discourses of Grotius on the Rights of Peace and War; Selden, Of the Law of Nature and Nations, Juxta Discipl. Hebr. Lib. chap. 1, p. 4.

the soldier gasps out his life, with no friend near, while the scowl of hate darkens all that he beholds, darkens his own departing soul. Who can forget the anguish that fills the bosoms and crazes the brain of Lenora, in the matchless ballad of Burger, who seeks in vain among the returning squadrons for her lover left dead on Prague's ensanguined plain? But every field of blood has many Leonoras. From a poet of antiquity, we draw a vivid picture of homes made desolate by the murders of battle.*

But through the bounds of Grecia's land
Who sent her sons for Troy to part,
See mourning, with much suffering heart,
On each man's threshold stand,
On each sad hearth in Grecia's land.
Well may her soul with grief be rent;
She well remembers whom she sent,
She sees them not return;
Instead of men to each man's home,
Urns and ashes only come,
And the armour which they wore;
Sad relics to their native shore.
For Mars, the barterer of the lifeless clay,
Who sells for gold the slain,
And holds the scale in battle's doubtful day,
High balanced o'er the plain.
From Ilium's walls for men returns,
Ashes and sepulchral urns;
Ashes wet with many a tear,
Sad relics of the fiery bier.
Round the full urns the general groan
Goes, as each their kindred own.
One they mourn in battle strong,
And one, that 'mid the armed throng
He sunk in glory's slaughtering tide,
And for another's consort died.
* * * * *
Others they mourn whose monuments stand
By Ilium's walls on foreign strand;
Where they fell in beauty's bloom,
There they lie in hated tomb;
Sunk beneath the massy mound,
In eternal chambers bound.

III. From this dreary picture of the miseries of war I turn to another branch of the subject.

War is utterly ineffectual to secure or advance the object at which it aims. The misery which it excites, contributes to no end, helps to establish no right, and therefore, in no respect determines justice beween the contending nations.

The fruitlessness and vanity of war appears in the results of the great wars by which the world has been lacerated. After long struggles, in which each nation has inflicted and received incalculable injury, peace has been gladly obtained on the basis of the condition of things before the war — *Status ante Belum*. Let me refer for an example to our last war with Great Britain, the professed object of which was

* Agamemnon of Æschylus; *Chorus*. This is from the beautiful translation of John Symmons.

to obtain from the latter Power a renunciation of her claim to impress our seamen. The greatest number of American seamen ever officially alleged to be compulsorily serving in the British navy was about eight hundred. To overturn this injustice, the whole country was doomed, for more than three years, to the accursed blight of war. Our commerce was driven from the seas; the resources of the land were drained by taxation; villages on the Canadian frontier were laid in ashes; the metropolis of the Republic was captured, while gaunt distress raged every where within our borders. Weary with this rude trial, our Government appointed Commissioners to treat for Peace, under these instructions: "Your first duty will be to conclude peace with Great Britain, and you are authorized to do it, *in case* you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure under our flag protection to the crew. If this encroachment of Great Britain is not provided against, *the United States have appealed to arms in vain.*"* Afterwards, despairing of extorting from Great Britain a relinquishment of the unrighteous claim, and foreseeing only an accumulation of calamities from an inveterate prosecution of the war, our government directed their negotiators, in concluding a treaty of Peace, "*to omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment.*" The instructions were obeyed, and the Treaty that once more restored to us the blessings of Peace, which we had rashly cast away, and which the country hailed with an intoxication of joy, contained no allusion to the subject of impressment, nor did it provide for the surrender of a single American sailor detained in the service of the British navy, and thus, by the confession of our own Government, "the United States had appealed to arms IN VAIN." †

All this is the natural result of an appeal to war in order to establish *justice*. Justice implies the exercise of the judgment in the determination of *right*. Now war not only supersedes judgment, but delivers over the results to superiority of *force*, or to *chance*.

Who can measure beforehand the currents of the heady fight? In common language we speak of the chances of

* American State Papers, vol. VII. p. 577.

† This sketch has been drawn from the *War and Peace*, by Hon. William Jay, a gentleman whose various writings in the cause of humanity, marked by rare power of logic, accuracy of statement and elevated sentiment, will shed upon his name a fame not inferior to that of his illustrious father.

battle; and soldiers, whose lives are devoted to this harsh calling, yet speak of it as a game. The great Captain of our age, who seemed to chain victory to his chariot wheels, in a formal address to his officers, on entering Russia, says: "In war, *fortune* has an equal share with ability in procuring success."* The mighty victory of Marengo, the accident of an accident, wrested unexpectedly at the close of the day from a foe, who at an earlier hour was successful, must have taught him the uncertainty of war. Afterwards in the bitterness of his spirit, when his immense forces had been shivered, and his triumphant eagles driven back with broken wing, he exclaimed, in that remarkable conversation recorded by the Abbe de Pradt: "Well, this is war! High in the morning—low enough at night. From a triumph to a fall is often but a step."† The military historian of the Peninsular campaigns, says: "*Fortune* always asserts her supremacy in war, and often from a slight mistake, such disastrous consequences flow, that in every age and in every nation, the *uncertainty* of wars has been proverbial;"‡ and again, in another place, in considering the conduct of Wellington, he says: "A few hours' delay, an accident, a turn of fortune, and he would have been foiled! ay! but this is war, *always dangerous and uncertain*, an ever-rolling wheel and armed with scythes."§ And can intelligent man look for justice to an ever-rolling wheel armed with scythes?

The character of war, as dependent upon chance, might be illustrated from every page of history. It is less discerned, perhaps, in the conflict of large masses, than of individuals, though equally present in both. How capriciously the wheel turned when the fortunes of Rome were staked on the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, and who, at one time, could have augured that the single Horatius, with his two slain brothers on the field, would have overpowered the three living enemies?

But the most interesting illustration is to be found in the history of the private wars, and particularly of the judicial combat, or of *trial by battle*, in the dark ages. The object proposed in these cases was precisely the professed object of modern war, the determination of justice. Did time permit, it would be interesting and instructive to trace the curious analogies between this early ordeal by battle, child

* Alison, VIII. 346. † Ib., IX. 239. ‡ Napier, VI. 687 § Ib. IV. 477.

of superstition and brute force, and the great ordeal of war.* Like the other ordeals, by burning ploughshares, by holding hot iron, by dipping the hand in hot water, or hot oil, they are both a presumptuous appeal to Providence, under an apprehension and hope, that Heaven will give the victory to him who has the right. The monstrous usage of trial by battle prevailed in the early modern centuries throughout Europe; it was a part of the common law of England; and though it fell into desuetude, overruled by the advancing spirit of civilization, still, to the disgrace of the English law, it was not legislatively abolished, until in 1817 the right to it had been distinctly claimed in Westminster Hall. Abraham Thornton, on appeal against him for murder, when brought into court, pleaded as follows: "Not guilty, and I am ready to defend the same by my body;" and thereupon taking off his glove, he threw it upon the floor of the court. The appellant did not choose to submit to this trial, and abandoned his proceedings. In the next session of Parliament, *trial by battle* was abolished in England.† The Attorney General, on introducing the bill for this purpose remarked, that, "if the party had persevered, he had no doubt the legislature would have felt it their imperious duty to interfere and pass an *ex post facto law, to prevent so degrading a spectacle from taking place.*"‡

To an early monarch of France belongs the honor of first interposing the royal authority, for the entire suppression within his jurisdiction of this impious usage, so universally adopted, so dear to the nobility, and so profoundly rooted in the institutions of the Feudal Age. And here let me pause with reverence, as I mention the name of St. Louis, a prince, whose unenlightened errors may find easy condemnation in our age of larger toleration and wider knowledge, but whose firm and upright soul, whose exalted sense of justice, whose fatherly regard for the happiness of his people, whose respect for the rights of others, whose conscience void of offense before God and man, make him foremost among Christian rulers, the highest example for a Christian prince or a Christian people. He was of conscience all-compact, subjecting all that he did to the single and exclusive test of moral rectitude, disregard-

* See Appendix, Note B. † Blackstone, Com. III. 337, Chitty's note.
‡ Annual Register, Vol. 61, p. 52 (1819).

ing all considerations of worldly advantage, all fear of worldly consequences.

His soul, thus tremblingly sensitive to questions of right, was shocked by the judicial combat. In his sight, it was a sin thus to *tempt God*, by demanding of him a miracle, whenever judgment was to be pronounced. In 1260 he assembled a parliament, when he issued an ordinance, to take effect throughout the royal dominion, in which he expressly says: "*We forbid to all persons throughout our dominions the trial by battle;* and, instead of battles, we establish proofs by witnesses; and we do not take away the other good and loyal proofs which have been used in lay courts to this day. * * * AND THESE BATTLES WE ABOLISH IN OUR DOMINIONS FOR EVER."*

Such were the restraints on the royal authority, that this Ordinance was confined in its operation to the demesnes of the King; and did not extend to those of the barons and feudatories of the realm. But where the power of St. Louis did not reach, there he labored by his example, his influence, and his express intercession. He treated with many of the great vassals of the crown, and induced them to renounce this unnatural usage. Though for many years later France continued in some parts to be vexed by it, still its overthrow commenced with the Ordinance of St. Louis.

Honor and blessings attend the name of this truly Christian King; who submitted all his actions to the Heaven-descended sentiment of duty; who began a long and illustrious reign by renouncing and restoring a portion of the conquests of his predecessor, saying to those about him, whose souls did not ascend to the height of his morality, "I know that the predecessors of the King of England have lost by the right of conquest the land which I hold; and the land which I give him, I do not give because I am bound to him or his heirs, *but to put love between my children and his children, who are cousin-germans;* and it seems to me that what I thus give, I employ to good purpose!"† Honor to him who never grasped by force or cunning any new

* "*Nous defendons a tous les batailles par tout nostre demeygne (domaine);* mes nous n'ostons mie les claims, les respons, les convenants, ne tous autres convenants que l'en fait en court laie, siques a ore selon les usages de divers pays, *fors que nous ostons les batailles;* et en lieu des batailles nous mentons preuves de tesmoins; et si n'oston pas autres bones prueves et loyaux qui ont este en court laie siques a ore. * * * *Et ces tailles nous ostons en mestre demaigne a toujours.*" Recueil des Ordonnances, 86-93. Guizot, Histoire de la Civilization en France, IV. 162-164.

† Joinville, Hist. de St. Louis, p. 142; Guizot, Histoire de la Civilization en Fran IV. 151.

acquisition; who never sought advantage from the turmoils and dissensions of his neighbors, but studied to allay them; who, first of Christian Princes, rebuked the spirit of war, saying to those who would have him profit by the dissensions of his neighbors, "Blessed are the Peace-makers;"* who abolished *trial by battle* throughout his dominions; who aimed to do justice to all his people, and to all neighbors, and in the extremity of his last illness, on the sickening sands of Tunis, among the bequests of his spirit, enjoined on his son and successor, "in maintaining justice, to be inflexible and loyal, neither turning to the right hand or to the left!"†

The history of the trial by battle will illustrate and bring home to your minds the chances of war, and the consequent folly and wickedness of submitting any question to its arbitrament. As we revert to those early periods in which it prevailed, our minds are impressed by the barbarism which we behold; we recoil, with horror, from the awful subjection of justice to brute force; from the impious profanation of the character of God in deeming him present in these outrages; from the moral degradation out of which they sprang, and which they perpetuated; we involve ourselves in our self-complacent virtue, and thank God that we are not as these men, that ours is, indeed, an age of light, while theirs was an age of darkness!

But are we aware that this monstrous and impious usage, which our enlightened reason so justly condemns in the cases of individuals, is openly avowed by our own country, and by the other countries of the earth, as a proper mode of determining justice between them? Be upon our heads and upon our age the judgment of barbarism, which we pronounce upon those who have gone before! At this moment, in this period of light, when the noon-day sun of civilization seems, to the contented souls of many, to be standing still in the heavens, as upon Gibeon, the relations between nations are governed by the same rules of barbarous, brutal force, which once prevailed between individuals. The dark ages have not passed away; Erebus and black Night, born of Chaos, still brood over the earth: nor shall we hail the clear day, until the mighty hearts of the nations shall be touched, as those of children, and the whole

* Benoist soient tuit li apaiseur, Joinville, pp. 143, 144; Guizot. Sismondi, Histoire des Franç. VIII. 196.

earth, individuals and nations alike, shall acknowledge *one and the same rule of Right.*

Who has told you, fond man! to regard that as a glory when performed by a nation, which is condemned as a crime and a barbarism, when committed by an individual? In what vain conceit of wisdom and virtue do you find this incongruous morality? Where is it declared, that God, who is no respecter of persons, is a respecter of multitudes? Whence do you draw these partial laws, of a powerful and impartial God? Man is immortal; but States are mortal. He has a higher destiny than States. Shall States be less amenable to the great moral laws? Each individual is an atom of the mass. Must not the mass be like the individuals of which it is composed? Shall the mass do what individuals may not do? No. The same moral laws which govern individuals govern masses, as the same laws in nature prevail over large and small, controlling the fall of an apple and the orbits of the planets. It was the beautiful discovery of Newton, that gravity is a universal property of matter, a law obeyed by every particle in reference to every other particle, and connecting the celestial mechanism with terrestrial phenomena. So the *Rule of Right*, which binds the single individual, binds two or three when gathered together—binds conventions and congregations of men—binds villages, towns and cities—binds states, nations and empires—clasps the whole human family in its sevenfold embrace; nay more,

> Beyond the flaming bounds of place and time,
> The living throne, the sapphire blaze,

it binds the angels of Heaven, the Seraphim, full of love, the Cherubim, full of knowledge: above all, it binds, in self-imposed bonds, a just and omnipotent God. It is of this, and not of any earthly law, that Hooker speaks in that magnificent period which sounds like an anthem; "Of law no less can be said, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

We are struck with horror, and our hair stands on end, at the report of a single murder; we think of the soul that

has been hurried to its final account; we seek the murderer; and the law puts forth all its energies to secure his punishment. Viewed in the clear light of truth, what are war and battle but organized murder; murder of malice afore-thought; in cold blood; through the operation of an extensive machinery of crime; with innumerable hands; at incalculable cost of money; through subtle contrivances of cunning and skill; or by the savage brutal assault? Was not the Scythian right, when he said to Alexander, "Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marches is to extirpate robbers; thou thyself is the greatest robber in the world." Among us one class of sea-robbers is hanged as pirates; another is hailed with acclamation:

> Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.*

It was amidst the thunders which made Sinai tremble, that God declared, "Thou shalt not kill;" and the voice of these thunders, with this commandment, has been prolonged to our own day in the echoes of Christian churches. What mortal shall restrain the application of these words? Who on earth is empowered to vary or abridge the commandments of God? Who shall presume to declare, that this injunction was directed, not to nations, but to individuals only; not to many but to one only; that one man may not kill, but that many may; that it is forbidden to each individual to destroy the life of a single human being, but that it is not forbidden to a nation to cut off by the sword a whole people?

When shall the St. Louis of the nations arise? the Christian ruler of Christian people, who shall proclaim to the whole earth, that henceforward for ever the *great trial by battle* shall cease; that it is the duty and policy of nations to establish love between each other; and in all respects, at all times, towards all persons, as well as their own people, as the people of other lands, to be governed by the sacred rules of right, as between man and man! May God speed the coming of that day!

I have already alluded, in the early part of my remarks, to some of the obstacles to be encountered by the advocate of Peace. One of these is the warlike tone of the literature, by which our minds and opinions are formed. The

* Juvenal, Sat. XIII. 105. The ancient laws of Ina recognize numbers as the only distinction between an army and a band of robbers; "Fures appellamus societatem septem hominum; et septem usque ad XXXV turmam; et deinde esto exercitus."

world has supped so full with battles, that all its inner modes of thought, and many of its rules of conduct seem to be incarnadined with blood; as the bones of swine, fed on madder, are said to become red. But I now pass this by, though a most fruitful theme, and hasten to other topics. I propose to consider in succession, very briefly, some of those influences and prejudices, which are most powerful in keeping alive the delusion of war.

1. One of the most important of these is the prejudice to a certain extent in its favor founded on the *belief in its necessity*. The consciences of all good men condemn it as a crime, a sin; even the soldier, whose profession it is, confesses that it is to be resorted to only in the last necessity. But a benevolent and omnipotent God can not render it *necessary* to commit a crime. When war is called a necessity, it is meant, of course, that its object can not be gained in any other way. Now I think that it has already appeared with distinctness, approaching demonstration, that the professed object of war, which is justice between nations, is in no respect promoted by war; that force is not justice, nor in any way conducive to justice; that the eagles of victory can be only the emblems of successful force and not of established right.* Justice can be obtained only by the exercise of the reason and judgment; but these are silent in the din of arms. Justice is without passion; but war lets loose all the worst passions of our nature, while "high arbiter Chance more embroils the fray." The age has passed in which a nation, within the enchanted circle of civilization, will make war upon its neighbor, for any professed purpose of booty or vengeance. It does "nought in hate, but all in *honor*." There are professions even of tenderness which mingle with the first mutterings of the dismal strife. Each of the two governments, as if conscience-struck at the abyss into which it is about to plunge, seeks to fix on the other the charge of hostile aggression, and to assume to itself the ground of defending some right; some stolen Texas; some distant, worthless Oregon Like Pontius Pilate, it vainly washes its hands of innocent blood,

* Le recours a la force, soit par le combat judiciaire, soit par la guerre privee, etait le mode le plus commun de mettre fin aux proces. *Mais la force n'est pas la justice; les plus grossiers esprits ne les confondent pas long temps.* La necessite d'un autre systeme judiciaire, d'un veritable jugement, devint bientot evident. *Guizot*, Histoire de la Civilization, Tome IV. 89.

and straightway allows a crime at which the whole heavens are darkened, and two kindred countries are severed, as the veil of the Temple was rent in twain.

The various modes, which have been proposed for the determination of disputes between nations, are Negotiation, Arbitration, Mediation, and a Congress of Nations;* all of them practicable and calculated to secure peaceful justice. Let it not be said, then, that war is a *necessity;* and may our country aim at the true glory of taking the lead in the recognition of these, as the only proper modes of determining justice between nations! Such a glory, unlike the earthly fame of battles, shall be immortal as the stars, dropping perpetual light upon the souls of men!

2. Another prejudice in favor of war is founded on *the practice of nations*, past and present. There is no crime or enormity in morals, which may not find the support of human example, often on a most extended scale. But it is not to be urged in our day that we are to look for a standard of duty in the conduct of vain, mistaken, fallible man. It is not in the power of man, by any subtle alchemy, to transmute wrong into right. Because war is according to the practice of the world, it does not follow that it is right. For ages the world worshipped false gods; but these gods were not the less false, because all bowed before them. At this moment the larger portion of mankind are Heathen; but Heathenism is not true. It was once the practice of nations to slaughter prisoners of war; but even the spirit of war recoils now from this bloody sacrifice. In Sparta, theft, instead of being execrated as a crime, was dignified into an art and an accomplishment, and as such admitted into the system of youthful education; and even this debasing practice, established by local feeling, is enlightened, like war, by an instance of unconquerable firmness, which is a barbaric counterfeit of virtue. The Spartan youth, who allowed the fox concealed under his robe to eat into his heart, is an example of mistaken fortitude, not unlike that which we are asked to admire in the soldier. Other illustrations of this character crowd upon the mind; but I will not dwell upon them. We turn with disgust from Spartan cruelty and the wolves of Taygetus; from the awful cannibalism of

* For a sketch of the labors and examples which tend to the establishment of a *System of Arbitration*, or a *Congress of Nations*, see Appendix, Note C.

the Feejee Islands; from the profane rites of innumerable savages; from the crushing Juggernaut; from the Hindo widow lighting her funeral pyre; from the Indian dancing at the stake. But had not all these, in their respective places and days, like war, the sanction of established usage?

But it is often said, "Let us not be wiser than our fathers." Rather let us try to excel our fathers in wisdom. Let us imitate what in them was good, but let us not bind ourselves as in the chains of Fate, by their imperfect example. There are principles which are higher than human example. Examples are to be followed when they accord with the suggestions of duty. But he is unwise and wicked, who attempts to lean upon these, rather than upon those truths, which, like the Everlasting Arm, cannot fail!

In all modesty be it said, we have lived to little purpose, if we are not wiser than the generations that have gone before us. It is the grand distinction of man that he is a progressive being; that his reason at the present day is not merely the reason of a single human being, but that of the whole human race, in all ages from which knowledge has descended, in all lands from which it has been borne away. We are the heirs to an inheritance of knowledge, which has been accumulating from generation to generation. The child is now taught at his mother's knee the orbits of the heavenly bodies,

Where worlds on worlds compose one Universe;

the nature of this globe; the character of the tribes of men by which it is covered, and the geography of nations, all of which were far beyond the ken of the most learned of other days. It is, therefore, true, as has been said, that antiquity is the real infancy of man; it is then that he is immature, ignorant, wayward, childish, selfish, finding his chief happiness in pleasures of sense, all unconscious of the higher delights of knowledge and of love. The animal part of his nature reigns over his soul, and he is driven on by the gross impulses of force. He seeks contests, war and blood. But we are advanced from the childhood of man; reason and the kindlier virtues of age, repudiating and abhorring force, now bear sway. We are the true Ancients. The single lock on the battered forehead of Old Time is thinner now than when our fathers attempted to grasp it; the hour-glass has been turned often since; the scythe is heavier laden with the work of death.

Let us cease, then, to look for a lamp to our feet, in the feeble tapers that glimmer in the sepulchres of the Past. Rather let us hail those ever-burning lights above, in whose beams is the brightness of noon-day!

3. There is a topic to which I allude with diffidence; but in the spirit of frankness. It is the influence which war, though condemned by Christ, has derived from the *Christian Church*. When Constantine on one of his marches, at the head of his army, beheld the luminous trophy of the cross in the sky right above the meridian sun, inscribed with these words, *By this conquer*, had his soul been penetrated by the true spirit of Him, whose precious symbol it was, he would have found in it no inspiration to the spear and the sword. He would have received the lesson of self-sacrifice, as from the lips of the Saviour, and would have learned that it was not by earthly weapons that any true victory was to be won. The pride of conquest would have been rebuked, and the bauble sceptre of Empire would have fallen from his hands. *By this conquer;* that is, by patience, suffering, forgiveness of evil, by all those virtues of which the cross is the affecting token, *conquer;* and the victory shall be greater than any in the annals of Roman conquest; it may not find a place in the records of man; but it shall appear in the register of everlasting life.

The Christian Church, after the first centuries of its existence, failed to discern the peculiar spiritual beauty of the faith which it professed. Like Constantine, it found new incentives to war in the religion of Peace; and such has been its character, let it be said fearlessly, even to our own day. The Pope of Rome, the asserted head of the church, the Vicegerent of Christ on earth, whose seal is a fisherman, on whose banner is a LAMB before the HOLY CROSS, assumed the command of armies, often mingling the thunders of battle with those of the Vatican. The dagger which projected from the sacred vestments of the Archbishop de Retz, as he appeared in the streets of Paris, was called by the people, "the Archbishop's Prayer Book." We read of mitred prelates in armor of proof, and seem still to catch the jingle of the golden spurs of the bishops in the streets of Cologne. The sword of knighthood was consecrated by the church; and priests were often the expert masters in military exercises. I have seen at the gates of the Papal Palace in Rome, a constant guard of Swiss

soldiers; I have seen, too, in our own streets a show, as incongruous and as inconsistent, a pastor of a Christian church parading as the chaplain of a military array! Ay' more than this; some of us have heard, within a few short weeks, in a Christian pulpit, from the lips of an eminent Christian divine, a sermon in which we are encouraged to *serve the God of Battles,* and, as citizen soldiers, to fight for Peace;*† a sentiment, which can find no support in the Religion of Him who has expressly enjoined, when one cheek is smitten to turn the other, and to which we listen with pain and mortification from the lips of one, who has voluntarily become a minister of Christian truth; alas! in his mind, inferior to that of the Heathen, who declared that he *preferred the unjustest peace to the justest war.*‡

And who is the God of Battles! It is Mars; man-slaying, blood-polluted, city-smiting Mars!§ Him we can not adore. It is not He who binds the sweet influences of the Pleiades, and looses the bands of Orion; who causes the sun to shine on the just and the unjust; who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb; who distils the oil of gladness upon every upright heart; the fountain of Mercy and Goodness, the God of Justice and Love. The God of Battles is not the God of Christians; to him can ascend none of the prayers of Christian thanksgiving; for him there can be no words of worship in Christian temples; no swelling anthem to peal the note of praise.

There is now floating in this arbor a ship of the line of our country. Many of you have, perhaps, pressed its deck, and observed with admiration the completeness which prevails in all its parts; its lithe masts and complex net-work

* Deo imperante, *quem adesse bellantibus credunt*, are the appropriate words of astonishment by which Tacitus describes the barbarous superstition of the ancient Germans.—*De Moribus, Germ.* § 7. It was afterwards on the German soil, that Frederick of Prussia said that he always found the God of Battles to be on the side of the strongest regiments. When it was proposed to him to adopt as an inscription for his banner that was soon to flout the sky of Silesia, "For God and Country," he rejected the first words—saying it was not proper to introduce the name of the Deity in the quarrels of men

† Lord Abington said, May 30th 1794 in the House of Lords: "*The best road to Peace, my Lords is War;* and War carried on in the same manner in which we are taught to worship our Creator, namely, with all our souls, with all our minds, with all our hearts, and with all our strength!"

‡ *Iniquissimam pacem, justissimo bello antefero*, are the words of Cicero. Only eight days after Franklin had placed his name to the Treaty of Peace which acknowledged the Independence of his country, he wrote to a friend: "may we never see another war, for, in my opinion, there never was a good war, nor a bad peace." It was with great reluctance, that I here seemed to depart for a moment from so great a theme to allude to any person: but the person and the theme here become united. I can not refrain from the effort to tear this iron branch of War from the golden tree of Christian truth even though a voice come forth from the breaking bough. For a few observations on Dr. Vinton's Sermon, see Appendix, note, D.

§ Ἄρες, Ἄρες, βροτολοιγὲ μιαιφόνε, τειχεσιπλῆτα. Il. V. 31.

of ropes; its thick wooden walls, within which are more than the soldiers of Ulysses; its strong defenses, and its numerous dread and rude-throated engines of war. There each Sabbath, amidst this armament of blood, while the wave comes gently plashing against the frowning sides, from a pulpit supported by a cannon, or by the side of a cannon, in repose now, but ready to awake its dormant thunder, charged with death, a Christian preacher addresses the officers and crew! May his instructions carry strength and succor to their souls! But he can not pronounce in such a place, those highest words of the Master he professes, "Blessed are the Peace-makers;" "Love your Enemies;" "Render not evil for evil." Like Macbeth's "Amen," they must stick in his throat.

It can not be doubted that this strange and unblessed conjunction of the clergy with war, has had no little influence in blinding the world to the truth now beginning to be recognized, that *Christianity forbids war in all cases.*

Individual interests are mixed up with prevailing errors, and are concerned in maintaining them to such an extent, that it is not surprising that military men yield reluctantly to this truth. They are naturally in this matter, like lawyers, according to Voltaire, "the conservators of ancient barbarous usages;" but that these usages should obtain countenance in the Christian church is one of those anomalies, which make us feel the weakness of our nature and the elevation of Christian truth. It is important to observe, as an unanswerable fact of history, that for some time after the Apostles, while the lamp of Christianity burnt pure and bright, not only the Fathers of the church held it unlawful for Christians to bear arms, but those who came within its pale, abstained from the use of arms, although at the cost of their lives. Marcellus the Centurion, threw down his military belt at the head of the legion, and in the face of the standards declared with a loud voice, *that he would no longer serve in the army, for he had become a Christian;* and many others followed his example. It was not until Christianity became corrupted, that its followers became soldiers, and its priests learned to minister at the altar of the God of Battles.*

* This subject, so interesting to the student of history, and to the conscientious inquirer into the true signification of the Gospel, has been treated with fulness and learning by Mr. Clarkson in his *Essay on the Doctrines and Practice of the Early Christians as they relate to war.* Mr. Jay, in his recent address before the Peace Society, justly charges the Christian Church "with awful delinquencies on the subject of war, and directs the attention of her men-

Thee to defend the Moloch priest prefers
The prayer of Hate, and bellows to the herd
That Deity, accomplice Deity,
In the fierce jealousy of waked wrath
Will go forth with our armies and our fleets
To scatter the red ruin on their foes!
O blasphemy! to mingle fiendish deeds
With blessedness!*

A motion has been brought forward in Congress, to dispense with the services of chaplains in the army and navy, mainly on account of the incompatibility between the principles of the Gospel and the practice of War. It is to be hoped that what God has placed so far asunder, may no longer be joined together by man. If chaplains are to be employed, it should be to preach the religion they profess as to the Heathen, and not to offer incense to the idol of war.

When will Christian ministers look for their faith, not to the ideas, opinions and practices of the people by whom they are surrounded, but to the written words of the texts from which they preach? It has been said of a monarch of England, that he "read Gospel truth in Anna Boleyn's eyes." Not less hyperbolical and impossible is their discernment who can find in the flashing bayonet, any token of Peace, any illumination of Christian Love. That truly great man, the beloved Channing, whose spirit speaks to us from no sceptered urn, but from that sweet grassy bed at Mount Auburn, says: "When I think of duelling and war in the Christian world, and then of the superiority to the world and the unbounded love and forbearance which characterize our religion, I am struck with the little progress which Christianity has as yet made."

One of the beautiful pictures, adorning the dome of a Church in Rome, by that master of art, whose immortal colors breathe as with the voice of a Poet, the Divine Raffaelle, represents Mars, in the attitude of war, with a drawn sword uplifted and ready to strike, while an unarmed Angel from behind, with gentle but irresistible force, arrests and holds the descending arm. Such is the true image of Christian duty; nor can I readily perceive the difference in principle between those ministers of the Gospel, who themselves gird on the sword, as in the olden time, and those others, who, unarmed, and in customary suit of solemn

bers to the duty of repentance and reformation." He sustains the charge by numerous illustrations of the conduct of the clergy, through a succession of ages, but particularly in our own day. He finds the English Episcopal church peculiarly reprehensible; and his testimony on this point is of special authority, from his known eminence as a lay member of the sister Church in the United States.

* Religious Musings by Coleridge, written Christmas Eve of 1794.

black, lend the sanction of their presence to the martial array, or to any form of preparation for war. The drummer, who pleaded that he did not fight, was held more responsible for the battle than the mere soldier; for it was the sound of his drum that inflamed the flagging courage of the troops.

4. From the prejudices engendered by the Church, I pass to the prejudices engendered by the army itself; prejudices having their immediate origin more particularly in military life, but unfortunately diffusing themselves, in widening though less apparent circles, throughout the community. I allude directly to what is called the *point of honor*, early child of chivalry, the living representative in our day of an age of barbarism. It is difficult to define what is so evanescent, so impalpable, so chimerical, so unreal; and yet which exercises such power over many men, and controls the relations of states. As a little water, which has fallen into the crevice of a rock, under the congelation of winter, swells till it burst the thick and stony fibres; so a word, or a slender act, dropping into the heart of man, under the hardening influence of this pernicious sentiment, dilates till it rends in pieces the sacred depository of human affections, while Hate and the demon Strife, no longer restrained, are let loose abroad. The musing Hamlet saw the strange and unnatural power of this sentiment, when his soul pictured to his contemplations

——the army of such mass and charge,
Led by a delicate and tender prince
Exposing what is mortal and unsure
To all that fortune, death and danger, dare
Even for an egg-shell;

and when he says, with a point which has given to this sentiment its strongest and most popular expression,

——Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument;
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When honor's at the stake.

And when is honor at the stake? This question opens again the views with which I commenced, and with which I hope to close this discourse. Honor can only be at stake, where justice and happiness are at stake; it can never depend on an egg-shell, or a straw; it can never depend on an impotent word of anger or folly, not even if that word be followed by a blow. In fine, true honor is to be found in the highest moral and intellectual excellence, in the dignity of the human soul, in its nearest approach to those

qualities which we reverence as the attributes of God. Our community frowns with indignation upon the profaneness of the duel, which has its rise in this irrational point of honor. But are they aware that they themselves indulge the sentiment, on a gigantic scale, when they recognize what is called the *honor* of the country, as a proper ground for war? We have already seen that justice is in no respect promoted by war? Is true honor promoted where justice is not?

But the very word honor, as used by the world, does not express any elevated sentiment. How infinitely below the sentiment of duty! It is a word of easy virtue, that has been prostituted to the most opposite characters and transactions. From the field of Pavia, where France suffered one of the greatest reverses in her annals, Francis writes to his mother; "all is lost except *honor*." At a later day, the renowned cook, the grand Vatel, in a paroxysm of grief and mortification at the failure of two dishes expected on the table, exclaimed, "I have lost my *honor*."* Montesquieu, whose writings are a constellation of epigrams, places it in direct contrast with virtue. He represents what he calls the prejudice of honor as the animating principle of monarchy, while virtue is that of a republic, saying that in well governed monarchies almost every body will be a good citizen, but it will be rare to meet with a really good man.† By an instinct that points to the truth, we do not apply this term to the high columnar virtues which sustain and decor-

* Accable d'embarras, Vatel est averti
Que deux tables en vain reclamaient leur roti ;
Il prend pour en trouver une peine inutile.
"Ah !" dit-il, s'adressant a son ami Gourville,
De larmes, de sanglots, de douleur suffoque,
"*Je suis perdu d'honneur, deux rotis ont manques !*"

Berchoux.

This scene is also described, with the accustomed coldness and brilliancy of her fashionable pen, by Madame de Sevigne. (Lettres L and LI, Tom. I. pp. 164, 168.) In the same place she recounts the death of this culinary martyr. Disappointed by the failure of the purveyors to arrive with the turbots for an entertainment in proper season, he withdrew to his chamber, where he placed his sword against the door, and stabbed himself to the heart, but it was not until the third blow, after giving himself two not mortal, that he fell dead. "The fish now arrives from all quarters, they seek Vatel to distribute it; they go to his room, they knock, they force open the door: he is found bathed in blood. They hasten to tell the Prince, [the *great* Conde] who is in despair; the Duke wept; it was on Vatel that his journey from Burgundy hinged. The Prince related what had passed to the King, with marks of the deepest sorrow. *It was attributed to the high sense of honor which he had after his own way* (on dit que c'etoit a force d'avoir de l'honneur a sa maniere.) He was highly commended; his courage was praised and blamed at the same time." The Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the concluding volume of the *Almanac des Gourmands*, addressing the shade of Vatel, says: "So noble a death secures you, venerable shade, the most glorious immortality! You have proved that *the fanaticism of honor* can exist in the kitchen as well as the camp, and that the spit and saucepan have also their Catos and their Deciuses." "Enfin," are the words of a French Vaudeville, "Manette, voila ce que c'etoit que Madame de Sevigne, et Vatel, ce sont les gens la qui ont *honore* le siecle de Louis Quatorze." See London Quarterly Rev. Vol. 54, p. 122.

† Montesquieu, Esprit des Louis, Liv. 3, cap. 5, 6, 7.

ate life, to parental affection, to justice, to the attributes of God. We do not speak of an honorable father, an honorable mother, an honorable judge, an honorable angel, an honorable God. In such sacred connections we feel, beyond the force of any argument, the vulgar and debasing character of the sentiment to which it refers.

The degrading rule of honor is founded in the supposed necessity of resenting by force, a supposed injury, whether by word or act.* But suppose such an injury is received, sullying, as is falsely imagined, the character; is it wiped away by a resort to force, by descending to the brutal level of its author? "Could I have wiped your blood from my conscience as easily as I can this insult from my face," said a Marshal of France, greater on this occasion than on any field of fame, "I would have laid you dead at my feet." It is Plato, reporting the angelic wisdom of Socrates, who declares in one of those beautiful dialogues, which shine with stellar light across the ages, that *it is more shameful to do a wrong than to receive a wrong.*† And this benign sentiment commends itself, alike to the Christian, who is told to render good for evil, and to the universal heart of man. But who that confesses its truth, can vindicate a resort to force, for the sake of honor? Better far to receive the blow that a false morality has thought degrading, than that it should be revenged by force. Better that a nation should submit to what is wrong, rather than vainly seek to maintain its honor by the great crime of war.

It seems that in ancient Athens, as in unchristianized Christian lands, there were sophists, who urged that *to suffer* was unbecoming a man, and would draw down upon him incalculable evils. The following passage will show the manner in which the moral cowardice of these persons of little faith was rebuked by him, whom the Gods pronounced wisest of men: "These things being so, let us inquire what it is you reproach me with; whether it is well said, or not, that I, forsooth, am not able to assist either myself, or any of my friends or my relations, or to save them from the

* *Don Pedre.* Souhaitez-vous quelque chose de moi?
Hali. Oui, un conseil sur *un fait d'honneur.* Je sais qu'en ces matieres il est mal-aise de trouver un cavalier plus consomme que vous.
Seigneur, *J'ai recu un soufflet.* Vous savez ce qu'est un soufflet, lorsqu'il se donne a main ouverte sur le beau milieu de la joue. *Ja'i ce soufflet fort sur le coeur; et je suis dans l'incertitude si, pour me venger de l'affront, je dois me battre avec mon homme, ou bien le faire assassiner.*
Don Pedre Assassiner c'est le plus sur et le plus court chemin.—*Moliere, Le Sicilien, Sc.* 13.

† This proposition is enforced by Socrates with admirable and unanswerable reasoning and illustration, throughout the whole of the Gorgias.

greatest dangers; but that, like the outlaws, I am at the mercy of any one, who may choose to smite me on the temple—and this was the strong point in your argument—or to take away my property, or to drive me out of the city, or (to take the extreme case) to kill me; now, according to your argument, to be so situated is the most shameful thing of all. But my view is—a view many times expressed already, but there is no objection to its being stated again—*my view, I say, is, O Callicles, that to be struck unjustly on the temple is not most shameful, nor to have my body mutilated, nor my purse cut; but to strike me and mine unjustly, and to mutilate me and to cut my purse is more shameful and worse; and stealing too, and enslaving, and housebreaking, and in general, doing any wrong whatever to me and mine is more shameful and worse for him who does the wrong, than for me who suffer it.* These things, thus established in the former arguments, as I maintain, are secured and bound, even if the expression be somewhat too rustical, with iron and adamantine arguments, and unless you, or some one more vigorous than you, can break them, it is impossible for any one, speaking otherwise than I now speak, to speak well: since, for my part, *I always have the same thing to say, that I know not how these things are, but that of all whom I have ever discoursed with as now, not one is able to say otherwise without being ridiculous.*" Such is the wisdom of Socrates.*

But the modern point of honor does not find a place in warlike antiqnity. Themistocles at Salamis did not send a cartel to the Spartan commander, when threatened by a blow. "Strike, but hear," was the response of that firm nature, which felt that true honor was to be gained only in the performance of duty. It was in the depths of modern barbarism, in the age of chivalry, that this sentiment shot up in the wildest and most exuberant fancies; not a step was taken without reference to it; no act was done which had not some point tending to "the bewitching duel," and every stage in the combat, from the ceremonies of its beginning to its deadly close, where measured by this fantastic law.† The Chevalier Bayard, the cynosure of chivalry, the

* Gorgias, Cap. LXIV. It appears that Cicero read the Gorgias diligently at Athens; but his admiration was bestowed chiefly upon its distinguished rhetorical excellence. (De Oratore, I. 11.) If his soul had been penetrated by its sublime morality, he could never have written; Fortes igitur et mangnanimi sunt habendi, non, qui faciunt, *sed qui propulsant injuriam.* De Offic. Lib. I. cap. 19. This is an instance of the fickle eclectic philosophy of the great Roman, which renders his writings so uncertain a rule of conduct.

† Nobody can forget the humorous picture of the progress of a quarrel to a duel, through the seven degrees of Touchstone in *As You Like It.* Act. 5, Scene 4.

knight without fear and without reproach, in a contest with the Spaniard Don Alonzo de Soto Mayor, by a feint struck him such a blow in the throat, that despite the gorget the weapon penetrated four fingers deep. The wounded Spaniard grasped his adversary, and, struggling with him, they both rolled on the ground, when Bayard, drawing his dagger, and thrusting its point in the nostrils of the Spaniard, exclaimed. "Senor Alonzo, surrender, or you are a dead man!" A speech which appeared superfluous, as Don Diego de Guignones, his second, exclaimed, "Senor Bayard, he is dead; you have conquered." Bayard, says the chronicler, would have given one hundred thousand crowns to spare his life; but, he now fell upon his knees, kissed the ground three times and then dragged his dead enemy out of the camp, saying to the second of his fallen foe, "Senor Don Diego, have I done enough?" To which the other piteously replied, "Too much, Senor, for the *honor* of Spain!" when Bayard very generously presented him with the corpse, although it was his right, by the laws of *honor*, to do whatever he thought proper with it; an act which is highly commended by Brantome, who thinks it difficult to say which did him most *honor*—not having ignominiously dragged the body like the carcass of a dog by a leg out of the field, or having condescended to fight while laboring under an ague!*

If such a transaction conferred honor on the brightest son of chivalry, we may understand therefrom something of the real character of that age, the departure of which has been lamented with such touching but inappropriate eloquence. Do not condescend to draw a great rule of conduct from such a period. Let the point of honor stay with the daggers, the swords and the weapons of combat, by which it was guarded; let it appear only with its inseparable companions, the bowie-knife, and the pistol!

Be our a standard of conduct derived, not from the degradation of our nature, though it affects the semblance of sensibility and refinement, but having its sources in the loftiest attributes of man, in truth, in justice, in duty; and may this standard, which governs our relations to each other, be recognized among the nations! When shall we behold the dawning of that happy day, harbinger of infinite hap-

* Millingen on duels, I. 81, 82.

piness beyond, in which nations shall feel that it is better to receive a wrong than to do a wrong.

Apply this principle to our relations with England at this moment. Suppose that proud monarchy, refusing all submission to negotiation or arbitration, should absorb the whole Territory of Oregon into her own overgrown dominions, and add, at the mouth of the Columbia River, a new morning drum-beat to the national airs with which she has encircled the earth, who, then, is in the attitude of the truest honor, England, who has appropriated, by an unjust act, what is not her own, or the United States, the victim of the injustice?*

5. There is still another influence which stimulates war, and interferes with the natural attractions of Peace; I refer to a selfish and exaggerated *love of country*, leading to its physical aggrandizement, and the strengthening of its institutions at the expense of other countries. Our minds, nursed by the literature of antiquity, have imbibed the narrow sentiment of heathen patriotism.† Exclusive love for the land of birth was a part of the religion of Greece and Rome. It is an indication of the lowness of their moral nature, that this sentiment was so exclusive, and so material in its character. The Oracle directed the returning Roman to kiss his mother, and he kissed the Mother Earth. Agamemnon, on regaining his home after a perilous separation of more than ten years at the siege of Troy, before addressing his family, his friends, his countrymen, first salutes Argos:

By your leave, Lords, first Argos I salute.‡

The school-boy can not forget the cry of the victim of

* If this view needs any confirmation in the minds of just and reasonable men, having a true regard for the happiness and real greatness of their country, it may be found in the clear and weighty reasoning of President Wayland on War, in his *Elements of Morals*, which is in such harmony with the great truths sustained throughout this Oration that I have taken the liberty to transfer some pages of it to the Appendix, Note E.

† The legislation of Rome, which has exercised such an influence over mankind, was inspired by selfishness. Self was at the foundation of all rights. Property was held under rigorous and exclusive laws, which knew nothing of the spirit of accommodation, or of good neighborhood. There were no common partition walls; but houses stood apart (*insulæ*), to avoid all contact which could be only hostile. In domestic life, the head of the family (*pater familias*) was a despot. He held for a long time, the right of life and death over his wife and children; having no obligations towards them, but only rights over them. This great power was not given for the benefit of the children; securing to them a guardian in their immature years, but selfishly, unnaturally, for the exclusive benefit of the father, to whom belonged all the acquisitions of the son. We may well suspect any principle of duty, public or private, which has its rise in fountains so strongly impregnated with the iron of the soil. For an interesting view of the true character of the Roman law, see Kleimrath, Travaux sur l'Histoire de droit Frangais, Tom. 1, 39.

‡ Agamemnon of Æschylus; translated by Symmons, p. 73. Cato in a didactic work, says to the farmer on his return home, *Primum Larem salutato.*

Verres, which was to stay the descending fasces of the lictor, "I am a Roman citizen;" nor those other words sounding in the dark Past, "How sweet it is to die for one's country!" The Christian cry did not rise, "I am a man;" the Christian ejaculation did not swell the soul, "How sweet it is to die for duty!" The beautiful genius of Cicero, at times instinct with truth almost divine, did not ascend to that highest heaven, where is taught, that all mankind are neighbors and kindred, and that the relations of fellow-countryman are less holy than those of fellow-man. To the love of universal man may be applied those words by which the great Roman elevated his selfish patriotism to a virtue, when he said that *country alone embraced all the charities of all.** Attach this admired phrase for a moment to the single idea of country, and you will see how contracted are its charities compared with the world-wide circle of Christian love, whose neighbor is the suffering man, though at the farthest pole. Such a sentiment would dry up those fountains of benevolence, which now diffuse themselves in precious waters in distant unenlightened lands, bearing the blessings of truth to the icy mountains of Greenland, and the coral islands of the Pacific sea.

It has been a part of the policy of rulers, to encourage this exclusive patriotism; and the people of modern times have each inherited the feeling of Antiquity. I do not know that any one nation is in a condition to reproach the other with this patriotic selfishness. All are selfish. Among us the sentiment has become active, while it has derived new force from the point with which it has been expressed. An officer of our navy, one of the so-called heroes nurtured by war, whose name has been praised in churches, has gone beyond all Greek, all Roman example. "Our country, *be*

* Sed quum omnia ratione, animoque lustraris omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla tarior, quam ea, quæ cum republica est unicuique nostrum. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est; pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem opptere, si ei sit profuturus? De Offic. Lib. I. Cap. 17, § 57. It is curious to observe how Cicero puts aside that expression of true Humanity, which fell from Terence. ***Humani nihil a me alienum puto.*** He says, Est enim difficilis cura rerum alienarum De Offic. Lib. I, Cap. 9. Since the delivery of this Oration, I have met the following opportune testimony to the truth of the text, in the Journals and opinions of the late Blanco White one of the most ingenuous and conscientious characters of the age. "Would you have a clear practical conception of Virtue? Study the early, the mythic history of Rome, and try to sympathize with her heroes—those men who lived only for the State; who appear to have lost their own personality, and to have identified themselves with the republic. Having done this, reflect upon the incompleteness (and we may well say, absurdity) of limiting our moral relations to any portion of the whole mass of mankind, and embrace the immovable conviction, on this point, that every individual man belongs to the whole race or, more properly speaking, to the Universe, more truly than Roman patriots conceived themselves to belong to the State. And now you will have obtained the true idea of ***national*** real virtue, if you conceive your duties to God and his creation to be exactly analogous to those of ancient heroes." Blanco White's Journals and Correspondence, Vol. II. pp. 299, 300, 301.

she right or wrong," was his exclamation; a sentiment dethroning God and enthroning the devil, whose flagitious character should be rebuked by every honest heart.* "Our country, our whole country, and *nothing but our country,*" are other words, which have often been painted on banners and echoed by the voices of innumerable multitudes. Cold and dreary, narrow and selfish, would be this life, if *nothing but our country* occupied our souls; if the thoughts that wander through eternity, if the infinite affections of our nature, were restrained to that spot of earth where we have been placed by the accident of birth.

I do not inculcate an indifference to country. We incline, by a natural sentiment, to the spot where we were born, to the fields which witnessed the sports of childhood, to the seat of youthful studies, and to the institutions under which we have been trained. The finger of God writes in indelible colors all these things upon the heart of man, so that in the dread extremities of death, he reverts in fondness to early associations, and longs for a draught of cold water from the bucket in his father's well. This sentiment is independent of reflection, for it begins before reflection, grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength. It is blind in its nature; and it is the duty of each of us to take care that it does not absorb the whole character.† In the moral night which has enveloped the world, each nation, thus far, has lived ignorant and careless, to much extent, of the interests of others, which it imperfectly saw; but this thick darkness has now been scattered, and we begin to discern, all gilded by the beams of morning, the distant mountain-peaks of other lands. We find that God has not placed us on this earth alone; that there are other nations, equally with us, children of his protecting care.

The curious spirit goes further, and while it recognizes an inborn sentiment of attachment to the place of birth, inquires into the nature of the allegiance which is due to the State. The old idea, still to much received, is, that man is made for the State, and not the State for man. Far other-

* Unlike this is what has been said of the virtuous Andrew Fletcher, in the days of the English Revolution of 1688, who "would lose his life to *serve* his country, but would not do a base thing to *save* it." Mackintosh, Eth. Philosophy.

† "When any natural propensity is consecrated into a virtue, the greatest evils ensue. Patriotism is an instance of this. We are naturally led to give undue importance to ourselves; this, when the individual is clearly the object of his own feeling, is called *selfishness*. But when under the name of patriotism, each individual indulges himself in vanity, in pride, in ambition, in cruelty, and yet does it as an Englishman, a Frenchmen, as a Spaniard [he might have added as an American], all these vices are reckoned virtues."—Life of Blanco White Vol. II. p. 6.

wise is the truth. The State is an artificial body, intended for the security of the people. How constantly do we find in human history, that the people have been sacrificed for the State; to build the Roman name, to secure to England the trident of the sea. This is to sacrifice the greater for the less; for the fleeting possessions of earth to barter the immortal soul. Let it be remembered that the State is not worth preserving at the cost of the lives and happiness of the people.

It is not that I love country less, but Humanity more, that now on this national Anniversary, I plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. Remember that you are men, by a more sacred bond than you are citizens; that you are children of a common Father more than you are Americans.

Viewing, then, the different people on the globe, as all deriving their blood from a common source, and separated only by the accident of mountains, rivers and seas, into those distinctions around which cluster the associations of country, we must regard all the children of the earth as members of the great human family. Discord in this family is treason to God; while all war is nothing else than *civil* war. It will be in vain that we restrain this odious term, importing so much of horror, to the petty dissensions of a single State. It belongs as justly to the feuds between nations. The soul stands aghast, as we contemplate fields drenched in fraternal gore where the happiness of homes has been shivered by the unfriendly arms of neighbors, and where kinsmen have sunk beneath the cold steel that was nerved by a kinsmen's hand. This is civil war, which stands for ever accursed in the calendar of time. But the Muse of History, in the faithful record of the future transactions of nations, inspired by a new and loftier justice, and touched to finer sensibilities, shall extend to the general sorrow of Universal Man the sympathy which has been profusely shed for the selfish sorrow of country, and shall pronounce *all war to be civil war, and the partakers in it as traitors to God and enemies to man.*

6. I might here pause, feeling that those of my hearers who have kindly accompanied me to this stage, wouldbe ready to join in the condemnation of war, and hail peace, as the only condition becoming the dignity of human nature, and in which true greatness can be achieved. But there is still one more consideration, which yields to none of the

others in importance; perhaps it is more important than all. It is at once cause and effect; the cause of much of the feeling in favor of war, and the effect of this feeling. I refer to the costly *preparations* for war, in time of peace.

I do not propose to dwell upon the immense cost of war itself. That will be present to the minds of all in the mountainous accumulation of debt, piled like Ossa upon Pelion, with which Europe is pressed to the earth. According to the most recent tables to which I have had access, the public debt of the different European States, so far as it is known, amounts to the terrific sum of $6,387,000,000, all of this the growth of War! It is said that there are throughout these states, 17,900,000 paupers, or persons subsisting at the expense of the country, without contributing to its resources. If these millions of the public debt, forming only a part of what has been wasted in war, could be apportioned among these poor, it would give to each of them $375, a sum which would place all above want, and which is about equal to the average value of the property of each inhabitant of Massachusetts.

The public debt of Great Britain amounted in 1839 to $4,265,000,000, all of this the growth of War since 1688! This amount is about equal to the sum total, according to the calculations of Humboldt, of all the treasures which have been reaped from the harvest of gold and silver in the mines of Spanish America, including Mexico and Peru, since the first discovery of our hemisphere by Christopher Columbus! It is much larger than the amount of all the precious metals, which at this moment form the circulating medium of the world! It is said rashly by some persons, who have given little attention to this subject, that all this expenditure was good for the people; but these persons do not bear in mind that it was not bestowed on any *useful* object. It was wasted. The aggregate capital of all the joint stock companies in England, of which there was any known record in 1842, embracing canals, docks, bridges, insurance companies, banks, gas-lights, water, mines, railways, and other miscellaneous objects, was about $835,000,000; a sum which has been devoted to the welfare of the people, but how infinitely less in amount than the War Debt! For the six years ending in 1836, the average payment for the interest on this debt was about $140,000,000 annually. If we add to this sum, $60,000,000 during this same period paid annually to the army, navy and ordnance,

we shall have $200,000,000 as the annual tax of the English people, to pay for former wars and to prepare for new. During this same period there was an annual appropriation of only $20,000,000 for all the civil purposes of the government. It thus appears that *War* absorbed ninety cents of every dollar that was pressed by heavy taxation from the English people, who almost seem to sweat blood! What fabulous monster, or chimera dire, ever raged with a maw so ravenous! The remaining ten cents sufficed to maintain the splendor of the throne, the administration of justice, and the diplomatic relations with foreign powers, in short all the proper objects of a Christian State.*

Let us now look exclusively at the *preparations for war in time of peace.* It is one of the miseries of war that, even in peace, its evils continue to be felt by the world, beyond any other evils by which poor suffering humanity is oppressed. If Bellona withdraws from the field, we only lose the sight of her flaming torches; the bay of her dogs is heard on the mountains, and civilized man thinks to find protection from their sudden fury, only by enclosing himself in the defenses of war. At this moment the Christian nations, worshipping a symbol of common brotherhood, live as in entrenched camps, in which they keep armed watch, to prevent surprise from each other.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at any exact estimate of the cost of these preparations, ranging under four different heads; the standing army; the navy; the fortifications, and ordnance; and the militia or irregular troops.

The number of soldiers now keeping the peace of European Christendom, as a *standing army*, without counting the Navy, is upwards of two millions Some estimates place it as high as three millions.† The army of Great Britain exceeds 300,000 men; that of France 350,000; that of Russia 750,000, and is reckoned by some as high as 1,000,000; that of Austria about 275,000; that of Prussia 150,000. Taking the smaller number, suppose these two millions to require for their annual support an average sum of only

* I have here relied upon McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary; The Edinburgh Geography, founded on the works of Malte Brun and Balbi; and the calculations of Mr. Jay in *Peace and War*, p. 16 and in his Address before the Peace Society, pp. 28 29

† I have here relied upon the Edinburgh Geography founded on the works of Malte Brun and Balbi, which makes the standing army of the European Powers upwards of two millions. The tract on the *Waste of Property by War*, which illustrates this subject by many important statistics, makes it upwards of three millions. The annual expense of supporting a soldier differs in different countries. In Austria it is about $130; in France $146; in Prussia nearly $200, and in England still greater.

$150 each, the result would be $300,000,000 for their sustenance alone; and reckoning one officer to ten soldiers, and allowing to each of the latter an English shilling a day, or $87 a year, for wages, and to the former an average salary of $500 a year, we should have for the pay of the whole no less than $256,000,000, or an appalling sum total for both sustenance and pay of $556,000,000. If the same calculation be made, supposing the forces to amount to three millions, the sum total will be $835,000,000! But to this enormous sum another still more enormous must be added on account of the loss sustained by the withdrawal of two millions of hardy, healthy men, in the bloom of life, from useful, productive labor. It has been supposed that it costs an average of $500 to rear a soldier; and that the value of his labor if devoted to useful objects would be $150 a year. The Christian Powers, therefore, in setting apart two millions of men, as soldiers, sustain a loss of $1,000,000,000 on account of their training; and $300,000,000 annually, on account of their labor. So much for the cost of the standing army of European Christendom in time of Peace.

Glance now at the *Navy* of European Christendom. The Royal Navy of Great Britain consists at present of 556 ships of all classes; but deducting such as are used as convict ships, floating chapels, coal depots, the efficient navy consists of 88 sails of the line; 109 frigates; 190 small frigates, corvettes, brigs and cutters, including packets; 65 steamers of various sizes; 3 troop-ships and yachts; in all 455 ships. Of these there were in commission in July, 1839, 190 ships, carrying in all 4,202 guns. The number of hands employed in 1839, was 34,465. The Navy of France, though not comparable in size with that of England, is of vast force. By royal ordinance of 1st January, 1837, it war fixed in time of peace at 40 ships of the line, 50 frigates, 40 steamers, and 190 smaller vessels; and the amount of crews in 1839, was 20,317 men. The Russian Navy consists of two large fleets in the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea; but the exact amount of their force and their available resources has been a subject of dispute amongst naval men and politicians. Some idea may be formed of the size of the navy from the number of hands employed. The crews of the Baltic fleet amounted in 1837, to not less than 30,800 men; and those of the fleet in the Black Sea to 19,800, or altogether 50,600. The Austrian Navy consisted in 1837, of 8 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 4 sloops, 6 brigs, 7 schooners

or galleys, and a number of smaller vessels; the number of men in its service in 1839, was 4,547. The Navy of Denmark consisted at the close of 1837, of 7 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 5 sloops, 6 brigs, 3 schooners, 5 cutters, 58 gunboats, 6 gun-rafts, and 3 bomb vessels, requiring about 6,500 men to man them. The Navy of Sweden and Norway consisted recently of 238 gunboats, 11 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 4 corvettes, 6 brigs, with several smaller vessels. The Navy of Greece consists of 32 ships of war, carrying 190 guns, and 2,400 men. The Navy of Holland in 1839 consisted of 8 ships of the line, 21 frigates, 15 corvettes, 21 brigs, and 95 gun-boats.* It is impossible to give any accurate idea of the immense cost of all these mighty preparations for war. It is melancholy to contemplate such gigantic means, applied by European Christendom to the erection of these superfluous wooden walls in time of Peace! In the *fortifications and arsenals* of Europe, crowning every height, commanding every valley, and frowning over every plain and every sea, wealth has been sunk which is beyond calculation. Who can tell the immense sums that have been expended in hollowing out, for the purposes of defence, the living rock of Gibraltar? Who can calculate the cost of all the preparations at Woolwich, its 27,000 cannons, and its hundreds of thousands of small arms? France alone contains upwards of one hundred and twenty fortified places. And it is supposed that the yet unfinished fortifications of Paris have cost upwards of *fifty millions of dollars!*

The cost of the *militia* or irregular troops, the Yeomanry of England, the National Guards of Paris, and the *Landwehr* and *Landsturm* of Prussia, must add other incalculable sums to these enormous amounts.

Turn now to the *United States*, separated by a broad ocean from immediate contact with the great powers of Christendom, bound by treaties of amity and commerce with all the nations of the earth; connected with all by the strong ties of mutual interest; and professing a devotion to the principles of Peace. Are the Treaties of Amity mere words? Are the relations of commerce and mutual interest mere things of a day? Are the professions of Peace vain? Else why not repose in quiet unvexed by preparations for war?

Enormous as are the expenses of this character in Europe,

* I have drawn these details from the Edinburgh Geography; and from M'Culloch's Dictionary of Geography.

those in our country are still greater in proportion to the other expenditures of the Federal Government.

It appears that the average expenditures of the Federal Government for the six years ending with 1840, exclusive of payments on account of debt, were $26,474,892; of this sum, the average appropriation each year for military and naval purposes amounted to $21,328,903, being eighty per cent. of the whole amount! Yes; of all the income which was received by the Federal Government, eighty cents in every dollar was applied in this useless way. The remaining twenty cents sufficed to maintain the Government, the administration of justice, our relations with foreign nations, the light-houses which shed their cheerful signals over the rough waves which beat upon our long and indented coast, from the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the Mississippi. Let us observe the relative expenditures of the United States, in the scale of the nations, for military preparations, in time of Peace, exclusive of payments on account of the debts. These expenditures are in proportion to the whole expenditure of Government:

In Austria, as 33 per cent.,
In France, as 38 per cent.,
In Prussia, as 44 per cent.,
In Great Britain, as 74 per cent.,
In the UNITED STATES, as 80 per cent!*

To these superfluous expenditures of the Federal Government, are to be added the still larger and equally superfluous expenses of the militia throughout the country, which have been placed at $50,000,000 a year.†

By a table‡ of the expenditures of the United States, exclusive of payments on account of the Public Debt, it appears, that, in the fifty-three years from the formation of our present Government, in 1789 down to 1843, there have been $246,620,055 spent for civil purposes, comprehending the expenses of the executive, the legislative, the judiciary, the post-office, light-houses, and intercourse with foreign governments. During this same period there have been $368,526,594 devoted to the military establishment, and $170,437,684 to the naval establishment; the two forming an aggregate of $538,964,278. Deducting from this sum

* I have verified these results by the tables of expenditures of these different nations, but I do little more than follow Mr. Jay, who has illustrated this important point with his accustomed accuracy. *Address*, p. 30.

† Jay's Peace and War, p. 13.

‡ American Almanac for 1845, p. 143.

the appropriations during three years of war, and we shall find that more than *four hundred millions* were absorbed by vain preparations in time of peace for war. Add to this amount a moderate sum for the expenses of the militia during the same period, which a candid and able writer places at present at $50,000,000 a year; for the past years we may take an average of $25,000,000, and we shall have the enormous sum of $1,335,000,000 to be added to the $400,000,000; the whole amounting to *seventeen hundred and thirty-five millions* of dollars, a sum beyond the conception of human faculties, sunk under the sanction of the Government of the United States in mere *peaceful preparations for war;* more than *seven times* as much as was dedicated by the Government, during the same period, to all other purposes whatsoever.

From this serried array of figures the mind instinctively retreats. If we examine them from a nearer point of view, and, selecting some particular part, compare it with the figures representing other interests in the community, they will present a front still more dread.

Within a short distance of this city stands an institution of learning, which was one of the earliest cares of the early forefathers of the country, the conscientious Puritans. Favored child of an age of trial and struggle, carefully nursed through a period of hardship and anxiety, endowed at that time by the oblations of men like Harvard, sustained from its first foundation by the paternal arm of the Commonwealth, by a constant succession of munificent bequests, and by the prayers of all good men, the University of Cambridge now invites our homage as the most ancient, the most interesting and the most important seat of learning in the land; possessing the oldest and most valuable library, one of the largest museums of mineralogy and natural history—a School of Law, which annually receives into its bosom more than one hundred and fifty sons from all parts of the Union, where they listen to instruction from professors whose names have become among the most valuable possessions of the land*—a School of Divinity, the nurse of true learning and piety—one of the largest and most flourishing Schools of Medicine in the country—besides these, a general body of teachers, twenty-seven in number, many of

* Mr. Justice Story, whose various judicial writings have caused him to be hailed, in foreign lands, among the first jurists of the age; and Professor Greenleaf, whose classic work on the Law of Evidence has already become an authority on both sides of the Atlantic.

whose names help to keep the name of the country respectable in every part of the globe, where science, learning and taste are cherished—the whole, presided over at this moment by a gentleman, early distinguished in public life by his unconquerable energies and his masculine eloquence, at a later period, by the unsurpassed ability with which he administered the affairs of our city, now, in a green old age, full of years and honors, preparing to lay down his present high trust.* Such is Harvard University; and as one of the humblest of her children, happy in the recollection of a youth nurtured in her classic retreats, I can not allude to her without an expression of filial affection and respect.

It appears from the last Report of the Treasurer,† that the whole available property of the University, the various accumulations of more than two centuries of generosity, amounts to $703,175.

There now swings idly at her moorings, in this harbor, a ship of the line, the Ohio, carrying ninety guns, finished as late as 1836, for $547,888; repaired only two years afterwards in 1838, for $223,012; with an armament which has cost $53,945; making an amount of $834,845,‡ as the actual cost at this moment of that single ship; more than $100,000 beyond all the available accumulations of the richest and most ancient seat of learning in the land! Choose ye, my fellow citizens of a Christian State, between the two caskets—that wherein is the loveliness of knowledge and truth, or that which contains the carrion death.

Let us pursue the comparison still further. The account of the expenditures of the University during the last year, for the general purposes of the College, the instruction of the Undergraduates, and for the Schools of Law and Divinity, amounts to $45,949. The cost of the Ohio for one year in service, in salaries, wages, and provisions, is $220,000; being $175,000 more than the annual expenditures of the University; more than *four times* as much. In other words, for the annual sum which is lavished on one ship of the line, *four* Institutions like Harvard University, might be sustained throughout the country!

Still further let us pursue the comparison. The pay of

* Hon. Josiah Quincy.
† Hon. S. A. Eliot's Report in 1844.
‡ Document, No. 132, House of Representatives, 3d session, 27th Congress. Reference is here made to the Ohio, because she happens to be in our waters. The expense of the Delaware in 1842 has been $1,051,000.

the Captain of a ship like the Ohio, is $4,500, when in service; $3,500 when on leave of absence, or off duty. The salary of the President of the Harvard University is $2,205; without leave of absence, and never being off duty!

If the large endowments of Harvard University are dwarfed by a comparison with the expense of a single ship of the line, how much more must it be so with those of other institutions of learning and beneficence, less favored by the bounty of many generations. The average cost of a sloop of war is $315,000; more, probably, than all the endowments of those twin stars of learning in the Western part of Massachusetts, the Colleges at Williamstown and Amherst, and of that single star in the East, the guide to many ingenuous youth, the Seminary at Andover. The yearly cost of a sloop of war in service is above $50,000; more than the annual expenditures of these three Institutions combined.

I might press the comparison with other Institutions of beneficence; with the annual expenditures for the Blind—that noble and successful charity, which has shed true lustre upon our Commonwealth—amounting to $12,000; and the annual expenditures for the Insane of the Commonwealth, another charity dear to humanity, amounting to $27,844.

Take all the Institutions of learning and beneficence, the precious jewels of the Commonwealth, the schools, colleges, hospitals and asylums, and the sums by which they have been purchased and preserved are trivial and beggarly, compared with the treasures squandered within the borders of Massachusetts in vain preparations for war. There is the Navy Yard at Charlestown, with its stores on hand, all costing $4,741,000; the fortifications in the harbors of Massachusetts, in which have been sunk already incalculable sums, and in which it is now proposed to sink $3,853,000 more;* and besides, the Arsenal at Springfield, containing in 1842, 175,118 muskets, valued at $2,999,998,† and which is fed by an annual appropriation of about $200,000; but whose highest value will ever be, in the judgment of all lovers of truth, that it inspired a poem, which, in its influence shall

* Document; Report of Secretary of War; No. 2. Senate, 27th Congress, 2d session; where it is proposed to invest in a system of land defenses $51,677,929.

† Exec. Documents of 1842-43, Vol. I, No. 3.

be mightier than a battle, and shall endure when arsenals and fortifications have crumbled to the earth.*

Look for one moment at a high and peculiar interest of the nation, the administration of justice. Perhaps no part of our system is regarded with more pride and confidence by the enlightened sense of the country. To this, indeed, all the other concerns of Government, all its complications of machinery, are in a manner subordinate, since it is for the sake of justice that men come together in states and establish laws. What part of the Government can compare in importance with the Federal Judiciary, that great balance wheel of the Constitution, controlling the relations of the States to each other, the legislation of Congress and of the States, besides private interests to an incalculable amount? Nor can the citizen, who discerns the true Glory of his country, fail to recognize in the judicial labors of MARSHALL, now departed, and in the immortal judgments of STORY, who is still spared to us,—*serus in cælum redeat*—a higher claim to admiration and gratitude than can be found in any triumph of battle. The expenses of the administration of Justice, throughout the United States, under the Federal Government, in 1842, embracing the salaries of the judges, the cost of juries, court-houses and all officers thereof, in short all the outlay by which Justice, according to the requirements of Magna Charta, is carried to every man's door, amounted to $560,990, a larger sum than is usually appropriated for this purpose, but how insignificant compared with the demands of the army and navy.

Let me allude to one more *curiosity* of waste. It appears, by a calculation founded on the expenses of the Navy, that the average cost of each gun, carried over the ocean, for one year amounts to about fifteen thousand dollars;† a sum sufficient to sustain ten professors of Colleges, and equal to the salaries of all the judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and the Governor combined!

* From Mr. Longfellow's "Arsenal at Springfield." I extract two stanzas, which, in poetical expression, are the least attractive of any in the poem, but which commend themselves by their intrinsic truth and moral force:

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against its brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain!

† Mr. Cones' tract, *What is the use of the Navy of the United States?*

Such are a few brief illustrations of the tax which the nations of the world, and particularly our own country, impose on the people, in time of profound peace, for no purpose of good, but only in obedience to the spirit of war. As we wearily climb, in this survey, from expenditure to expenditure, from waste to waste, we seem to pass beyond the region of ordinary calculation; Alps on Alps arise, on whose crowning heights of everlasting ice, far above the habitations of man, where no green thing lives, where no creature draws its breath, we behold the cold, sharp, flashing glacier of War.

In the contemplation of this spectacle the soul swells with alternate despair and hope; with despair, at the thought of such wealth, capable of rendering such service to humanity, not merely wasted but given to perpetuate hate; with hope, as the blessed visions arises of the devotion of all these incalculable means to the purposes of peace. The whole world labors at this moment with poverty and distress; and the painful question occurs to every observer, in Europe as well as at home,—what shall become of the poor,—the increasing standing army of the poor. Could the humble voice that now addresses you penetrate those distant counsels, or counsels nearer home, it would say, disband your standing armies of soldiers; abandon your fortifications and arsenals, or dedicate them to works of beneficence, as the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was changed to the image of a christian saint; apply your navy to purposes of commerce; in fine, utterly forsake the present incongruous system of *armed peace!*

That I may not seem to press to this conclusion with too much haste, at least as regards our own country, I shall consider briefly, as becomes the occasion, the asserted usefulness of the national defences which it is proposed to abandon.

What is the use of the Standing Army of the United States? It has been a principle of freedom, during many generations, to avoid a standing army; and one of the complaints in the Declaration of Independence was that George III. had quartered large bodies of troops in the colonies. For the first few years, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, during our weakness, before our power was assured, before our name had become respected in the family of nations, under the administration of Washington, a small sum was deemed ample for the military establishment of the United States. It was only when the country, at a later day,

had been touched by the insanity of war, that it surrendered to military prejudices, and, abandoning the true economy of a Republic, cultivated a military spirit, and lavished the means, which it begrudged to the purposes of Peace, in vain preparation for War. It may now be said of the army of the United States, as Dunning said of the prerogatives of the crown, it has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. At this moment there are more than fifty-five military posts in the country. Of what use is the detachment of the second regiment of Artillery in the quiet town of New London in Connecticut? Of what use is the detachment of the first regiment of Artillery in that pleasant resort of fashion, Newport? No person, who has not lost all sensibility to the dignity of human nature, can observe without mortification, the discipline, the drilling, the marching and countermarching, the putting guns to the shoulder and the dropping them to the earth, which fill the lives of the poor soldiers, and prepare them to become the mere inanimate parts of a mere *machine*, to which the great living master of the art of war has likened an army. And this sensibility must be much more offended when he beholds a number of the ingenuous youth of the country, under the auspices of the Government, amidst the bewitching scenery of West Point, trained to these same farcical and humiliating exercises.* It is time that the people should declare the army to be an utterly useless branch of the public service; but not merely useless, also a seminary of idleness and vice, breeding manners uncongenial with our institutions, shortening the lives of those whom it enlists, and maintained at an expense, as we have already seen, which far surpasses all that is bestowed on all the civil purposes of the Government.

But I hear the voice of some defender of this abuse, some upholder of this "rotten borough" of our Constitution, crying, the army is needed for the defense of the country! As well might you say, that the shadow is needed for the defense of the body; for what is the army of the United States but the feeble shadow of the power of the American people! In placing the army on its present footing, so small in numbers compared with the forces of the great European States, our Government has tacitly admitted its superfluousness as a means of defense. Moreover, there is one

* The amount appropriated by Congress for the institution of West Point, since its establishment, is $4,002,901 15.

plea for standing armies in Europe which can not prevail here. They are supposed to be needed by Governments, which do not proceed from the popular voice, to sustain their power. The monarchs of the Old World, like the chiefs of the ancient German tribes, are upborne on the shields of the soldiery. Happily with us the Government springs from the hearts of the people, and needs no janizaries for its support. It only remains to declare distinctly, that the country will repose, in the consciousness of right, without the wasteful excess of supporting soldiers, lazy consumers of the fruits of the earth, who might do the State good service in the various departments of useful industry.

What is the use of the Navy of the United States? The annual expense of our Navy for several years past has been upwards of six millions of dollars. For what purpose is it paid? Not for the apprehension of pirates; for frigates and ships of the line are of too great bulk to be of service for this purpose. Not for the suppression of the Slave Trade; for under the stipulations with Great Britain, we employ only eighty guns in this holy alliance. Not to protect our coasts; for all agree that our few ships would form an unavailing defense against any serious attack. Not for these purposes all will admit; *but for the protection of our Navigation*. This is not the occasion for minute calculations. Suffice it to say, that an intelligent merchant, who has been extensively engaged in commerce for the last twenty years, and who speaks, therefore, with the authority of knowledge, has demonstrated in a tract of perfect clearness, that the annual amount of the freights of the whole mercantile marine of the country does not equal the annual expenditures of the Navy of the United States.* Protection at such cost is more ruinous than one of Pyrrhus' victories!

In objecting to the Navy, I wish to limit myself to the Navy as an asserted arm of national defense. So far as it may be necessary, as a part of the *police* of the seas, to purge them of pirates, and above all to defeat the hateful traffic in human flesh, it is a proper arm of government. The free cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, survivors of the great Hanseatic League, with a commerce that whitens the most distant seas, are without a single ship of war. Let the

* I refer to Mr. Coues' tract, "What is the use of the Navy of the United States?" which has already produced a strong effect on many minds, the natural consequence of its unanswerable arguments and statements. No person should undertake to vindicate the Navy, or sanction appropriations for its support, without answering this tract.

United States be willing to follow their wise example, and abandon an institution which has already become a vain and most expensive TOY!

What is the use of the fortifications of the United States? We have already seen the enormous sums which have been locked in the dead hands, in the odious mortmain, of their everlasting masonry. This is in the hope of saving the country thereby from the horrors of conquest and bloodshed. And here let me meet this suggestion with frankness and distinctness. I will not repeat what has been set forth in an earlier part of my remarks, the considerations showing that in our age, no war of strict *self-defense* can possibly arise, no war which can be supported by the consciences of those even who disclaim the highest standard of the Gospel; but I will suppose the case of a war, unjust and unchristian it must be, between our country and one of the great powers of Europe. In such a war, what would be the effect of the fortifications? Clearly to invite the attack, which they would in all probability be inadequate to defeat. It is a rule now recognized even in the barbarous code of war, one branch of which has been illustrated with admirable ability in the diplomatic correspondence of Mr. Webster, that non-combatants shall not, in any way, be molested, and that the property of private persons shall in all cases be held sacred. So firmly did the Duke of Wellington act upon this rule, that throughout the murderous campaigns of Spain, and afterwards when he entered France, flushed with the victory of Waterloo, he directed that his army should pay for all provisions, and even for the forage of their horses. The war is carried on against public property—against fortifications, navy-yards and arsenals. But if these do not exist, there can be no aliment, no fuel for the flame. Every new fortification and every additional gun in our harbor is, therefore, not a safeguard, but a source of danger to our city. Better throw them in the sea, than madly allow them to draw to our homes the lightning of battle, without, alas, any conductor to hurry its terrors innocently beneath the concealing bosom of the earth!

What is the use of the militia of the United States? This immense system spreads, with more than a hundred arms over the whole country, sucking its best life-blood, the unbought energies of the youth. The same farcical discipline, shouldering arms and carrying arms, which we have observed in the soldier, absorbs their time, though of course,

to a much less degree than in the regular army. We read with astonishment of the painted flesh, and uncouth vestments of our progenitors, the ancient Britons. The generation will soon come that will regard with equal wonder the pictures of their ancestors, closely dressed in padded and well-buttoned coats of blue, "besmeared with gold," surmounted by a huge mountain cap of shaggy bear-skin, and with a barbarous device, typical of brute force, a tiger, painted on oil skin, tied with leather to their backs! In the streets of Pisa, the galley-slaves are compelled to wear dresses stamped with the name of the crime for which they are suffering punishment; as theft, robbery, murder. It is not a little strange, that Christians, living in a land "where bells have tolled to church," should voluntarily adopt devices which, if they have any meaning, recognize the example of beasts as worthy of imitation by man.* The general considerations which belong to the subject of preparations for war will illustrate the inanity of the militia for purposes of national defense. I do not know, indeed, that it is now strongly advocated on this ground. It is most often spoken of as an important part of the *police* of the country. I would not undervalue the blessings to be derived from an active, efficient, ever-wakeful police; and I believe that such a police has been long required in our country. But the militia, composed of youth of undoubted

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* It is a curious illustration of the low standard of conduct to which men and nations have appealed, that they have chosen emblems and armorial bearings from beasts and birds of prey. The lion is rampant on the flag of England; the leopard on that of Scotland; a double-headed eagle spreads its wings on the imperial standard of Austria. After exhausting the known kingdom of nature, the pennons of knights, like the knapsacks of our militia, were disfigured by imaginary and impossible monsters, griffins, hippogriffs, unicorns, all intended to represent the excess of brute force. Froissart records as a miracle, that a dove once rested in its flight on the royal banner of France. The people of Massachusetts have unconsciously adopted the same degrading standard. In the escutcheon which is used as the seal of the State, there is a most unfortunate combination of disagreeable and unworthy suggestions. On that part which, in the language of heraldry, is termed the *shield*, is placed an Indian, with a bow in his hand; certainly no agreeable memento, except to those who find *honor* in the disgraceful wars in which our fathers robbed and murdered King Philip, of Pokanoket, and his tribe, the rightful possessors of the soil. The *crest* is a raised arm, holding, in a threatening attitude, a drawn sabre; being precisely the emblem which is borne on the flag of Algiers! The *scroll*, or legend, consists of the last of those two lines, in bad Latin, from an unknown source, which we first encounter, as they were inscribed by Algernon Sydney, in the Album at the University of Copenhagen, in Denmark:

Manus hæc inimica tyrannis,
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem

The Legislature of Massachusetts has adopted, with singular unanimity, resolutions expressing its earnest desire for the establishment of a General Convention, or Congress of Nations, to adjudge questions between nations, and thus supersede the imagined necessity of war. Would it not be an act of moral dignity, becoming the character which it vaunts before the world, to adopt a new seal; at least to erase that *Algerine* emblem, fit only for Corsairs, and those words of *barbarous Latin*, which can awaken only the idea of ignorance, and brute force. If a Latin motto be needed, it might be those words of Virgil, "*Pacisque* imponere morem;" or that sentence of noble truth from Cicero, "Sine SUMMA JUSTITIA rempublicam geri nullo modo posse." De Republ. Lib. II, Cap. 44.

character, though of untried courage, is clearly inadequate for this purpose. No person, who has seen them in an actual riot, can hesitate in this judgment.* A very small portion of the means which are absorbed by the militia, would provide a police that should be competent to all the emergencies of domestic disorder and violence.

The City of Boston has long been convinced of the inexpediency of a Fire Department composed of mere volunteers. It is to be hoped that a similar conviction may pervade the country with regard to the police. I am well aware, however, that efforts to abolish the militia system will be encountered by some of the dearest prejudices of the common mind; not only by the war spirit; but by that other spirit, which first animates childhood, and at a later day, "children of a larger growth," inviting to finery of dress and parade—the same spirit which fantastically bedecks the dusky feather-cinctured chiefs of the soft regions warmed by the tropical sun; which inserts rings in the noses of the North American Indians; which slits the ears of the Australian savages; and tattoos the New Zealand cannibals.

Such is the review of the true character and value of the national defenses of the United States! It will be observed that I have thus far regarded them in the plainest light of ordinary worldly economy, without reference to those higher considerations, founded on the history and nature of man, and the truths of Christianity, which pronounce them to be vain. It is grateful to know, that though they may yet have the support of what Jeremy Taylor calls the "popular noises," still the more economical, more humane, more wise, more Christian system is daily commending itself to wide circles of the good people of the land. All the virtues that truly elevate a state are on its side. Economy, sick of the pigmy efforts to staunch the smallest fountains and rills of exuberant expenditure, pleads that here is an endless, boundless river, an Amazon of waste, rolling its turbid, unhealthy waters vainly to the sea. It chides us with an unnatural inconsistency when we strain at a little twine and red tape,

* The Riot in Broad Street, in 1837, is often invoked by the devotees of the militia (for it has devotees!) as an instance of the important aid derived from this arm of the police. It will not be denied, however, that an apparatus much less costly would have sufficed for the purpose. I hope I shall be pardoned if I venture to correct a misapprehension which has extensively prevailed with regard to the services of the militia on that occasion. I had been on the ground and in the very houses, the scene of the riot, for an hour previous to the appearance of the militia, and am able to state distinctly, that before this arm of the police was discerned in the street moving along "by blore of trump, and thump of drum," the riot had ceased. A small number of intelligent, fearless and unarmed men could have quelled it at a much earlier moment.

and swallow the monstrous cables and armaments of war. Humanity pleads for the poor from whom such mighty means are withdrawn. Wisdom frowns on these preparations as calculated to nurse sentiments inconsistent with Peace. Christianity calmly rebukes the spirit in which they have their origin, as being of little faith, and treacherous to her high behests; while History shows the sure progress of man, like the lion in Paradise still "pawing to get free his hinder parts," but certain, if he be true to his nature to emancipate himself from the restraints of earth.

The sentiment, that in time of peace we must prepare for war, has been transmitted from distant ages when brute force prevailed. It is the terrible inheritance, the *damnosa hæreditas*, which painfully reminds the people of our day of their relations with the Past. It belongs to the rejected dogmas of barbarism. It is the companion of those harsh rules of tyranny by which the happiness of the many has been offered up to the propensities of the few. It is the child of suspicion and the forerunner of violence. Having in its favor the almost uninterrupted usage of the world, it possesses a hold on the common mind, which is not easily unloosed. And yet the conscientious soul can not fail, on careful observation, to detect its most mischievous fallacy—a fallacy the most costly the world has witnessed, and which dooms nations to annual tributes in comparison with which all that have been extorted by conquests are as the widow's mite by the side of Pharisaical contributions. So true is what Rousseau said, and Guizot has since repeated, "that a bad principle is far worse than a bad fact;" for the operations of the one are finite, while those of the other are infinite.

I speak of this principle with earnestness, for I believe it to be erroneous and false, founded in ignorance and barbarism, unworthy of an age of light, and disgraceful to Christians. I have called it a principle; but it is a mere *prejudice*—sustained by human example only, and not by lofty truth—in obeying which we imitate the early mariners, who steered from headland to headland and hugged the shore, unwilling to venture upon the broad ocean, where their guide should be the luminaries of Heaven.

Dismissing from our minds, the actual usage of nations on the one side, and the considerations of economy on the other, and regarding preparations for war in time of peace in the clear light of reason, in a just appreciation of the

nature of man, and in the injunctions of the highest truth, and they can not fail to be branded as most pernicious. They are pernicious on two grounds; *first*, because they inflame the people, who make them, exciting them to deeds of violence which otherwise would be most alien to their minds; and *second*, because having their origin in the low motive of distrust and hate, they inevitably, by a sure law of the human mind, excite a corresponding feeling in other nations. Thus they are in fact not the *preservers of peace*, but the *provokers of war*.

In illustration of the *first* of these grounds, it will occur to every inquirer, that the possession of power is always in itself dangerous, that it tempts the purest and highest natures to self-indulgence, that it can rarely be enjoyed without abuse; nor is the power to employ force in war, or otherwise, an exception to this law. History teaches that the nations possessing the greatest military forces, have always been the most belligerent; while the feeble powers have enjoyed, for a longer period, the blessings of Peace. The din of war resounds throughout more than seven hundred years of Roman history, with only two short lulls of repose; while smaller states, less potent in arms, and without the excitement to quarrels on this account, have enjoyed long eras of Peace. It is not in the history of nations only, that we find proofs of this law. Like every great moral principle, it applies equally to individuals. The experience of private life, in all ages, confirms it. The *wearing of arms* has always been a provocative to combat. It has excited the spirit and furnished the implements of strife. As we revert to the progress of society in modern Europe, we find that the odious system of private quarrels, of hostile meetings even in the street, continued so long as men persevered in the habit of wearing arms. Innumerable families were thinned by death received in these hasty and often unpremeditated encounters; and the lives of scholars and poets were often exposed to their rude chances. Marlowe, "with all his rare learning and wit," perished ignominiously under the weapon of an unknown adversary; and Savage, whose genius and misfortune inspired the friendship and the eulogies of Johnson, was tried for murder committed in a sudden broil. "The expert swordsman," says Mr. Jay,* "the practised marksman, is ever more ready to engage in personal com-

* Address before the American Peace Society, pp. 23, 24.

bats, than the man who is unaccustomed to the use of deadly weapons. In those portions of our country where it is supposed essential to personal safety to go armed with pistols and bowie-knives, mortal affrays are so frequent as to excite but little attention, and to secure, with rare exceptions, impunity to the murderer; whereas, at the North and East, where we are unprovided with such facilities for taking life, comparatively few murders of the kind are perpetrated. We might, indeed, safely submit the decision of the principle we are discussing, to the calculations of pecuniary interest. Let two men, equal in age and health, apply for an insurance on their lives; one known to be ever armed to defend his honor and his life against every assailant; and the other a meek, unresisting Quaker. Can we doubt for a moment which of these men would be deemed by the Insurance Company most likely to reach a good old age?"

The *second* of these grounds is a part of the unalterable nature of man, which was recognized in early ages, though unhappily it has been rarely made the basis of intercourse among nations. It is an expansion of the old Horatian adage, *Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi;* if you wish me to weep, you must yourself first weep. So are we all knit together that the feelings in our own bosom awaken corresponding feelings in the bosoms of others; as harp answers to harp in its sofest vibrations; as deep responds to deep in the might of its passions. What within us is good invites the good in our brother; generosity begets generosity; love wins love; Peace secures Peace; while all within us that is bad challenges the bad in our brother; distrust engenders distrust; hate provokes hate; War arouses War. Life is full of illustrations of this beautiful law. Even the miserable maniac, in whose mind the common rules of conduct are overthrown, confesses its overruling power, and the vacant stare of madness may be illumined by a word of love. The wild beasts confess it; and what is the interesting story of Orpheus, whose music drew in listening rapture the lions and panthers of the forest, but an expression of this prevailing law?*

* There is a striking illustration of this law in the incident recorded by Homer, in the Odyssey (XIV. 30, 31), where Ulysses, on reaching his loved Ithaca, is beset by dogs, who are described as wild beasts in ferocity, and who barking rushed towards him: but he, with *craft*, (that is the word of Homer,) seats himself upon the earth, *and lets his staff fall from his hands;* thus in unarmed repose finding protection. A similar incident is noticed

Literature abounds in illustrations of this principle. Looking back to the early dawn of the world, one of the most touching scenes which we behold, illumined by that Auroral light, is the peaceful visit of the aged Priam to the tent of Achilles to entreat the body of his son. The fierce combat has ended in the death of Hector, whose unhonored corse the bloody Greek has already trailed behind his chariot. The venerable father, after twelve days of grief, is moved to efforts to regain the remains of the Hector he had so dearly loved. He leaves his lofty cedarn chamber, and with a single aged attendant, unarmed, repairs to the Grecian camp, by the side of the distant sounding sea. Entering alone, he finds Achilles within his tent; in the company of two of his chiefs. He grasps his knees, and kisses those terrible homicidal hands, which had taken the life of his son. The heart of the inflexible, the angry, the inflamed Achilles is touched by the sight which he beholds, and responds to the feelings of Priam. He takes the suppliant by the hands, seats him by his side, consoles his grief, refreshes his weary body, and concedes to the prayers of a weak, unarmed old man, what all Troy in arms could not win.* In this scene the poet, with unconscious power, has presented a picture of the omnipotence of that law of our nature, making all mankind of kin, in obedience to which no word of kindness, no act of confidence, falls idly to the earth.

Among the legendary passages of Roman history, perhaps none makes a deeper impression, than that scene, after the Roman youth had been consumed at Allia, and the invaiding Gauls under Brennus had entered the city, where we behold the venerable Senators of the Republic, too old to flee, and careless of surviving the Roman name, seated each on his curule chair, in a temple, unarmed, looking, as Livy says, more august than mortal, and with the majesty of the gods. The Gauls gaze on them as upon sacred images, and the hand of slaughter, which had raged through the streets of Rome, is stayed by the sight of an assembly of unarmed old men. At length a Gaul approaches and gently strokes

by Mr. Mure in his entertaining travels in Greece; and also by Mr. Borrow in his *Bible in Spain*. Pliny remarks that all dogs may be appeased in the same way. Impetus eorum, et sævitia mitigantur ab homine considente humi. Nat. Hist. Lib. VIII. cap. 40.

*This scene fills a large part of a book of the Iliad. (XXIV.) It is instructive to all, who would know what commends itself most truly to the heart of man, what is most truly grand, to observe that the passages of Homer which receive the most unquestioned admiration are—not the bloody combats even of the bravest chiefs, even of the gods themselves—but those two passages in which he has painted the gentle, unwarlike affections of our nature; the parting of Hector and Andromache, and the supplication of Priam.

with his hands the silver beard of a Senator, who, indignant at the license, smites the barbarian with his ivory staff, which was the signal for general vengeance. Think you, that a band of savages could have slain these Senators, if the appeal to force had not first been made by one of their own number.*

Following this sentiment in the literature of modern times we find its pervading presence. I will not dwell on the examples which arise to the mind.† I will allude only to that scene in Swedish poetry, where Frithiof, in deadly combat with Atle, when the falchion of the latter broke, said, throwing away his own weapon:—

——— Swordless foeman's life
Ne'er dyed this gallant blade.

The two champions now closed in mutual clutch; they hugged like bears, says the Poet:

'Tis o'er; for Frithiof's matchless strength
Has felled his ponderous size;
And 'neath that knee, at giant length,
Supine the Viking lies.
"But falls my sword, thou Berserk swart!"
The voice rang far and wife,
"Its point should pierce thy inmost heart,
Its hilt should drink the tide."
"Be free to lift the weaponed hand,"
Undaunted Atle spoke,
"Hence, fearless, quest thy distant brand!
Thus I abide the stroke."

Frithiof regains his sword, intent to close the dread debate, while his adversary awaits the stroke; but his heart responds to the generous courage of his foe; he can not injure one who has shown such confidence in him:

This quelled his ire, this checked his arm,
Outstretched the hand of peace." ‡

I can not leave these illustrations without alluding particularly to the history of the treatment of the insane, which is full of deep instruction, showing how strong in nature must be the principle, which leads us to respond to the conduct and feelings of others. When Pinel first proposed to

*This story is recorded by Livy, Lib. V. Cap. 4, 2; also by Plutarch in his life of Camillus. It is properly repudiated by Niebuhr as a legend; but is none the less important, as an illustration of that law, which is considered in the text. The heart of man confesses that the Roman Senator provoked death for himself and associates.

† Guizot preserves an instance of the effect which was produced by an unarmed man before a violent multitude, employing the word instead of the sword. (Guizot, Histoire, de la Civilization, Tom. II. p. 36.) Who can forget that finest scene in that noble historical romance, the *Promessi Sposi*, where Fra Christofero, in an age of violence, after slaying a comrade in a broil, in unarmed penitence, seeks the presence of the family and retainers of his victim, and awakens by his dignified gentleness, the admiration of those who were mad with the desire of vengeance? A popular romance, which has just left the press, and is now read in both hemispheres, *Le Juif Errant*, by Eugene Sue, has an interesting picture, at the close of the second volume, of the superiority of Christian courage over the hired and trained violence of soldiers. See Appendix, Note F.

‡ Tegner's Frithiof's Sago, Canto XI. translated by Strong; Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe, p. 161.

remove the heavy chains from the raving maniacs of the hospitals of Paris, he was regarded as one who saw visions, or dreamed dreams. His wishes were gratified at last; and the change in the conduct of his patients was immediate; the wrinkled front of evil passions was smoothed into the serene countenance of Peace. The old treatment by force is now universally abandoned; the law of love has taken its place; and all these unfortunates mingle together, unvexed by those restraints, which implied suspicion, and, therefore, aroused opposition. The warring propensities, which once filled with confusion and strife the hospitals for the insane while they were controlled by force, are a dark but feeble type of the present relations of nations, on whose hands are the heavy chains of military preparations, assimilating the world to one great mad-house; while the peace and good-will which now abound in these retreats, are the happy emblems of what awaits the world when it shall have the wisdom to recognize the supremacy of the higher sentiments of our nature; of gentleness, of confidence, of love;

——— making their future might
Magnetic o'er the fixed untrembling heart.

I might also dwell on the recent experience, so full of delightful wisdom, in the treatment of the distant, degraded convicts of New South Wales,* showing the importance of confidence and kindness on the part of their overseers, in awakening a corresponding sentiment even in these outcasts, from whose souls virtue seems, at first view, to be wholly blotted out. Thus from all quarters, from the far-off past, from the far-away Pacific, from the verse of the poet, from the legend of history, from the cell of the mad-house, from the assembly of transported criminals, from the experience of daily life, from the universal heart of man, ascends the spontaneous tribute to the prevailing power of that law, according to which the human heart responds to the feelings by which it is addressed, whether of confidence or distrust, of love or hate.

It will be urged that those 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.

* The reader is referred to the several publications of Captain Machonichie, whose labors of beneficence entitle him to more than a vulgar military laurel.

which are confined to no particular race of men, to no period of time, to no narrow circle of knowledge and refinement—susceptibilities which are present wherever two or more human beings come together. It is, then, on the impregnable ground of the universal and unalterable nature of man, that I place the fallacy of that prejudice, in obedience to which 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 they gladly throw to the earth under the genial 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 one, and the rejection of the other. 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 be employed in future quarrels with your neighbors." Its precepts go still further. They direct 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, called by Confucius the virtue of the heart, and made by him the basis of the nine maxims of Government which he presented to the sovereigns of his country;* 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 its precepts go still further. They enjoin 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 such enormous sacrifices of money, in violation of its plainest precepts?

* Oeuvres de Bernardin de St. Pierre, Harmonies de la Nature, Tom. 10, p. 138.

The injunction, "Love one another," is applicable to nations as well as individuals. It is one of the great laws of Heaven. And any one may well measure his nearness to God by the degree to which he regulates his conduct by this truth.

In response to these successive views, founded on considerations of economy, of the true nature of man, and of Christianity, I hear the skeptical 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 (if there be such), I would say—nothing can be beautiful that is not true; but these views are true; 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, 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!*

* The following table of the Military and Naval Expenditures of the United States, during the eight years of the administration of Washington, compared with those for the last eight years, to which I have had access, will show how his practice accords with that of our day:

YEARS.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.	NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.
1789–91	$835,000	$570
1792	1,223,594	53!
1793	1,237,620	
1794	2,733,540	61,409
1795	2,573,059	410,562
1796	1,474,661	274,784
Total during the eight years of Washington,	$10,078,092	$847,378
1835	9,420,313	3,864,939
1836	18,466,110	5,800,763
1837	19,417,274	6,852,060
1838	19,936,412	5,175,771

It is melancholy to consider the impediments which truth encounters on its first appearance. A large portion of mankind, poising themselves on the flagitious fallacy, that *Whatever is, is right*, avert their countenances from all that is inconsistent with established usage. I have already, in another part of this address, set forth the superiority of principle to any human example; I would here repeat that the practice of nations can be no apology for a system which is condemned by such principles as I have now considered. Truth enters the world like a humble child, with few to receive her; it is only when she has grown in years and stature, and the purple flush of youthful strength beams from her face, that she is sought and wooed. It has been thus 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. It was this feeling which awarded a dungeon to Galileo, when he declared that the earth moved round the sun; which neglected the great discovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey; and which bitterly opposed the divine philanthropy of Clarkson, when he first denounced the wickedness of the slave-trade. But the rejected truths of to-day shall become the chief corner-stones to the next generation.

Auspicious omens in the history of the past and in 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,

YEARS.	MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.	NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.
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	7,963,678
Total during eight years,	$114,283,244	$49,053,473

Thus it appears that the expenditures for the defenses of the country, under the sanction of Washington, amounted to about *eleven million* dollars, while those during a recent similar period of eight years, stretch to upwards of *one hundred and sixty-four millions of dollars!* To him who quotes the precept of Washington, I commend the practice. All will agree that, in this age, when the whole world is at peace, and when our power is assured, there is less need of these preparations than in an age convulsed with war, when our 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 of the country to endure taxation is no criterion of its justice!

are now determined by arbitration or mediation. 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 Father*, or the overflowing raillery of *Punch*.* Genius can never be so Promethean as when it bears the heavenly fire of love to the hearts of men.

It was Dr. Johnson, in the last age, who uttered the detestable sentiment, that he liked "a good hater;" the man of this age shall say he likes "a good lover." A poet, whose few verses will bear him on his immortal flight with unflagging wing, has given expression to this sentiment 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.

Every where the ancient law of hate is yielding to the law of love. It is seen in the change of dress; the armor of complete steel was the habiliment of the knight; and the sword was an indispensable companion of the gentleman of the last century; but he would be thought a madman or a bully who should wear either now. It is seen in the change in domestic architecture; the places once chosen for castles or houses, were in the most savage, inaccessible retreats, where the massive structure was reared, destined solely to repel attacks, and to inclose its inhabitants. The monasteries and churches were fortified, and girdled by towers, ramparts and ditches, and a child was often stationed as a watchman—not of the night—but to observe what passed at a distance, and announce the approach of

* While this Oration was passing through the press, I read in one of the public prints, a letter, dated Birmingham, July 3, 1845, from which I make the following extract: "The Peace Question makes rapid progress in this country. I verily believe that if the people were polled to-morrow, nine-tenths of them would pronounce all war to be unchristian, and not a few would vote for the entire abrogation of our military and naval forces. The London Peace Society is doing much to deepen and confirm this feeling, and nearly all our cheap periodicals are *peace-toned*." The last fact is of peculiar importance; for it is in this way that the hearts of the people are to be touched. The agitation in Ireland, and that gigantic combination in England, the Anti Corn Law League, proceed on the *peace principle*. "Remember," says Mr. O'Connell, in words that will be immortal, "that no political change is worth a single crime, or above all, a single drop of human blood."

† Coleridge; Ancient Mariner.

the enemy!* The houses of the peaceful citizens in towns were castellated, often without so much as an aperture for light near the ground, and with loop-holes above, through which the shafts of the cross-bow might be aimed.† In the system of fortifications and preparations for war, nations act towards each other in the spirit of distrust and barbarism, which we have traced in the individual, but which he has now renounced. In 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?

We have already offered our homage to an early monarch of France, for his efforts in abolishing the Trial by Battle and in the cause of Peace. To another monarch of France, in our own day, a descendant of St. Louis, worthy of the illustrious lineage, Louis Philippe, belongs the honest fame of first publishing from the throne‡ the truth, that Peace was endangered by preparations for War. "The sentiment, or rather the principle," he says, "that in peace you must prepare for war, *is one of difficulty and danger; for while we keep armies on land to preserve peace, they are, at the same time, incentives and instruments of war.* He rejoiced in all efforts to preserve peace, for that was what all need. He thought the time was coming when we shall get rid entirely of war in all civilized countries." This time has been hailed by a generous voice from the army itself, by a Marshal of France, who gave as a toast at a public dinner in Paris,§ the following words of salutation to a new and approaching era of happiness: "To the pacific union of the great human family, by the association of individuals, nations and races! to the annihilation of war! To the transformation of destructive armies into corps of industrious laborers,

* Guizot, Histoire de la Civilization, Tom. III.

† The two volumes of colored plates from the illuminations of Froissart, which have been recently published, will give an accurate idea of the system of defenses within which private individuals sheltered themselves. For other illustrations, see Appendix, Note G.

‡ In reply to an address by the deputation from the London Peace Convention, in 1843.

§ Marshal Bugeaud, Governor of Algiers, gave this toast April 7, 1840, at one of several public dinners at that time, to commemorate the character and services of Fourier. How unlike this humane and noble sentiment of the Marshal of France, are the braggart standing toasts at the celebrations of our National Anniversary, vaunting in swelling praise, the glories of the army, the navy, and the militia, while the great interests of civilization, the administration of justice, education, humanity, are neglected, or only introduced, like sour olives and mouldy cheese, at the end of the feast.

who will consecrate their lives to the cultivation and embellishment of the world!" Be it our duty to speed this consummation!

To William Penn belongs the distinction, destined to brighten as men advance in virtue, of first, in human History, establishing the *Law of Love* as a rule of conduct for the intercourse of nations While he recognized as a great end of government, "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from abuse of power,"* he declined the superfluous protection of arms against foreign force, and aimed to reduce the savage nations by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and the Christian religion." His serene countenance, as he stands with his followers in what he called the sweet and clear air of Pennsylvania, all unarmed, beneath the spreading elm, forming the great treaty of friendship with the untutored Indians,—who fill with savage display the surrounding forest as far as the eye can reach,—not to wrest their lands by violence, but to obtain them by peaceful purchase, is to my mind, the proudest picture in the history of our country. "The great God," said this illustrious Quaker, in his words of sincerity and truth, addressed to the Sachems, "has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. It is not our custom to use hostile weapons against our fellow creatures, for which reason we have come unarmed. Our object is not to do injury, but to do good. We have met, then, in the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage can be taken on either side, but all is to be openness, brotherhood and love; while all are to be treated as of the same flesh and blood."† These are, indeed, words of true greatness. "Without any carnal weapons," says one of his companions, "we entered the land, and inhabited therein as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons." "This little State," says Oldmixon, "subsisted in the midst of six Indian nations, without so much as a militia for its defense." A great man, worthy of the mantle of Penn, the venerable philanthropist, Clarkson, in his life of the founder of Pennsylvania, says, "The Pennsylvanians became armed, though without arms; they became strong, though without strength; they became safe, without the ordinary means of safety. The constable's staff

* Preface to Penn's Constitution. † Clarkson's Life of Penn, I. cap. 18

was the only instrument of authority amongst them for the greater part of a century, and never, during the administration of Penn, or that of his proper successors, was there a quarrel or a war."*

Greater than the divinity that doth hedge a king, is the divinity that encompasses the righteous man, and the righteous people. The flowers of prosperity smiled in the blessed footprints of Wm. Penn. His people were unmolested and happy, while (sad, but true contrast!) those of other colonies, acting upon the policy of the world, building forts, and showing themselves in arms, not after receiving provocation, but merely in the anticipation, or from the fear, of insults or danger, were harrassed by perpetual alarms, and pierced by the sharp arrows of savage war.†

This pattern of a Christian Commonwealth never fails to arrest the admiration of all who contemplate its beauties. It drew an epigram of eulogy from the caustic pen of Voltaire, and has been fondly painted by many virtuous historians. Every ingenuous soul in our day offers his willing tribute to those celestial graces of justice and humanity, by the side of which the flinty hardness of the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock seems earthly and coarse.

But let us not confine ourselves to barren words in recognition of virtue. While we see the right, and approve it, too, let us dare to pursue it. Let us now, in this age of civilization, surrounded by Christian nations, be willing to follow the successful example of William Penn, surrounded by savages. Let us, while we recognize those transcendent ordinances of God, the *Law of Right* and the *Law of Love*—the double suns which illumine the moral universe—aspire to the true glory, and what is higher than glory, the great good, of taking the lead in the disarming of the nations. Let us abandon the system of preparation for war in time of peace, as irrational, unchristian, vainly prodigal of expense, and having a direct tendency to excite the very evil against which it professes to guard. Let the enormous means thus released from iron hands, be devoted to labors of beneficence. Our battlements shall be schools, hospitals, colleges and churches; our arsenals shall be libraries; our navy shall be peaceful ships, on errands of perpetual commerce; our army shall be the teachers of youth, and the

* Life of Penn, II. cap. 23.

† Ample illustrations of this striking difference between the fate of the colony of Pennsylvania, and its sister colonies may be found in Clarkson, II. cap. 22.

ministers of religion. This is indeed, the cheap defense of nations. In such entrenchments what Christian soul can be touched with fear. Angels of the Lord shall throw over the land an invisible, but impenetrable panoply;

> Or if virtue feeble were
> Heaven itself would stoop to her.*

As the thought of such a change in policy, the imagination loses itself in the vain effort to follow the various streams of happiness, which gush forth as from a thousand hills. Then shall the naked be clothed and the hungry fed. Institutions of science and learning shall crown every hill-top; hospitals for the sick, and other retreats for the unfortunate children of the world, for all who suffer in any way, in mind, body or estate, shall nestle in every valley; while the spires of new churches shall leap exulting to the skies. The whole land shall bear witness to the change; art shall confess it in the new inspiration of the canvass and the marble; the harp of the poet shall proclaim it in a loftier rhyme. Above all, the heart of man shall bear witness to it, in the elevation of his sentiments, in the expansion of his affections, in his devotion to the highest truth, in his appreciation of true greatness. The eagle of our country, without the terror of his beak, and dropping the forceful thunderbolt from his pounces, shall soar with the olive of Peace, into untried realms of ether, nearer to the sun.

And here let us review the field over which we have passed. We have beheld war, a mode of determining justice between nations, having its origin, in an appeal, not to the moral and intellectual part of man's nature, distinguishing him from the beasts, but to that low part of his nature, which he has in common with the beasts; we have contemplated its infinite miseries to the human race; we have weighed its sufficiency as a mode of determining justice between nations, and found that it is a rude appeal to force

* These are the concluding words of that most exquisite creation of early genius, the Comus. I have seen them in Milton's own hand-writing, inscribed by himself, during his travels in Italy, as a motto, in an Album; thus showing that they were regarded by him as expressing an important moral truth. The truth, which is thus embalmed by the grandest poet of modern times, is also illustrated, in familiar words, by the most graceful poet of antiquity.

> Integer vitæ scelerisque purus,
> Non eget Mauri jaculis, neque arcu,
> Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
> Fusce, pharetra.

Dryden pictures the same idea in some of his most magical lines:

> A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
> Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged,
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> *She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.*

or a gigantic game of chance, in which God's children are profanely dealt with as a pack of cards, while in its unnatural and irrational wickedness, it is justly to be likened to the monstrous and impious usage of Trial by Battle which disgraced the dark ages, thus showing that, in this age of boasted civilization, justice between nations is determined by the same rules of barbarous brutal force which once controlled the relations between individuals. We have next considered the various prejudices by which War is sustained; founded on a false belief in its necessity; on the practice of nations past and present; on the infidelity of the Christian Church; on a false idea of honor; on an exaggerated idea of the duties of patriotism; and lastly the monster prejudice, which draws its vampire life from the vast preparations in time of peace for war; dwelling at the last stage upon the thriftless, irrational and unchristian character of these preparations, and catching a vision of the exalted good that will be achieved when our country, learning wisdom, shall aim at the true grandeur of Peace.

And now, if it be asked why, on this National Anniversary, in the consideration of the TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS, I have thus dwelt singly and exclusively on war, it is, because war is utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with true greatness. Thus far mankind has worshipped, in military glory, an idol, compared with which the colossal images of ancient Babylon or modern Hindostan are but toys; and we, in this blessed day of light, in this blessed land of freedom, are among the idolaters. The heaven-descended injunction, *know thyself*, still speaks to an ignorant world from the distant letters of gold at Delphi; *know thyself;* know that the moral nature is the most noble part of man; transcending far that part which is the seat of passion, strife and war; nobler than the intellect itself. Suppose war to be decided by *force*, where is the glory? Suppose it to be decided by *chance*, where is the glory? No; true greatness consists in imitating as near as is possible for finite man, the perfections of an Infinite Creator; above all, in cultivating those highest perfections, Justice and Love; Justice, which like that of St. Louis, shall not swerve to the right hand or to the left; Love, which like that of William Penn, shall regard all mankind of kin. "God is angry," says Plato, "when any one censures a man like himself, *or praises a man of an opposite character.* And the God-like man is the good

man."* And again, in another of those lovely dialogues, vocal with immortal truth, "Nothing resembles God more than that man among us who has arrived at the highest degree of justice."† The true greatness of nations is in those qualities which constitute the greatness of the individual. It is not to be found in extent of territory, nor in vastness of population, nor in wealth; not in fortifications, or armies, or navies; not in the phosphorescent glare of fields of battle; not in Golgothas, though covered by monuments that kiss the clouds; for all these are the creatures and representatives of those qualities of our nature, which are unlike any thing in God's nature.

Nor is the greatness of nations to be found in triumphs of the intellect alone, in literature, learning, science or art. The polished Greeks, the world's masters in the delights of language, and in range of thought, and the commanding Romans, overawing the earth with their power, were little more than splendid savages; and the age of Louis XIV. of France, spanning so long a period of ordinary worldly magnificence, thronged by marshals bending under military laurels, enlivened by the unsurpassed comedy of Moliere, dignified by the tragic genius of Corneille, illumined by the splendors of Bousset, is degraded by immoralities that cannot be mentioned without a blush, by a heartlessness in comparison with which the ice of Nova Zembla is warm, and by a succession of deeds of injustice not to be washed out by the tears of all the recording angels of Heaven.‡

The true greatness of a nation cannot be in triumphs of the intellect alone. Literature and art may widen the sphere of its influence; they may adorn it; but they are in their nature but accessaries. *The true grandeur of humanity is in moral elevation, sustained, enlightened and decorated by the intellect of man.* The truest tokens of this grandeur in a State are the diffusion of the greatest happiness among the greatest number, and that passionate God-like Justice, which

* Mines, § 12.

† Theætetus, § 87.

‡ The false glory of Louis XIV. which procured for him, from flattering courtiers and a barbarous world, the title of Great, was questioned by one of his own subjects, the good Abbe de Saint Pierre. To this early Apostle of Humanity and Peace, the author of the *Projet de paix Perpetuelle*, the advocate of good will to man, the world, as it wakes from its martial trance, shall offer large tributes of admiration and gratitude. His voice was that of one crying in wilderness; but it was the herald of the reign of Peace. He enriched the French languag the word *bienfaisance;* and D'Alembert said that it was right that he should have the word, who practised so largely the virtue which it expressed. The good Abbe is confounded with the eccentric and eloquent Bernardin de Saint Pierre, the author Virginia.

controls the relation of the State to other States, and to all the people, who are committed to its charge.

But war crushes with bloody heel all justice, all happiness, all that is God-like in man. "It is," says the eloquent Robert Hall, "the temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue." True, it cannot be disguised, that there are passages in its dreary annals cheered by deeds of generosity and sacrifice. But the virtues which shed their charms over its horrors are all borrowed of Peace; they are emanations of the spirit of love, which is so strong in the heart of man, that it survives the rudest assaults. The flowers of gentleness, of kindliness, of fidelity, of humanity, which flourish in unregarded luxuriance in the rich meadows of Peace, receive unwonted admiration when we discern them in war, like violets shedding their perfume on the perilous edges of the precipice, beyond the smiling borders of civilization. God be praised for all the examples of magnanimous virtue which he has vouchsafed to mankind! God be praised that the Roman Emperor, about to start on a distant expedition of war, encompassed by squadrons of cavalry and by golden eagles which moved in the winds, stooped from his saddle to listen to the prayer of the humble widow, demanding justice for the death of her son!* God be praised that Sydney, on the field of battle, gave with dying hand the cup of cold water to the dying soldier! That single act of self forgetful sacrifice has consecrated the fenny field of Zutphen, far, oh! far beyond its battle; it has consecrated thy name, gallant Sydney, beyond any feat of thy sword, beyond any triumph of thy pen. But there are hands outstretched elsewhere than on fields of blood, for so little as a cup of cold water; the world is full of opportunities for deeds of kindness. Let me not be told, then, of the virtues of War. Let not the acts of generosity and sacrifice, which have triumphed on its fields, be invoked in its defense. In the words of Oriental imagery, the poisonous tree, though watered by nectar, can produce only the fruit of death!

As we cast our eyes over the history of nations we discern with horror the succession of murderous slaughters by which their progress has been marked. As the hunter traces the wild beast, when pursued to his lair by the drops of blood on

most admired instance of justice, according to the legends of the Catholic Church, Trajan, although a heathen, the gates of salvation. Dante found the scene and the *lare* of the widow and Emperor storied on the walls of Purgatory, and he has them in a passage which commends itself hardly less than any in the Divine Poem Canto X.

the earth, so we follow Man, faint, weary, staggering with wounds, through the Black Forest of the Past, which he has reddened with his gore. Oh! let it not be in the future ages as in those which we now contemplate. Let the grandeur of man be discerned in the blessings which he has secured; in the good he has accomplished; in the triumphs of benevolence and justice; in the establishment of perpetual peace.*

As the ocean washes every shore, and clasps, with all-embracing arms, every land, while it bears on its heaving bosom the products of various climes; so Peace surrounds, protects and upholds all other blessings. Without it commerce is vain, the ardor of industry is restrained, happiness is blasted, virtue sickens and dies.

And Peace has its own peculiar victories, in comparison with which Marathon and Bannockburn and Bunker Hill, fields held sacred in the history of human freedom, shall lose their lustre. Our own Washington rises to a truly Heavenly stature,—not when we follow him over the ice of the Delaware to the capture of Trenton,—not when we behold him victorious over Cornwallis at Yorktown; but when we regard him, in noble deference to justice, refusing the kingly crown which a faithless soldiery proffered, and at a later day, upholding the peaceful neutrality of the country, while he received unmoved the clamor of the people wickedly crying for war. What glory of battle in England's annals will not fade by the side of that great act of Justice, by which her Legislature at a cost of one hundred million dollars, gave freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves! And when the day shall come, (may these eyes be gladdened by its beams!) that shall witness an act of greater justice still, the peaceful emancipation of three millions of our fellow-men, "guilty of a skin not colored as our own," now held in gloomy bondage, under the constitution of our country, then shall there be a victory, in comparison with which that of Bunker Hill shall be as a farthing-candle held up to the sun. That victory shall need no monument of stone. It shall be written on the grateful hearts of uncounted multitudes, that

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Man alone of the animal creation preys upon his own species! The kingly lion does not upon his brother lion; the ferocious tiger does not prey upon kindred tigers.

Sed jam serpentum major concordia; parcit
Cognatis maculis similas fera. Quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Exspiravit aper majoris dentibus apri!
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride *pacem*
Perpetuam.

Juvenal, Sat. XV.

shall proclaim it to the latest generation. It shall be one of the great land-marks of civilization; nay more, it shall be one of the links in the golden chain by which Humanity shall connect itself with the throne of God.

As the cedars of Lebanon are higher than the grass of the valley; as the heavens are higher than the earth; as man is higher than the beasts of the field; as the angels are higher than man; as he that ruleth his spirit is higher than he that taketh a city; so are the virtues and victories of Peace higher than the virtues and victories of War.

Far be from us, fellow-citizens, on this Anniversary, the illusions of National freedom in which we are too prone to indulge. We have but half-done, when we have made ourselves free. Let not the scornful taunt be directed at us; "They wish to be *free;* but know not how to be *just.*"* Freedom is not an end in itself; but a means only; a means of securing Justice and Happiness, the real end and aim of States, as of every human heart. It becomes us to inquire earnestly if there is not much to be done by which these can be promoted. If I have succeeded in impressing on your minds the truths, which I have upheld to-day, you will be ready to join in efforts for the Abolition of War, and of all preparations for War, as indispensable to the true grandeur of our country.

To this great work let me summon you. That Future which filled the lofty visions of the sages and bards of Greece and Rome, which was foretold by the prophets and heralded by the evangelists, when man in Happy Isles, or in a new Paradise, shall confess the loveliness of Peace, may be secured by your care, if not for yourselves, at least for your children. Believe that you can do it, and you can do it. The true golden age is before you, not behind you. If man has been driven once from Paradise, while an angel with a flaming sword forbade his return, there is another Paradise even on earth, which he may form for himself, by the cultivation of the kindly virtues of life, where the confusion of tongues shall be dissolved in the union of hearts, where there shall be a perpetual jocund spring, and sweet strains borne on "the odoriferous wings of gentle gales," more pleasant than the Vale of Tempe, richer than the garden of the Hesperides, with no dragon to guard its golden fruit.

Let it not be said that age does not demand this work.

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* Ils veulent etre libres et ne savent pas etre justes.—*Abbe Sieyes*

The mighty conquerors of the Past, from their fiery sepulchres, demand it; the blood of millions unjustly shed in war crying from the ground demands it; the voices of all good men demand it; the conscience even of the soldier whispers "Peace." There are considerations, springing from our situation and condition, which fervently invite us to take the lead in this great work. To this should bend the patriotic ardor of the land; the ambition of the statesman; the efforts of the scholar; the pervasive influence of the press; the mild persuasion of the sanctuary; the early teachings of the school. Here, in ampler ether and divine air, are untried fields for exalted triumphs, more truly worthy the American name, than any snatched from rivers of blood. War is known as the *Last Reason of Kings*. Let it be no reason of our Republic. Let us renounce and throw off for ever the yoke of a tyranny more oppressive than any in the annals of the world. As those standing on the mountain-tops first discern the coming beams of morning, let us, from the vantage-ground of liberal institutions, first recognize the ascending sun of a new era! Lift high the gates, and let the King of Glory in—the King of true Glory—of Peace. I catch the last words of music from the lips of innocence and beauty;*

And let the whole earth be filled with his glory!

It is a beautiful picture of Grecian story, that there was at least one spot, the small Island of Delos, dedicated to the Gods, and kept at all times sacred from war, where the citizens of hostile countries met and united in a common worship. So let us dedicate our broad country! The Temple of Honor shall be surrounded by the Temple of Concord, so that the former can be entered only through the portals of the latter; the horn of Abundance shall overflow at its gates; the angel of Religion shall be the guide over its steps of flashing adamant; while within JUSTICE, returned to the earth from her long exile in the skies, shall rear her serene and majestic front. And the future chiefs of the Republic, destined to uphold the glories of a new era, unspotted by human blood, shall be "the first in PEACE, and the first in the hearts of their countrymen."

But while we seek these blissful glories for ourselves, let

* The services of the choir at the Church, where the Oration was delivered, were performed by the youthful daughters of the public schools of Boston.

us strive to extend them to other lands. Let the bugles sound the *Truce of God* to the whole world for ever. Let the selfish boast of the Spartan women become the grand chorus of mankind, that they have never seen the smoke of an enemy's camp. Let the iron belt of martial music which now encompasses the earth, be exchanged for the golden cestus of Peace, clothing all with celestial beauty. History dwells with fondness on the reverent homage, that was bestowed, by massacreing soldiers, on the spot occupied by the Sepulchre of the Lord. Vain man! to restrain his regard to a few feet of sacred mould! The whole earth is the Sepulchre of the Lord; nor can any righteous man profane any part thereof. Let us recognize this truth; and now, on this Sabbath of our country, lay a new stone in the grand Temple of Universal Peace, whose dome shall be as lofty as the firmament of Heaven, as broad and comprehensive as the earth itself.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

[Referred to on page 8.]

The following letter has been published at the suggestion of several friends, as illustrating a topic considered in the text:

JULY 6th, 1845.

MY DEAR ——,

It has occurred to me that you might have thought me wanting in frankness, when I avoided expressing a positive opinion with regard to the righteousness of the resistance of our Fathers to taxation by the British Parliament. I am very desirous, on many accounts, of not disturbing that question; "Let the Dead Past bury its Dead." I wish to confine myself to the Present and the Future.

There is one conclusion, following with irresistible force, from the assumption that our Fathers were justifiable in their course, which neither of us would wish to have promulgated. It relates to the present condition of our slaves. At the time of the Stamp Act and Tea Tax, the population of the Colonies amounted to about *two* millions (according to Mr. Burke, though our writers have called it *three*); their grievance, their slavery, was the necessity of paying a few pence, more or less, on certain things, under the direction of a Parliament in which they were not represented. No just or humane person can fail to perceive that all this was a feather compared with the rod of oppression, now held by our country over *more than three millions of fellow men*. If *two millions* were justified in resisting by *force* the assumption of the British Parliament, as contrary to the law of nature, the principles of the common law, and the rights of Freedom; then, *a fortiori*, the *three millions* of blacks, into whose souls we thrust the iron of the deadliest slavery the world has yet witnessed, would be justified in resisting by *force* the power that holds them in bondage. Can we proclaim such a truth?

To me, the more humane, the more Christian, the more expedient course, seems to be to leave that great question undisturbed in the coffins of our fathers. There are minor rules of propriety, not to say of politeness and good breeding, that seem to indicate the same conclusion. The customary tone of reference to the war of the Revolution is in a spirit which would be considered indelicate with regard to any private or personal experience; and it seems to me well worthy of consideration, whether the time has not come for nations to put aside their

habits of boasting, as indecorous, if not unchristian. The propriety of this course must commend itself, not only to those who may regard the conduct of the Fathers of the Revolution as questionable, but even to those who think it entirely justifiable. Even if the great *trial by battle* be regarded as a rational mode of determining *justice* between nations; should not the place of encounter be held rather as a field of execution, than of triumph? We do not erect monuments to commemorate the scenes of public execution. * * * * *

Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

NOTE B.

[Referred to on page 23.]

In this note I propose to present a sketch of the history of *Private Wars* and of the *Trial by Battle*. Let it be borne in mind, that the same sentiments which led us to condemn these as impious and monstrous, equally condemn wars between nations. I can not dwell too much upon the importance of this parallel; and I would here repeat what is set forth in the text, though not with sufficient prominence, that *all war between civilized Christian nations is a mere* TRIAL OF RIGHT, *or a mode of determining justice between them*, in this respect resembling precisely the *Trial by Battle*. It is a mode of litigation, or of determining a *Lis Pendens* between nations. This, of course, excludes the idea of *self-defense*. The supposed right of *self-defense* might arise, if a pirate should enter our harbors, for the mere purpose of murder or plunder; but it is irrational and vain to suppose that there is any element of *self-defense* in a war to determine a dispute or litigation between nations. I hope to brand the phrase *defensive wars* as absurd, and expressing in our age, and among Christian nations, an impossible idea. It is a part of the "flash language" of war, and deplomacy, which should be now exploded. I repeat, again, that all war is a mere *Trial by Battle* between nations; and as such, no one can fail to pronounce it, in the language of Montesquieu, *monstrous*, and in the language of the old Lombard monarch, *impious*.

PRIVATE WARS. The system of *private wars* may be traced to the dark woods of Ancient Germany, where the right of avenging injuries was treated as a private and personal right, exercised by force of arms, without reference to an umpire, or appeal to a magistrate for decision. Emerging from thence, it prevailed in the early centuries of modern time, in all the countries of Europe, though few traces of it are to be found in England after the Conquest, except in times of civil trouble and commotion. Though the avenging of injuries was the only motive that could legally authorize private wars, yet they often arose from disputes concerning civil property. They were carried on with all the destructive rage which is to be dreaded from violent resentment when armed with force and authorized by law. The invasion of the mos barbarous enemy was not more desolating to a country or more griev ous to its inhabitants. Various ineffectual efforts were made for their suppression. A Bishop of Acquitaine, A. D. 1032, pretended that an angel had appeared to him, and brought him a writing from Heaven, enjoining men to cease from their hostilities, and be reconciled to each other. It was during a season of public calamity that he published this revelation; the minds of men were disposed to receive supernatural impressions, and consented to a general peace and cessation of hostilities, which continued for seven years. A resolution was formed that no man should, in time to come, attack or molest his adversaries dur-

ing the seasons set apart for celebrating the great festivities of the church, or from the evening of Thursday in each week to the morning of Monday in the week ensuing, the intervening days being considered as particularly holy, the Lord's Passion having happened on one of these days, and his Resurrection on another. A change in the disposition of men so sudden, and producing a resolution so unexpected, was considered as miraculous, and the respite of hostilities, which followed upon it, was called the *Truce of God*. This, from being a regulation or concert in one kingdom, became a general law in Christendom, and was confirmed by the authority of the Pope, and the violators of it were subject to the penalty of excommunication. The custom of private war still continued; but was discountenanced by St. Louis, until finally Charles VI. in 1413, issued an ordinance expressly prohibiting it on any pretext whatsoever, with power to the magistrates to compel all persons to comply with this injunction, and to punish such as should prove refractory or disobedient. Later than this there is an instance of a pitched battle in the reign of Edward IV of England, at Nibley Green, in Gloucestershire, on the 10th of August, 1470, between two powerful nobles, William, Lord Berkley, and Thomas, Viscount Lisle. Both brought a large number of men into the field; an hundred and fifty men were killed in the action. After the battle, Lord Berkley repaired to the Castle of Lord Lisle, at Wotton, and it was ransomed as a place taken in regular war. The cause of this feud was the right of succession to the lands of Berkley. The law suit, which gave occasion to this battle, lasted a hundred and ninety-two years, and during its progress the Castle of Berkley was once taken by surprise, and its inhabitants thrown into prison; it was, besides, frequently attacked and defended with much effusion of blood. (Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 69, for April 1845.)

Let us close this sketch in the words of Robertson, in allusion to the regulations for the abolition of private war: "How slow is the progress of reason and civil order! Regulations, which to us appear equitable, obvious, and simple, required the efforts of civil and ecclesiastical authorily, during several centuries, to introduce and establish them." *

TRIAL BY BATTLE. The *trial by battle*, or the judicial combat, was a formal and legitimate mode of determining disputes. This, likewise, may be traced to the ancient Germans; for it appears by a passage in Velleius Peterculus (L. II. cap. 118), that all questions, which were decided among the Romans by trial, were terminated among them by the sword; the Roman laws and method of trial, which Quintilius Varus attempted to introduce among them, were regarded as *novitas incognitæ disciplinæ, ut solita armis decerni jure terminarentur*. It afterward extended to the other countries of Europe, though it does not seem to have established itself completely in France till after the time of Charlemagne. It seems to have been popular in Lombardy, though Luitprand, King of the Lombards, in one of his laws, in 713, expressly admits its *impiety:* Incerti sumus de judicio Dei et quosdam audivimus per pugnam sine justa causa suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostræ Longobardorum *legem impiam vetare non possumus*. (Muratori, Rerum Italic. Script. t. 2. p. 65.) Like the other ordeals, by the burning plowshares, by the holding hot iron, by dipping the hand in hot water or hot oil, it was a presumptuous appeal to Providence, under the apprehension and

* The subject of private war is treated with an exactness, perspicuity, and comprenensiveness by Dr. Robertson (Hist. of Charles V. vol. I. note 21), which has inspired the warm commendation of Mr. Hallam. (History of Middle Ages, Vol. II.—155, cap. 2, pt. 2.) It also occupies the attention of our countryman (Mr. Wheaton) in his History of the Northmen: and of the humane and accomplished historian of France, Sismondi. (Histoire des Français, Tome VIII. 72-77.

hope that Heaven would give the victory to him who had the right. It was the child of superstition and brute force.

It seems probable that the trial by battle was originally permitted, in order to determine points respecting the personal character, or reputation of individuals, and was afterward extended, not only to criminal cases, but to questions concerning property. In the year 961, a controversy concerning the church of St. Medard, whether it belonged to the Abbey of Beaulieu, was terminated by judicial combat. The Abbot, Wittikindus, considered it as the best and most *honourable* mode of determining a grave point of law. "It was a matter of doubt and dispute," says the Abbot, "whether the sons of a son ought to be reckoned among the children of the family, and succeed equally with their uncles if their father happened to die while their grandfather was alive. An assembly was called to deliberate on this point, and it was the general opinion that it ought to be remitted to the examination and decision of judges. But the Emperor, [Otho II] *following a better course, and desirous of dealing* HONOURABLY *with his people and nobles, appointed the matter to be decided between two champions.* He who appeared in behalf of the right of children to represent their deceased father was victorious; and it was established by a perpetual decree, that they should hereafter share in the inheritance together with their uncles." This was under the German Emperor, Otho II, in the tenth century. But the folly of man did not end here. A question of religion, as well as of law, was submitted to the same arbitrament. In the eleventh century the question was agitated in Spain, whether the Musarabic Liturgy which had been used in the Churches of Spain, or the Liturgy approved by the See of Rome, differing in many particulars from the other, contained the form of worship most acceptable to the Deity. The Spaniards contended zealously for the liturgy of their ancestors. The Popes urged the reception of that which had their infallible sanction. The question was referred to the trial by battle. Two knights in complete armour entered the lists. John Ruys de Matanca, the champion of the Musarabic Liturgy, was victorious.

While the trial by battle subsisted, proofs by charter, contracts or persons, became ineffectual. When a charter or other instrument was introduced by one of the parties, his opponent might challenge it, affirm that it was false and forged, and offer to prove this by combat. So he might accuse a witness, whom he suspected of being about to give testimony against him, of being suborned, give him the lie, and challenge him to combat; and if the witness was vanquished, no other evidence was admitted, and the party by whom he was summoned lost his cause. The reason given for obliging a witness to accept of defiance, and to defend himself by combat, contains the idea of what is called the *point of honour;* "for it is just that if any one affirms that he perfectly knows the truth of anything, and offers to give oath upon it, that he should not hesitate to maintain the veracity of his affirmation in combat." Leg. Burgund. tit. 45.

The trial by battle extended itself so generally in France, if not in other parts of Europe, as at one time to supersede all other ordeals, which were regarded also as judgments of God, and even the mode by proofs. In Orleans it was restrained to civil matters, involving upwards of six sous in amount. [Montesquieu, Esp. des Lois, Liv. 28, cap. 20.] Regulations of great minuteness were established with regard to the ceremonies; and this *monstrous usage*, as it is called by Montesquieu, was reduced to a system, and illustrated by an extensive jurisprudence. Men, says this ingenious Frenchman, subject to rules even their prejudices. Nothing was more contrary to good sense than the judicial combat, but being once recognized, it was conducted with a certain prudence. In this respect, as in many others, it bears a resemblance to the great *trial by battle* which still prevails between nations; and which

has its artificial and complex regulations, the so called laws of war. The field for the combat was selected with care; and in many places there was an open space for this purpose in the neighborhood of the Church. We learn by an accidental notice in Froissart, that there was a tribune attached to the walls of the Abbey of St. German, des Pres, in Paris, which was destined for the judges of the combat, and which overlooked the meadow *aux Clercs*, which served for a field. (Froissart, c. 383, p. 290; Sismondi, Histoire, X. 514.) The ground being selected, a large fire was kindled, and a gallows erected for the vanquished. Two seats covered with black were also prepared for the combatants, on which they received certain admonitions, and were made to swear on the Holy Evangelists that they had not had recourse to sorcery, witchcraft, or incantation. They had previously attended the celebration of mass, the forms of which for such occasions are still to be found in certain old missals, where it is called *missa pro duello*. In certain cases of physical inability, and where women and the clergy were concerned, a battle by proxy was allowed, and regular bravoes, called *champions*, were hired for this purpose; dreadful trade, it would seem, since the right hand of the champion was lopped off in the event of his being worsted. Meanwhile the principals were kept out of the lists with ropes about their necks, and he who was beaten by proxy was forthwith hanged in person, although in certain cases he was allowed to be decapitated. (Millingen, Hist. of Duelling, Vol. I. 31, 32; Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, Liv. 28, cap. 19.)

In England, trial by battle was conducted with peculiar form, in the presence of the judges in their scarlet robes, who presided over the field which was duly set out of sixty feet square, and enclosed by lists. It appears that trials of this kind were so frequent, that fines, paid on these occasions, made no inconsiderable branch of the King's revenue. (Madox, Hist. Excheq. Vol. I. 349.) For some time after the Conquest the only mode of trying a writ of right, for the determination of the title to real property was this barbarous proceeding; but Henry II, by consent of parliament, introduced the *grand assise*, a peculiar species of trial by jury, in concurrence therewith; giving the party against whom the action is brought his choice of either the one or the other. The establishment of this alternative is pronounced by Glanville, his Chief Justice, and probably his adviser therein, a certain benefit. He says: *duelli casum declinare possint homines ambiguum.* Jus enim, *quod post multas et longas dilationes vix evincitur per duellum*, per beneficium istius constitutionis commodius et acceleratius expeditur. (l. 2, c. 7.) A trial by combat was appointed in England in 1571, under the inspection of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas; but Queen Elizabeth interposed her authority, and enjoined the parties to compound the matter; yet in order to preserve what was called their *honor*, the lists were marked out, and all the forms previous to the combat were observed with much ceremony. (Spelm. Gloss. veb. *campus*, p. 103.) The last time that this trial was actually awarded in England, was in 1631, between Lord Rae and Mr. Ramsey. King Charles I appointed, by commission, a constable of England to preside over it, who proclaimed a day, on which the combatants were to appear with a spear, a long sword, a short sword, and a dagger; but this was accommodated without bloodshed. (Hargrave, State Trials, XI. 124.) The form of proceeding fell into desuetude, overruled by the advancing spirit of civilization; but, to the disgrace of the English law, it was not legislatively abolished till in 1817 the right to it had been distinctly claimed in the Court of King's Bench. Abraham Thornton, in an appeal against him for murder, when brought into court, pleaded as follows: "Not Guilty, and I am ready to defend the same by my body;" and thereupon taking off his glove, he threw it upon the floor of the court. The appellant did not choose to submit to this trial, and abandoned his proceedings. In the next session of

parliament, trial by battle was abolished in England. (Blackstone, Com. Vol. III. 337, Chitty's note.) The Attorney-General, in introducing the bill for this purpose, remarked, that "if the party had persevered, he had no doubt the legislature would have felt it their imperious duty to interfere and pass an *ex post facto* law, *to prevent so degrading a spectacle from taking place.*" Annual Register, Vol. LXI. p 52. (1819). Is not war between nations an equally degrading spectacle?

☞ The principal modern authorities for the history of the judicial combat are the admirable note by Robertson (History of Charles V, Vol. I. note 22); Montesquieu (Esprit des Lois, Liv. 28, cap. 17–29), whose luminous mind has cast upon it a brilliant flood of light; Blackstone (Commentaries, Vol. III. 337–351; Vol. IV. 346–348, 419); Hallam (Middle Ages, Vol. I. 187, cap. 2, pt. 2); the humane and accomplished Sismondi, (Histoire des Francgais VIII. 77–78); Guizot, in a work of remarkable beauty of historical inquiry and depth of philosophy, more grave than the Esprit des Lois, and enlightened by loftier ideas of human progress and virtue (Histoire de la Civilization en France depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain, Tome IV. 89, 149–166); our learned countryman, Mr. Wheaton (History of the Northmen, cap. III. and XII.); and Millingen (History of Duelling, 2 Vols.), a writer hardly deserving the character of an authority, and utterly unworthy a place in this fellowship of authors.

NOTE C.

[Referred to on page 29.]

A Congress of Nations and Arbitration. It is intended to offer in this Note, a sketch of the efforts of private men, and the examples of Nations tending to a Congress of Nations, or an established system of Arbitration without appeal to War.

The duty and importance of *Universal Peace* was recommended by the early Fathers of the Christian Church. The character of the *good Man of Peace* was described in the 15th century, in that work of unexampled circulation, which has been translated into all modern languages, and republished more than a thousand times. (De Imitatione Christi, by Thomas a Kempis, Lib. 2, cap. 3.) The writings of Erasmus, at the close of the same century, abound in the spirit of Peace. In the 17th century, Nicole, a friend of Pascal, one of the fellowship of Port Royal, and one of the highest names in the Church of France, in his *Essais de Morale*, in six volumes, gave to the world *Traite des Moyens de conserver la Paix avec les Hommes*, a treatise which Voltaire terms "a master-piece to which nothing equal has been left to us by Antiquity." (Siecle de Louis XIV. See Hallam's History of Literature, Vol. III. 383, part IV. cap. 4). It is to be found in a recent edition of the *Pensees de Pascal*. The reader of our day can not perceive in it the exalted merit which drew forth the eulogy of Voltaire. At the beginning of the 18th century appeared the *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle*, in three volumes, by the Abbe Saint Pierre, which the benevolent author, by a species of pious fraud, attributed to Henry IV and his Minister Sully, with the view of recommending it to the adoption of the Sovereigns and Ministers, to whom the authority of these great names would be more imposing than the intrinsic merit of the scheme itself. His ideas were characterized by the profligate minister and cardinal Dubois, as *les reves d'un homme de bien*. Afterwards in 1761, that great genius, Rousseau, published a little work to which he modestly gave the title, *Extrait du Projet de Paix perpetuelle de M^r Abbe de Saint Pierre*. Without appealing to those higher motives, for

addressing which to sovereigns Saint Pierre had most unjustly incurred the ridicule of practical statesmen, such as the love of true glory, of humanity, and a regard to the dictates of conscience and the precepts of religion, Rousseau merely supposes princes to be endowed with common sense, and capable of estimating how much their interests would be promoted by submitting their respective pretensions to the arbitration of an impartial tribunal, rather than resorting to the uncertain issue of arms, which even to the victor can not bring adequate compensation for the blood and treasure expended in the contest. (See Wheaton's History of the law of Nations, part 2, § 17.)

There are fragments of a *Project of Perpetual Peace*, by the late Jeremy Bentham, recently published from MSS. bearing date from 1786 to 1789, under the superintendence of his Executor, Dr. Bowring (Part 8, pp. 537–554, London, 1839), which are marked by the penetrating sense and humanity of their author.

Of late years, several writers of the different schools of German philosophy have proposed the establishment of an Amphictyonic council of Nations, by which their mutual differences might be judiciously settled, and the guilt and misery of war for ever abolished among civilized nations. One of the most remarkable of these projects of Perpetual Peace was that published by Kant in 1795. He says: "What we mean to propose is a general congress of Nations, of which both the meeting and the duration are to depend entirely on the sovereign wills of the League, and not an indissoluble Union like that which exists between the several States of North America founded on a Municipal constitution. Such a Congress, and such a League, are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law, according to which the difference between nations would be determined by civil proceedings and those between individuals are determined by civil judicature, instead of resorting to war, a means of redress worthy only of barbarians." (Kant, Rechtslehre, Zweiten Theil, § 61.) The principles of Kant on this subject have been contested by another celebrated German Philosopher, Hegel, in the spirit of one whose mind was so imbued with the history of the Past, as to be insensible to the charms of Peace. A state of perpetual peace, he says, if it could be realized, would produce a moral stagnation among nations. (Hegel, Philosophie des Rechts, herausgegeben Von Gans § 321–339. See also Wheaton's History of the Law of Nations, part 4, § 36, 37.)

Most important information on this subject is collected in the volume of Prize Essays published by the American Peace Society, and in a little tract entitled a Congress of Nations, by the same Society. The useful life of the late William Ladd was devoted to the diffusion of information on this subject.

A General Peace Convention was held in London, in June, 1843, composed of delegates from various countries, which was organized by the choice of Charles Hindley, Esq., M. P., as President, and the Marquis de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, as Vice President. The Convention was graced by the presence of many persons, well known for their labors of philanthropy. Among those prominent in political life who took a part in its proceedings, were Lord Robert Grosvenor, William Sherman Crawford, M. P., Richard Cobden, M. P., Joseph Hume, M. P., W. Ewart, M. P., Dr Bowring, M. P.

The Convention was called together on the principle, "that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and with the true interests of mankind." The following are among the Resolutions which it adopted:

On Arbitration instead of War. "That this Convention earnestly recommends to Governments, Members of Legislative bodies, and public functionaries, the adoption of *the principle of arbitration* for the adjustment

of all international differences; and that stipulations be introduced into all international treaties to provide for this mode of adjustment; whereby recourse to war may be entirely avoided between such nations as shall agree to abide by such stipulation."

On a Congress of Nations. "That while recommending the plan of Judge Jay, which proposes that Nations should enter into treaty stipulations to refer their differences to the arbitration of a friendly power, as a measure the most *immediately* available for the prevention of war, we still regard, as peace societies have from their origin regarded, especially as set forth by the late WILLIAM LADD, Esq., *a Congress of Nations to settle and perfect the code of international law, and a High Court of Nations to interpret and apply that for the settlement of all National disputes*, as that which should be further kept in view by the friends of peace, and urged upon the Governments as one of the best practical modes of settling peacefully and satisfactorily such international disputes.

On Preparation for War. "That in the opinion of this Convention, preparations for war are so many incentives to war, and ought to be discouraged by all friends of peace."

There are now Peace Societies at London, at Paris, at Brussels, at Geneva, all co-operating in this holy cause. The American Peace Society is the oldest, and has already been the means of great good. It has adopted as a fundamental article in its constitution the declaration *that all war is forbidden by Christianity.* Its officers and principal members include some of the most prominent divines and public characters of our country; among whom are the President, S. E. Coues; Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H.; Rev. Charles Lowell, of Boston; Rev. Ezra S. Gannet, of Boston; Rev. Francis Wayland, of Providence, R. I.; Rev. C. E. Stowe, of Cincinnati; Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Georgetown, Ky.; Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York; William W. Ellsworth, of Hartford, Conn.; Gerrit Smith, of Peterborough, N. Y.; William Jay, of Bedford, N. Y.; Professor Greenleaf, of Cambridge; Samuel A. Elliott, of Boston; Sidney Willard, of Cambridge; Thomas W. Ward, of Boston; Rev. William Jenks; Rev. Orville Dewey, of New York; Jonathan Chapman; Martin Brimmer, of Boston; Amasa Walker.

Of a society, composed of such names, subscribing to such a principle—it would be difficult for Southey to repeat the gibe, which he allowed himself to utter in his Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, I. 224: "I say nothing of the Society for the Abolition of War (Heaven bless the mark!); it has not obtained sufficient notice even to be in disrepute."

History furnishes various illustrations of the principle of a Congress of Nations, under the name of Councils, Leagues, Diets, or Congresses. 1. *The Amphictyonic Council*, embracing at first twelve and finally thirty-one states or cities, was established in the year 497 B. C. Each city sent two deputies, and had two votes in the Council, *which had full power to discuss all differences* which might arise between the Amphictyonic cities. 2. *The Achæan League*, founded at a very early period, and renewed in 284 A. C. Although each member of the League was independent of the others, yet they formed one body, and so great was their reputation for justice and probity, that the Greek cities of Italy referred disputes to their arbitration. 3. Passing over other confederacies of antiquity, we come down to the *Hanseatic League*, begun in the twelfth century and completed near the middle of the thirteenth. It comprised at one time nearly eighty cities. A system of international law was adopted in their general assemblies. While pursuing a pacific policy, they flourished beyond all precedent. 4. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Germany, various other cities and nobles entered into alliances and associations for mutual protection, under various names, as the *League of the Rhine* and of *Suabia*. (Robertson, Hist. of Charles V. Note 21.)

5. *The Helvetic Union* began so long ago as 1308, and has preserved peace among its members during the greater part of five centuries. It is covenanted by this Union that all public dissensions shall be settled between the parties in an amicable manner; and with this view, particular judges and arbitrators are appointed with power to compose any strife that may arise. 6. *The Grand Scheme of Henry IV.* of France, for the blending of the Christian States of Europe in one Confederacy, had its rise more in selfish ambition than in true humanity; but it has served to keep before Christendom the idea of the same common tribune for the great brotherhood of nations. 7. *The United States of America* furnish an instance of the union of twenty-six different States, all having peculiar interests, in bonds of peace, with a tribunal which has jurisdiction over the controversies of the States.

William Penn once said of the schemes of Henry IV, "his example tells us that *it is fit to be done;* Sir William Temple's History of the United Provinces shows, by a surpassing instance, that *it may be done;* and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, that *it ought to be done.*"

It seems, in the order of Providence, that the families, tribes and nations of the earth should tend, by means of association, to a final *Unity.* The seven kingdoms of England became *one* under the Saxon Edgar; Wales was forcibly absorbed into England under Edward I; Ireland, after a protracted resistance, was finally absorbed under Edward III; Scotland became connected with England by the accession of James I to the throne of the Tudors, and the two countries afterwards, under Queen Anne, were united by an act of peaceful legislation. The great nations of France and Austria have passed through similar stages; disjointed fragments and scattered limbs have been brought together; provinces, which once possessed an equivocal independence, now feel new power and happiness in their common union. This is the great process of crystallization, which is constantly going on among nations. The next stage will be the association of Christian States.

Our country possesses peculiar advantages for taking the initiative in the diplomatic measures by which this great event is to be hastened. A Committee of Congress, in a Report ascribed to the late Mr. Legare, recommended in 1838, "a reference to a third power of all such controversies as can be safely confided to any tribunal unknown to the Constitution of our country. Such a practice, (say the Committee) will be followed by other powers, and will soon grow up into the customary law of civilized nations." The Legislature of Massachusetts, by a series of Resolutions, passed with great unanimity in 1844, declare it their "earnest desire that the government of the United States would, at the earliest opportunity, take measures for obtaining the consent of the powers of Christendom to the establishment of a General Convention or Congress of Nations, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law, and of organizing a high court of nations, to adjudge all cases of difficulty which may be brought before them by the mutual consent of two or more nations." Mr. Jay, in his work on *Peace and War*, while he foresees the ultimate establishment of a Congress of Nations, recommends as a preliminary step the formation of Treaties with the different powers of Christendom, providing for the adjustment of difficulties by *arbitration.*

There is no work to which an American statesman may devote himself, in the hope of fame, or in the desire to be of service to the world, that can compare in grandeur with the cause which is now most earnestly recommended to all who have any influence over the public mind. Let the President of the United States empower our ministers at all the Courts to which they are accredited, to open negotiations at once for this holy purpose.

NOTE D.

[Referred to on page 32]

Dr. Vinton's Sermon. The sermon of the Rev. Dr. Vinton, pronounced before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, is a most disheartening production. It is the subtle effort of an excellent mind to reconcile what he calls defensive war (he does not show that such a war is possible, in this age, among Christian nations) with the injunctions of Christianity, severing and dividing, as with profane metaphysical scissors, a most intelligent verse of the Gospel, wholly neglecting others of great and controlling significance, and seeking to overturn one of the most blessed truths. The sermon was delivered on a public occasion of ceremony, before a military body; it was voted by the martial critics "able, eloquent, and interesting," and at their request was printed. It has been praised in newspapers; though to the credit of a wakeful press, which now exercises a restraining influence over the clergy, as well as the laity, its pernicious doctrines and its unfair reasoning have already been rebuked by two able writers in different journals. It has thus become public property, and as such, I venture to dwell on its character.

This sermon is particularly sinister at this moment, when the country stands on the verge of two wars, which will be proclaimed to be defensive in their character, though having in them no element of *self-defense*, and being mere trials of title to distant territories. It is also unfair in its peculiar mode of treating the question. There is an honest hardihood in the military ardour with which Grotius (De jure Belli ac Pacis) and, since him, Mr. Lieber, (Political Ethics), march against the direct injunctions of the Saviour, the *ipsissima verba* of the Gospel, treating them as of little or no account, as extravagances or exaggerations. But Dr. Vinton founds his defense of war on a single verse of the Gospel, leaving all others untouched and even concealing them from the view. In this way he may avoid seeming directly to stulify him whom he calls Master, by declaring that his words do not mean what they seem to mean; that He did not know what he meant when he said, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies;" and that Paul indulged in an impracticable extravagance when he said, "Overcome evil with good." But placing his whole argument upon a single verse, the whole superstructure rushes to the earth when the interpretation by which it is supported is shown to be inconsistent with the general character and teachings of Christ; inconsistent with the fair and natural sense of the words in the English version; utterly and flagrantly inconsistent with the plain and grammatical construction of the original Greek; so much so as to lead to the conclusion that Dr. Vinton did not refer to the original Greek, or did not understand it. I am indebted to a friend, whose name it would be superfluous in me to mention, for the following masterly criticism of Dr. Vinton's treatment of this verse. After reading this, no person can regard it otherwise than monstrous to found a Scriptural defense of so great a crime as war on an unfair, ignorant and ungrammatical perversion of a few short words in the Gospel of peace.

To those who are desirous of reading a natural and unanswerable expression of the true doctrine of Christianity on the subject of war, where the different injunctions of the Saviour seem to come together and arrange themselves, not by subtle force, but spontaneously and by

divine harmony, I would refer to the elaborate work of Dymond on War; to the essay by Gurney, entitled, "War unlawful under the Christian dispensation;" the Address of the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, before the American Peace Society; and the truly Christian sermon of Rev. Mr. Bogue, of England.

If the habit of delivering sermons before a military company should be continued, and another Christian minister be found consenting another year to degrade the "blessedness" of the Gospel to the "blasphemy" of war, I hope he will be willing to attend to the following points: *First*, the numerous direct texts in the Gospel, all of them embracing war in their general condemnation, or enjoining peace; *second*, the character of Christ and his immediate disciples, and the question, whether it is possible to suppose Christ, or the youthful John, or even the fiery Peter, doing duty as soldiers, either in the militia, or the regular army, or preaching sermons in praise of the profession of arms, or riding as chaplains of a military parade; *third*, the history of the Christian church during the first four centuries, showing conclusively that it was then regarded as wrong in a Christian to bear arms; *fourth*, if any kind of war is consistent with Christianity, let him explain precisely what, to the end that its sacred sanctions may not be thrown over all wars—a piratical contest for Texas, or a mere quarrel about the title to Oregon; *fifth*, if he should assert that what are called defensive wars are consistent with Christianity, let him explain precisely what is meant by a defensive war, and show the possibility—the most distant possibility—of the occurrence of such a war in this age, among Christian nations; *sixth*, if he should conclude that Christianity forbids all wars, or all wars but defensive wars, while it is impossible and monstrous to suppose the case of such a war in our age, let him then consider whether all preparations for war are not improper, and whether a Christian minister is not justly reprehensible who lends them the sanction of his presence.

The following criticism, which I hasten to present, will render it necessary for any successor of Dr. Vinton in the church militant, to occupy a position on some other verse of the Gospel than that on which he chose to throw up his entrenchments. As the majestic elms on the Boulevards of Paris, affording a generous shade to the people, were hewn down to become barricades in the Revolution of July, so the blessed texts of the Gospel, under whose broad and sacred shelter all mankind might repose in peace, from generation to generation, are felled to the earth, and converted into defenses of war.

The first four pages of Dr. Vinton's Artillery Election Sermon contain a good and Christian-like exposition of the text, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." But as this plain and pious course of remark is not adapted to the military exigencies of the occasion, it is necessary for the sermon to change front, and turn its battery, as it were, upon the position it began by defending. This manœuvre, more martial than clerical, is executed by substituting for the words of the Saviour a paraphrase which contradicts them. They have "an indirect meaning," says Dr. Vinton, and so acting upon the principles of Polonius' advice to Lærtes, he proceeds by "indirections" to "find directions out." "Their paraphrase," he continues, would be thus: "If my kingdom were of the sort which my enemies supposed, if the object of my government were specially to establish personal security, to promote social comfort, or to maintain national independence, or any other objects for which human governments are formed, then it would be both necessary and right to resist the injustice which has delivered me to this tribunal.'

The formal division of the Scriptures into minute portions, called verses, gives great license to ingenious misinterpretation, and is the

occasion of much ecclesiastical sophistry. The preacher takes a sentence, clause, or even a single phrase out of its connection, and instead of interpreting it in the broad light of the general truths of Christianity, wrests it from the combination in which it stands, and makes it the theme of a sermon. Like the ancient Sophists he can thus sustain any side of any question. "Hang all the law and prophets" is a familiar and ludicrous instance of textual perversion; but it is not more untenable and distorted than the graver paraphrase on which Dr. Vinton has founded the main part of his discourse. Where did he learn that the language of Christ contains such double and contradictory meanings as his paraphrase superinduces upon that text? that besides the idea which the Saviour's words obviously expressed, there was an *arriere pensee*, a sort of mental reservation, to be drawn out ages after they were spoken, but sealed against the understanding of the man to whom they were addressed by the living tongue?

The first thing that strikes the mind on reading the paraphrase is, that this interpretation puts into the mouth of the Lord a platitude and a paralogism. For on such an occasion it would have been a very inapt proceeding to enter even by implication upon a general political thesis. Next it would have been an extraordinary piece of logic to affirm that force might rightly be used in establishing organizations so imperfect as human governments always have been, and so irreligious in their practices, and yet that it would not be right to use force to protect the perfect innocence and godlike sanctity of Christ, in his labours to reform and save the world. If force could be rightly used in the former case, it might *a fortiori* be rightly used in the latter. If wars may rightly be waged in defense or support of the imperfect and the sinful, they may for still stronger reasons be rightly waged for the perfect and the sinless.

The circumstances under which Christ addressed to Pontius Pilate the remarkable words, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews," place their meaning beyond a doubt.

The Saviour, well knowing that his ministry on earth was nearly finished, had met his disciples and delivered to them his last and most affecting instructions. In the meantime the Jewish authorities, the Priests, and Pharisees, and Scribes, whose hardened hearts had been pierced, and whose hypocritical lives had been rebuked by the divine teachings of the Son of Man, corrupted the fidelity of one of his professed followers, who agreed for a sum of money to betray his master into their hands. Wrought up to fury by Christ's searching denunciations, which their consciences had been utterly helpless to gainsay, they were resolved to shed his blood, be the means and the consequences what they might. To make sure of their victim they called in the aid of a military band, the ready instruments of every deed of wickedness and blood; and appointing the traitor, Judas Iscariot, their guide, despatched them in martial array to steal upon the holiest of the messengers of God in the silence and retirement of the night, and to arrest him with every circumstance of insult, like a vulgar malefactor. But when the myrmidons of guilt and hate were led by the betrayer into the presence of that mysterious man, unable to stand before the terrors of his countenance, "they went backward and fell to the ground." Overcoming at length the awe which had struck them powerless, the rude soldiery laid their hands on Jesus and bound him. They conducted him first to the house of Annas, and then arraigned him before Caiaphas, the high priest of that year. At the palace of this priest, the Sanhedrim, or Supreme Council of the Jewish nation, consisting of the bitterest foes of Jesus, who were bent with unpitying rage upon his murder, was hurriedly assembled; and the brief and passionate debate ended with the predetermined judgment of death. But the Jews were

under a foreign yoke. Judea was but a province added by conquest to the vast empire of Rome. A procurator, representing the imperial power, was stationed as governor at Jerusalem. Knowing the obstinate and rebellious character of the people, it was his duty to watch with sleepless eye every sign of insubordination in the conquered province. Without his sanction, no capital sentence could be carried into execution. And so the procession formed anew, priests, and rabbis, and the martial array, to conduct the serene and unresisting victim to the judgment hall of Pilate. This company, stranger than was ever assembled before or since in the history of the world, approached the Roman tribunal just as the morning was breaking over the dread scene. The tragedy of the Saviour's life, crowded with eternal consequences to the happiness of man, was swiftly drawing towards its catastrophe. His enemies, maddened by unreasoning hatred, shrank not from the foulest means to bring about their fell intent; and incident after incident in the awful drama, pregnant with inappreciable significance for the destiny of the human soul, pressed the great action forward with startling rapidity.

The Jews resolved to employ the easily excited jealousy of the Roman governor to strike their victim down. To accomplish their fiendish purpose the more readily, they charged him with a political design against the sovereign power; a design, which in their gross conceptions of the predicted Messiah, they imagined and hoped he would appear on earth to execute; an imagination and hope which the language and actions of Christ had pointedly contradicted again and again, and thus added to the exasperation which they felt, on other grounds, against his person. They charged him in effect, with a conspiracy against the Imperial power; with intending to make himself a king and to shake off the Roman yoke; and to substantiate the treasonous charge, they dishonestly perverted the figurative language which they had heard him use on several occasions. They could not enter the pretorium with their destined victim, because the feast of the passover was near at hand, and they desired to eat of it, which they could not religiously do, if they went in—good, pious men that they were—but they could knowingly forge a lie, and for the sake of shedding innocent blood, swear falsely to a crime which, by the Roman law, was punishable with an ignominious death upon the cross. Pilate having listened outside of the hall to the accusation so insidiously shaped and adapted to rouse all his Roman fears, suspicions and prejudices against the prisoner, re-entered the pretorium and questioned him *upon this very point*. What was Christ's answer? A positive, intelligible asseveration, as plain as words could express any thought of the mind, and as exclusive of the possibility of any supposed indirect or hidden meaning, as the most transparent singleness of heart could make it: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight for me that I might not be delivered to the Jews." All these words of the Saviour are limited by the last clause, "That I might not be delivered to the Jews," to his own case; nor, whatever their meaning may be, can they be tortured by any ingenious sophistry into a general thesis, express or implied, upon the rightfulness of sustaining government by force, still less into an authoritative sanction of any kind of war. What Christ said, he meant; no more, and no less. Pilate understood his words, and was satisfied of his innocence. But if Christ had said what the preacher's paraphrase represents him to have indirectly implied, Pilate could not possibly have gone out and declared to the Jews that he found no fault in him; for Pilate must have understood him to mean, that though as a matter of fact, he entertained no such design as was charged upon him by the Jews, still, had he been a temporal leader, he might rightfully have maintained his cause by an appeal to arms; that is, under the peculiar circumstances of the case,

Pilate must have understood Christ to maintain and declare a set of political or patriotic principles wholly at variance with submission to the Roman Supremacy. Looking at the case, then, from the Roman point of view, and under a sense of weighty responsibility to the central power whose delegate he was, he would have said to the Jews, with perfect truth, "I can not, indeed, find that this man has been guilty of any overt act of rebellion; but he is a dangerous person and disloyal to Rome; he declares, that were he a temporal prince, he might rightfully draw the sword. When he says that his kingdom is not of this world, he is doubtless making a cunning fetch to extricate himself from the present danger. It is a distinction without a difference. I am not to be cheated with these fraudulent subtleties. The principles he professes to my face, would justify him in rebelling whenever he might think he possessed the ability to command success. It is my duty to Rome to put him out of the way. Do with him what you will." But Pilate drew no such meaning from the Saviour's words; he saw with perfect clearness into the true state of the case, and told the Jews, not that he could discover no act *ἔργον*, but that he perceived no fault, or ground of charge, *αἰτίαν*, against the prisoner, and with importunate eagerness urged them to let him go. The Jews could not help perceiving that their attempt to fasten upon Christ a political crime had so far failed, nor did they, until sometime afterwards, repeat the charge, but in the senseless, brutal rabidness of disappointed malice, shrieked out, "Crucify him, crucify him. We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he has made himself a Son of God."

If Christ meant what the paraphrase makes him to imply, he was guilty of a dishonest trick; a jesuitical playing with the ambiguities of human speech. This conclusion any reader of common sense, must arrive at, upon a careful consideration and comparison of the incidents in the marvellous history. But an examination of the Greek orginal of the passage in which these transactions are related makes assurance doubly sure. The interpretation of Dr. Vinton will be defended by no tolerable Greek scholar on philological or hermeneutic grounds. The words are, "Ἡ *βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. Εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ, οἱ ὑπηρέται ἂν οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν.*" It should be remarked, *first*, that the proposition *ἐκ*, translated in our English version *of*, means *from*, and denotes *origin* from a place or source; *second*, that the two expressions on which the sense of the passage depends, each being qualified, one by the particle *ἄν*, the other by the particle *ἄν*, stand to each other in the relation of *conditioning* and *conditioned* clauses; *third*, that the verbs *ἦν* and *ἠγωνίζοντο* are in the indicative mode; *fourth*, that they are in the imperfect tense; and *fifth*, that the word *κόσμου*, *world*, is used by the sacred writers in a bad sense, as contrasted with goodness, piety or God. Literally translated, then, the passage would run, "My kingdom is not from this world; if my kingdom were from this world, then my servants would fight that I might not be delivered to the Jews. But now my kingdom is not from hence." Expanding the language, not for the sake of paraphrasing, but of illustrating it, the sense may be thus expressed: "My authority does not, like that of temporal rulers, originate in this evil world; if my authority did originate in this world, like that of temporal rulers, then (as a matter of fact, not of right, *ἂν ἠγωνίζοντο*, indicative mode) would my servants be fighting now (imperfect tense) to defend me from my enemies. But my kingdom is from a higher source; my kingdom is a spiritual authority, bestowed on me by the Heavenly Father. I am the Prince of Peace. I have nothing to do with violence, rebellion and war; but my mission is to teach those doctrines which will for ever put an end to violence, rebellion, and war. Were it otherwise, I should not be standing before

thy tribunal, in the lowly guise and apparently helpless condition; but sword in hand, like other temporal chieftains, I should be leading armed cohorts, and drenching the earth in blood. But I say again, my authority comes not from hence; and deeds like these have no sanction from me or from my doctrines."

The laws of the language imperatively require this construction. The principles of interpretation, which Pilate instinctively applied, require it. Had the verbs in the two selected clauses been in the optative mode, *εἴην* and *ἀγωνίζοιντο*, then a correct translation would have been, "If my kingdom were of this world, then *might* my servants fight,' though even in this case, the *rightfulness* of fighting would not necessarily be inferred. To justify such an interpretation, even with the optative mode, the verb *ἀγωνίζοιντο*, *might fight*, would need to be qualified by the verb *ὀρθῶς* or *δικαίως*, *rightly* or *justly*.

The thoughtless paraphrase in the Artillery Election Sermon is an example of that ecclesiastical sophistry which in all ages of the Christian church, except the earliest, has struggled, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, to abase the lofty principles of the Gospel to the low standard of the existing cotemporary world.

NOTE E.

[Referred to on page 40.]

Dr. Wayland's Views on War. When the foregoing Oration was delivered, I was not aware that its principles were sustained so entirely by an authority like Dr. Wayland, in a work, *Elements of Moral Science*, which, it is grateful to know, enjoys an immense circulation, and can not fail, therefore, to exercise an important influence over the youth of the country. It is with great pleasure that I make the following extract, to which I invite the particular attention of the reader:—

"Let us suppose a nation to abandon all means, both of offense and of defense, to lay aside all power of inflicting injury, and to rely for self-preservation solely upon the justice of its own conduct, and the moral effect which such a course of conduct would produce upon the consciences of men. How would such a nation *procure redress of grievances?* and how would it *be protected from foreign aggression?*

"I. *Of redress of grievances.* Under this head would be comprehended violation of treaties, spoliation of property, and ill-treatment of its citizens. I reply,

"1. The very fact that a nation relied solely upon the justice of its measures, and the benevolence of its conduct, would do more than anything else *to prevent* the occurrance of injury. The moral sentiment of every human community would rise in opposition to injury inflicted upon the just, the kind, and the merciful. Thus, by this course, the probabilities of aggression are rendered *as few* as the nature of man will permit.

"2. But suppose injury to be done. I reply, the proper appeal for moral beings upon moral questions, is not to physical force, but to the consciences of men. Let the wrong be set forth, but be set forth in the spirit of love; and in this manner, if any, will the consciences of men be aroused to justice.

"3. But suppose this method to fail. Why, then, let us suffer the injury. This is the preferable evil of the two. Because they have injured us a *little*, it does not follow that we should injure ourselves *much*. But

it will be said, what is then to become of our national honour? I answer, first, if we have acted justly, we surely are not dishonoured. The dishonour rests upon those who have done wickedly. I answer again, national honour is displayed in forbearance, in forgiveness, in requiting faithlessness with fidelity, and grievances with kindness and good-will. These virtues are surely as delightful and as honourable in nations as in individuals.

"But it may be asked, what is to prevent repeated and continued aggression? I answer, first, not instruments of destruction, but the moral principle which God has placed in the bosom of every man. I think that obedience to the law of God, on the part of the injured, is the surest preventive against the repetition of injury. I answer, secondly, suppose that acting in obedience to the law of benevolence will not prevent the repetition of injury, will acting upon the principle of retaliation prevent it? This is really the true question. The evil tempers of the human heart are allowed to exist, and we are inquiring in what manner shall we suffer the least injury from them; whether by obeying the law of benevolence, or that of retaliation? It is not necessary, therefore, to show, that by adopting the law of benevolence we shall not *suffer at all*, but that, by adopting it, we shall suffer *less* than by the opposite course; and that a nation would actually thus suffer less upon the whole, than by any other course, can not, I think, be doubted by any one who will calmly reflect upon the subject.

"II. How would such a nation be protected from external attack and entire subjugation? I answer, by adopting the law of benevolence, a nation would render such an event in the highest degree improbable. The causes of national war are, most commonly, the love of plunder, and the love of glory. The first of these is rarely, if ever, sufficient to stimulate men to the ferocity necessary to war, unless when assisted by the second. And by adopting as the rule of our conduct the law of benevolence, all motive arising from the second cause is taken away. There is not a nation in Europe that could be led on to war against a harmless, just, forgiving and defenseless people.

"But suppose such a case really should occur, what are we then to do? I answer, suffer injury with forgiveness and love, looking up to God, who, in His holy habitation, is the judge of the whole earth. And if it be said, we shall then all be subjected and enslaved, I answer again, have wars prevented men from being subjected and enslaved? Is there a nation on the continent of Europe that has not been overrun by foreign troops several times, even within the present century? And still more, is it not most commonly the case, that the very means by which we repel a despotism from abroad, only establishes over us a military despotism at home? Since, then, the principle of retaliation will not, with any certainty, save a country from conquest, the real question, as before, is, By obedience to which law will a nation be most likely to escape it, by the law of retaliation, or by that of benevolence? It seems to me that a man who will calmly reflect, can have but little doubt on this matter.

"But I go still farther. The Scriptures teach us that God has created men, both as individuals and as societies, under the law of benevolence; and that he intends this law to be obeyed. Societies have never yet thought of obeying it in their dealings with each other; and statesmen would generally consider the allusion to it as puerile. But this alters not the law of God, nor the punishment which he inflicts upon nations for the violation of it. This punishment I suppose to be war. I believe aggression from a foreign nation to be the intimation from God that we are disobeying the law of benevolence, and that this is his mode of teaching nations their duty, in this respect, to each other. So that aggression seems to me to be in no manner a call to retaliation and injury, but rather a call to special kindness and good will. And still

rather, the requiting evil with good tends just as strongly to the cessation of all injury, in nations as in individuals. Let any man reflect upon the amount of pecuniary expenditure, and the awful waste of human life, which the wars of the last hundred years have occasioned, and then I will ask him whether it be not self-evident, that the one hundreth part of this expense and suffering, if employed in the honest effort to render mankind wiser and better, would, long before this time, have banished wars from the earth, and rendered the civilized world like the garden of Eden?

"If this be true, it will follow that the cultivation of a military spirit is the cultivation of a great curse to a community; and that all means, both of offense and defense, are worse than useless, inasmuch as they aggravate the very source of the evil, the corrupt passions of the human heart, by the manner in which they ineffectually attempt to check the evil itself.

"I am aware that all this may be *called* visionary, romantic and chimerical. This, however, neither *makes* it so, nor *shows* it to be so. The time to *apply* these epithets will be, when the justness of their application has been proved. And if it be said, these principles may all be very true, but you can never induce nations to act upon them; I answer, this concession admits that such is the law of God. If this be the case, that nation will be the happiest and the wisest which is the first to obey it. And if it be said, it would be wisest and best to obey the law of benevolence, but men will never obey it, I answer, here is manifestly the end of the argument. If we show men what is wisest and best, and according to the will of their Creator, we can do no more. If they disobey it, this a matter to be settled between them and their God. It remains, however, to be seen, whether God will or will not cause his laws to be obeyed; and whether Omniscience and Omnipotence have not the means of teaching his creatures submission to his will."—pp. 397–401.

NOTE F.

[Referred to on page 63.]

The following beautiful anecdote from the second series of *Mrs. Child's Letters from New York*—the production of a brave and beautiful soul—furnishes an instructive illustration of the text:

"I have somewhere read of a regiment ordered to march into a small town and take it. I think it was in the Tyrol; but wherever it was, it chanced that the place was settled by a colony who believed the Gospel of Christ and proved their faith by works. A courier from a neighboring village informed them that troops were advancing to take the town. They quietly answered, 'If they *will* take it, they must.' Soldiers soon came riding in, with colours flying, and fifes piping their shrill defiance. They looked round for an enemy, and saw the farmer at his plough, the blacksmith at his anvil, and the women at their churns and spinning-wheels. Babies crowded to hear the music, and boys ran out to see the pretty trainers, with feathers and bright buttons, 'the harlequins of the nineteenth century.' Of course none of these were in a proper position to be shot at. 'Where are your soldiers?' they asked. 'We have none,' was the brief reply. 'But we have come to take the town.' 'Well, friends, it lies before you.' 'But is there nobody here to fight?' 'No; we are all Christians.'

"Here was an emergency altogether unprovided for a sort of resist-

ance which no bullet could hit; a fortress perfectly bomb-proof. The commander was perplexed. 'If there is nobody to fight with, of course we can not fight,' said he. 'It is impossible to take such a town as this.' So he ordered the horses' heads to be turned about, and they carried the human animals out of the village as guiltless as they entered, and perhaps somewhat wiser.

"This experiment on a small scale indicates how easy it would be to dispense with armies and navies, if men only had faith in the religion they profess to believe. When France lately reduced her army, England immediately did the same; for the existence of one army creates the necessity for another, unless men are safely ensconced in the bomb-proof fortress above mentioned."

NOTE G.

[Referred to on page 69.]

The following extracts from two different sources, will show that private persons once lived in relations of distrust towards each other, similar to those of nations of the present day. The first extract is from the Paston Letters, written in the time of Henry VII of England, and is, perhaps, the most curious and authentic illustration of the *armed* life of that period which can be found. The other is from Sir Walter Scott's picturesque Lay of the Last Minstrel. Who does not rejoice that such days have passed? Who will not join in labours to establish among nations the same harmonious, unarmed intercourse which now prevails among individuals?

"Right worshipful husband, I recommend me to you, and pray you to get me some cross-bows and wyndnacs* (windlasses), to bind them with, and quarrels,† for your houses here be so low that there may none man shoot out with no long bow, though we had never so much need.

"I suppose ye should have such things of Sir John Fastolf if ye would send to him; and also I would ye should get two or three short pole axes to keep with [*in*] doors, and as many jackets and [*if*] ye may.

"Partrich and his fellowship are sore afraid that ye would enter again upon them, and they have made great ordnance within the house, and it is told me that they have made bars to bar the doors crosswise, and they have made wickets on every quarter of the house to shoot out at, both with bows and with hand-guns; and the holes that be made from hand-guns they be scarce knee high from the plancher [*floor*], and of such holes be made five, there can none man shoot out at them with a hand-bows." Paston Letters, CXIII. (LXXVII. vol. 3, p. 31.) Margaret Paston to her husband.

Nine-and-twenty knights of fame
Hung their shields in the Branksome hall!
Nine-and-twenty squires of name
Brought them their steeds from bower to stall;
Nine-and-twenty yeomen tall
Waited, duteous, on them all:
They were all knights of metal true,
Kinsmen to the bold Buccleuch.

* Wyndacs are what are called grappling irons, with which the bow-string is drawn home. † Arrows with a square head.

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 corslet laced,
Pillowed on buckler cold and hard;
They carved at the meal
With gloves of steel,
And they drank the red wine through the helmet barred.

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.

Lay of the last Minstrel, Canto I.

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

This is the arsenal, from floor to ceiling;
  Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
  Startles the villagers with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
  When the death-angel touches those swift keys;
What loud lament and dismal miserere
  Will mingle with their awful symphonies.

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus—
  The cries of agony, the endless groan,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
  In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
  Through cimbric forests roars the Norsemen's song,
And loud amid the universal clamor,
  O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who, from his palace,
  Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din;
And Aztec priests, upon their teocallis,
  Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin.

The tumult of each sacked and burning village,
  The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns,
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage,
  The wail of famine in beleaguered towns.

The bursting shell—the gateway wrenched asunder—
  The rattling musketry—the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
  The diapason of the cannonade.

Is it, O man! with such discordant noises,
  With such accursed instruments as these
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
  And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
  Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
  There were no need of arsenals nor forts.

The "warrior's" name would be a name abhorred!
  And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against its brother, on his forehead
  Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain.

Down the dark future, through long generations,
  The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease;
And like a bell with solemn sweet vibrations—
  I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace."

Peace; and no longer from its brazen portals
  The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies,
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
  The holy melodies of love arise.—*Longfellow.*