

*Caleb Postwin*

[PERIODICAL.]

THE SOURCES OF MILITARY DELUSION, AND THE PRACTICABILITY OF THEIR REMOVAL.

AN

**ADDRESS**

BEFORE THE

**CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY ;**

DELIVERED AT THEIR SECOND ANNIVERSARY,

DURING THE SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE OF CONNECTICUT,

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1833,

IN THE CENTRE CHURCH, HARTFORD.

BY REV. LAURENS P. HICKOK,  
OF LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

HARTFORD:

PRINTED BY PHILEMON CANFIELD.

1833.

341.6  
H528

THE LIBRARY



CLASS 341.6  
BOOK H528

THE SOURCES OF MILITARY DELUSION, AND THE PRACTICABILITY OF THEIR REMOVAL.

---

AN

# ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY;

DELIVERED AT THEIR SECOND ANNIVERSARY,

DURING THE SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE OF CONNECTICUT,

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1833,

IN THE CENTRE CHURCH, HARTFORD.

---

BY REV. LAURENS P. HICKOK,  
OF LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT

---

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

---

HARTFORD:

PRINTED BY PHILEMON CANFIELD.

1833.

341.6

H528

## ADDRESS.

---

No wide spread moral evil ever prevailed in our world but it has sought to delude its votaries by the assumption of some false principle in its justification. For, universal as is the reign of depravity, yet the law of conscience, written upon the breast of man, will not permit evil, *as such*, and under its own proper name, to be defended. Some specious reasons must be at hand, ready to be offered on all occasions. And when the evil has gained its establishment and become general, laying the force of antiquity and long continued custom upon the public mind, so deep is then the apathy which ensues, that the most sophisticated reasons suffice to keep down all excitement, and perpetuate the universal slumber.

MILITARY DELUSION, of all others, has probably been more popular, more powerful, more permanent, and, I think we may add, more destructive in its influence, than any beside which has spread its sway over the nations. From the days of Nimrod, it has swept over the generations of man in its fury, and sent from the earth, probably, more souls, untimely, to the judgment, than now inhabit the millions of mortal bodies which walk upon its surface. In addition to all this destruction of human life, there have been the tears and anguish of the bereaved, the privations and pain and permanent decrepitude of its wounded survivors, the vices and crimes it has occasioned, and all the unholy and hateful passions it has excited; so that the rule which should take the gauge and measurement of its wretchedness, must be "longer than the earth, and broader than the sea."

It is time, in this age of benevolence and of light, that so fruitful and fearful a source of desolation should be thoroughly examined, its false principles exposed, and the delusion it has spread over the minds of men, dispelled forever. While so many objects of benevolence and philanthropy are calling

554800

forth the prayers and efforts of the good, it is not meet that this scourge, which has made the deepest inroads upon human prosperity and happiness, should be overlooked, or permitted to continue its desolations unresisted. At the era of the Reformation, the illustrious ERASMUS strove to awaken the attention of Europe to the evils of war, and the blessings and obligations of universal peace ; but, though both eloquent and learned, his efforts produced no lasting impression upon that excited generation. Half a century later, the learned GROTIUS, though justifying war in some peculiar circumstances, yet, in treating of unjustifiable war, makes his rule so broad that, were it allowed its full influence, would exclude all the evils of war forever. His principle is this, "*never to declare war until all other means of redress have been faithfully tried, nor then, unless the conditions of peace are more rigorous and severe than war itself.*" Were this to be carried into full operation, all occasion of war must cease ; and he distinctly admits, that "if all were christians, and lived like christians, there could be no war."

In the early part of the next century, GEORGE FOX took ground altogether in advance of either, and dared to stand the shock of popular opinion, by wholly disclaiming war, of every description, and alledging its inconsistency with the gospel of Christ. His followers have ever since maintained this ground, and have hence received the general appellation of *Friends*. Except with their own denomination, however, this article<sup>9</sup> of their creed seems to have exerted but little influence, and, as the years rolled on, the sword continued to divide with disease the empire of death.

But about twenty years since, other gifted and benevolent minds engaged in this cause, and though the addition of numbers has not been rapid, yet, both on this continent and in Europe, very much has been accomplished. By gathering facts, and answering objections, and exposing sophistries, and awakening and combining public sentiment, an impression has been made sufficiently powerful to show, that determined perseverance, under the blessing of heaven, will secure the

success of the object. This object is, *The entire abolition of war from the face of the whole earth.*

No one, who has viewed this subject understandingly, supposes that it will be of easy attainment. It is an herculean effort, and must, perhaps, be long continued ; but with all its difficulties and discouragements, it is not a hopeless cause. The work *can* be accomplished. Nothing paralyses all effort, or tends to defeat its own object so surely, as the misgiving fear that the man is engaged in a hopeless undertaking ; that when much shall have been done, and many have fallen, the victory will not then have been gained, or the triumph awarded. But on the other hand, nothing is so sure an index of success as the cool, collected confidence which a clear view of the goodness of the cause inspires. A mind, which, before the highest obstacles, and surrounded with the mightiest difficulties, can summon up its energies, and take hold upon the whole amount and power of the resources spread around it, and with a perseverance which nothing shakes, keeps steadily on in its great work, was never yet obliged to turn back defeated and ashamed, from any good undertaking, however difficult. While, then, the friends of peace see, and feel, and admit the magnitude of their undertaking, and the difficulties that lie before it, yet do they feel a confidence which nothing can shake that it not only may, but that it certainly will be accomplished.

The Connecticut Peace Society requires no other pledge of its members but this general agreement—that they approve of the object to diffuse correct information respecting the evils of war, and the best means of effecting its abolition, by the promotion of *permanent* and *universal peace*. It does not pretend to settle discordant opinions in relation to the rights or necessities of any belligerent party—it does not attempt a determination of the question whether defensive war is justifiable or unjustifiable—it imposes no bonds of passive obedience and non-resistance ; it leaves all these questions untouched, so far as it regards any decision of its own, and only seeks to combine the influence and assistance of all



who deprecate war as an evil, and feel that peace is a blessing, for the abolition of the one, and the universal prevalence of the other.

In behalf of this society, I have been invited to address this audience ; and it has appeared to me that I might the most effectually advance the object in view, by *admitting distinctly its difficulties* ; but at the same time *asserting as strenuously its practicability*. Its most formidable *difficulties* arise from the delusion which false principles and unvarying custom have spread over the public mind, and the general torpor and apathy which this extensive delusion has occasioned ; but the reasons for its *practicability* lie in the power of truth upon public sentiment, and the revealed purpose of Almighty God.

To dispel delusion, as far as possible, I will endeavor to *expose some of the false principles which have given rise to it* ; and to increase the number, and confirm the confidence of the friends of peace, I shall also present *some reasons which establish the practicability of their object*.

Among the sources of that popular delusion which render the abolition of war so difficult, I notice—the *deceptive embellishments which are thrown over its horrid features*. It is possible to give to poison and death so gilded an appearance, that a superficial observer shall be effectually and fatally deceived. The man whose easy credulity is satisfied by mere outward appearances and professions, becomes a ready victim to any enemy who shall throw the veil of hypocrisy over his deadly design. And one of the strongest reasons why the horrid form and features of war have been so long, and so ardently courted, admired, and worshipped by the nations, is found in those deceitful embellishments which she has thrown around herself, the pomp and splendor which she has assumed, and the martial dignity and glory with which she has been invested. With what a display of high sounding words and phrases is every official account of the review and march of armies set forth ! How inflated the style in which all the bulletins of a battle are composed

—and by what a shout of triumph, and loud acclamation, are the tidings of some “glorious victory” heralded through the land! These alluring, deceptive embellishments must be cast as a disguise over all the features of war. The young recruit is won and welcomed to the standard by the stirring appeals of patriotism, of honor and of glory. The decorations of war, the military dress, the trappings of the horses, the broad and gilded banners floating on the breeze, and the inspiring sounds of martial music, must all be adapted to captivate the fancy and ravish the senses. Gold lace and brilliant epaulettes, blue, and scarlet, and crimson uniform, prancing steeds, and waving plumes, and the clangor of the trumpet’s note must all be put in requisition to drive far away every thought which is not exhilarating and delightful. Oh! how the heart beats high amid these scenes of outward splendor! How many minds in which may dwell all the kindly sympathies of humanity are attracted by this deceitful glare, and deluded effectually into an entire forgetfulness of all the wretchedness, and sorrow, and sin, it was designed to cover! Even female tenderness, and lovely sympathies, and all the generous compassion of woman’s nature, are effectually hushed in silence, and *she* is made to forget the widow’s tear, and the orphan’s sigh, in the outward splendor of the very means which multiply them.

And then to the officer who overlooks and directs the moving squadrons, there is all the deep interest and high mental excitement of breaking up the mass, and combining it again in new forms, through all the intricacies of some skilful and well digested evolution. To these too are added all the charms of poetry, and the inspiration of the Muses is invoked to cover with an “halo of glory,” both the living and the dead. Oh! I know not that a combination of more powerful incentives to fire the mind, and rouse all its fiercer passions above the softer emotions of the heart, could be effected; or that a thicker veil of dark delusion could be found than that which, in the glow and chivalry of martial splendor,



has been thrown over the fellest, saddest, bloodiest work, the heavens have ever witnessed.

But is this splendor, and glorious equipage, and gorgeous pageantry—*war itself*? Ah no! it is but the varnish and splendid robe with which the horrid Moloch is disguised—the pictured drapery that is drawn before the dreadful reality. Behind that deceitful veil are the broken hearts, and streaming tears of widows and of orphans; there are the groans and agonies of the wounded; there the mangled, stiffened, bleaching bodies of the dead. And cannot that veil be rent in twain? Can we not strip off this false disguise, and bring the public eye to look steadily upon its own naked and dreadful features? And if we can, will not the strange delusion be dispelled; and the charm, which bound the fancy to all the thrilling excitement of the battle-field, be dissipated? And will there not come up in its place a sickening of heart, and an irrepressible horror of spirit, at the sight of the woe and tears, the blood and death, with which war always surrounds itself?

It may be difficult to draw aside the curtain, and thus dispel the delusion; but it cannot be *impossible*. And when we show this idol, which the nations have so long worshipped, in her own naked deformity, stript of all her false adornings, and bare, to the gaze of her votaries, from that moment the incense has done smoking on her altars, and hecatombs of human victims cease to be immolated.

Another source of delusion is found in this false principle—*that it is unsafe to imbibe the spirit of peace until all nations shall come to this agreement*. To a mind which has not obtained clear views of our object, the subject often presents itself somewhat in this light—What! will it do to throw away all means of self-defence? Will it not be a direct invitation to all the inroads of lawless banditti, robbers, and pirates to proclaim abroad, that we will not resist? Shall the arm of law be left powerless, trade unprotected, and our territory unguarded, and thus permit invasion, rapine, and slaughter, to come in like a flood from any point of the com-

pass? No; so long as there are any who refuse to be governed by the principles of peace, *I* can never quit the attitude of armed defence—*I* must wait till the world shall agree on this subject. From this false view of the subject, many, *I* am persuaded, stand aloof from Peace Societies, and look upon their advocates as well meaning, perhaps, but deluded men; when at the same time, the light of truth would show, that it is over *their* minds, that delusion has extended itself.

No friend of Peace, or of Peace Societies, would cripple the arm of civil law, or weaken the salutary restraints of government. We require no man, and no nation, to stand still and be butchered by another. As a Society, we say nothing about the right of self-defence, or the expediency of an armed preparation. *I* have no hesitation, however, in declaring it as *my own* solemn conviction, that, even to the full extent of non-resistance in all cases of aggression, the danger would be far less than seems generally to be apprehended; probably far less than results from an attitude of defiance. The man of peace, who glows with benevolence in his heart, and carries the law of kindness on his tongue, is not the one to bring down upon his unsheltered head the blows of rudeness and violence. Let it be known that he is harmless, and he walks abroad harmless, whether his way lies through the civilization of Europe, the paganism of Asia, or the rude barbarity of Africa. It is the man whose spirit is quick to resent an injury, who plants himself at once upon the defensive, if there be the least suspicion of aggression, and walks abroad with an air of defiance, or threatened retaliation, who is engaged in every quarrel, and bears the marks of assault and violence.

And if the *man* of peace moves in safety among his fellows, is it no ground of expectation that a *nation* of peace would be respected? Let a nation take this peaceful attitude, and other kingdoms around them would say—‘These people wage no wars; their dealings are just; their hearts are benevolent; it were a disgrace, an imperishable stain upon our nation’s honor, to invade or disturb them.’ By taking such

an attitude, the causes of war from others would be almost annihilated. Fear, jealousy, revenge or glory has been the source of almost all the wars which nations have waged with each other ; and from such an exhibition of the spirit of peace and friendship—nor fear, or jealousy, or revenge, could ever become the provocation of war—and no monarch or his army could reap a harvest of glory by invading them. Avarice—the mere lust of conquest alone, could prompt an hostile expedition ; and what nation so bold as to come out and avow its object before the world, and publish its own infamy in its manifesto ?

The maxim, that “in peace we must prepare for war,” carried out, as it has been, with a spirit of defiance, has shed oceans of human blood. This preparation has begotten confidence, and a desire of proving its prowess on the one side, and jealousy or fear on the other, and contending armies were soon imbruing their hands in each others’ blood. The Church of Christ lived for the first two centuries, and refused to lift her hands in *any* combat. Her members were acknowledged by an emperor, who had the force of forty legions at his command, to be of sufficient power should they resort to arms to overturn his empire. But they conquered, and placed a Christian emperor upon the throne of the Cæsars, with far other weapons than the spear and sword of battle. The first settlers of Pennsylvania lived three score and ten years unarmed and defenceless amid the savages of the wilderness ; nor was a life lost, or a house disturbed, while their brethren of other colonies, who carried arms in their hands, and fortified their dwellings, fell by hundreds beneath the tomahawk.

But while it is *my* sincere belief that a peaceful attitude is altogether the safest, and that even declared non-resistance would never bring upon a nation evils as great as those which are inseparable from war, still I am aware that many might object to the truth of such an opinion, and, so far as this society is concerned, we are under no obligation to settle it. We may think as we please, not only about the expediency, but the right of defensive war, and still labor side by side in the

great and good object of promoting universal peace. Our aim is to change public sentiment, so that the time may come when, by the consent of all, it will be safe to lay aside the sword forever. We wish to present war as it is, and peace as it is, divesting the one of all its deceitful glare and borrowed splendor, that it may be forever abolished ; and clothing the other in all its purity and moral grandeur, that it may reign forever. And this we know, from the nature of man, as well as from all the past history of God's dealings with him, must be a gradual work. The grain of mustard must be committed to the earth and go through the ordinary process of vegetation before its spreading branches shall lodge the fowls of heaven. This work is not to be the labor of a day. The grand object will not be gained at once. Like the breaking light of the morning, it will make its gradual progress to meridian splendor. And oh ! how blessed at the hour of death to feel that it *will* come, and that our hands have helped on the glorious era, and that we shall leave behind us an influence that shall help it still, when our souls shall be resting on those quiet shores where wars and fightings never come.

The opinion that we may not imbibe the spirit of peace, and act it out in our lives until the whole world shall at once agree in concert, is a most disastrous delusion. It paralyzes all efforts—yea, it rebukes every exertion in this cause as dangerous, and by arresting every movement for deliverance, would leave the veil of sackcloth upon the nations forever. This opinion may have taken strong hold upon many minds, but it is not impossible to release them from its thralldom. There is a distinction between the putting forth of a combined and vigorous effort to change public sentiment on the subject of war, and standing still to be plundered and murdered. The line between them can be drawn so palpably that the world shall see that we may exert the one without incurring the hazard of the other. The influence of reason, philanthropy and religion, thrown with all the powers of the most eloquent persuasion upon the side of peace, need not necessarily

break down either law or government, or invite the hand of robbery and murder. Oh! if we must wait till an influence shall come down from some unknown and miraculous quarter, and excite a simultaneous movement through all the tribes of men, before it will be safe for us to move in this business, then may we well despair. The world never yet felt such an influence, nor has its Maker given us reason to expect that it ever will. If such is to be the general sentiment, then will this awful scourge pass on over coming generations, and millions will fall, and the battle shout will ring above the groans of the dying, and professed Christians will be there to approve and applaud it, and the fowls of heaven and the wild beasts of the forest will still fatten upon human flesh, which the hands of brethren have slaughtered for them.

Again, the general delusion on this subject is heightened by the assumption—that *the Bible sanctions war*. Say its advocates—many wars have been waged by God's children, and by God's immediate direction. The responses of Jehovah have been given out from between the Cherubim, and from the Urim and Thummim on the High Priest's breast-plate, enjoining it upon the favored people of his adoption to gird on the sword, and go out to battle with the nations. And is it not an axiom, that what God once approved cannot in itself be wrong? Thus many reason, and modern war is thus defended, and delusion is spread abroad wide and powerful, which it may be very difficult to remove. But I am emboldened to declare again, that it is not impossible.

The Bible never gave its sanction to any war that was not distinctly commanded of God. He had a right once, and it is his forever, to make one nation the executioner of his vengeance upon another; but he always gave the explicit direction when he thus sent man forth as the approved and chosen instrument of his judgments. If we plead ancient example for modern war, we must have the distinct commission from heaven before it can be safe to imitate it. Apply the case of Abraham to the pious father of an only child, and urge him

to the literal sacrifice of that dear object to God, nor stay his hand, till he find a miraculous interposition from above—and will he not at once answer—the explicit authority of Heaven conferred obligation upon Abraham ; hence that act was one of the most high and heroic obedience ; but without the same command, it were a deed of foul and unnatural murder to imitate it. And in the case of war, how broad is the distinction between two armies, the *one* sent forth as the executioner of divine vengeance by the express command of God ; and the *other* spreading desolation and death around, under the wild excitement of human pride, ambition, or revenge ! The former is the example of the Bible ; the latter, of modern warfare.

If, as some suppose, the church of God has once again to engage in bloody combat, when Gog and Magog shall gather their forces together ; and the last conflict is to be a literal battle between the friends and the enemies of the Lord, then may it be, that the voice of Jehovah shall once more call out the holiest of his children to gird on the sword, and deal the stroke of death upon the guilty ; and shall lay the “curse of Meroz” upon all that will not come up to the help of the Lord. But, let us hear that voice breaking from the clouds of heaven, and uttering its clear and authoritative command, before we presume to take the work of the Almighty into our unholy hands, and deal his vengeance on the nations.

If the Bible is to be quoted as the sanction of war, without the express command of God, then wars of *aggression* are right ; wars of *extermination*, which shall mingle grey hairs and helpless infancy in one common slaughter, are just. But such an interpretation is an unhallowed perversion of the lively oracles. The whole spirit of the Bible is directly opposed to war, except where God has given the express command, in judgment on the wicked. Never can it be brought to sanction the bloody combats of Christian nations. Never can you show from it, that heaven approves the murderous strife of Christian brethren, and the shocking contradiction of lifting up the voice of prayer on each side to an undivided and im-

mutable God and Saviour, for directly opposite results ; opposing prayer to prayer just as they stand in array, army against army. It affords no ground of presumption that we may shed the blood of our fellow men now, because God once commanded his people to go out to battle.

The delusion is also augmented by the opinion—that *the order of God's providence evinces that he designs war*. This opinion is often expressed in something like the following manner : There always have been wars, they continue to exist at the present day : they grow out of the nature of man, and the circumstances in which Providence has placed him ; and are inseparable from his condition as associated into different kingdoms and nations : they are designed in providence for some good end, and are therefore as necessary as the tides, and as impossible of prevention as the volcano and the earthquake.

Now, that the tides will ebb and flow as long as the moon shall rise and set, I have no doubt ; and it is doubtless true also, that earthquakes and volcanic eruptions will last as long as the central fires continue to burn. But, that God is pleased with the desolating and bloody wars of his rational creatures, I do not believe, and with the opinion that the order of his providence gives any such intimation, I have no sympathy. Many things may be said to maintain and extend this delusion—that wars will exist ; that they are as necessary as the whirlwinds of heaven to clear the atmosphere ; that opposing them is opposing an ordinance of God, and resisting the plain intimations of his Providence ; and all this may help to fasten a prejudice in the public mind, that it shall be very difficult to remove. But it will never amount to an impossibility. The error which deludes can be made to give place to the truth which shall enlighten and convince. Can it be a hopeless task to draw the line between causes which are *within* the control, and such as operate *beyond* the control of mortals ; to show that wars and fightings come from the lusts of man, while volcanoes and earthquakes have their origin beyond his reach, deep in the bowels of the earth ? Cannot rational



minds be made to appreciate the different probability of success, between a moral influence exerted upon public intelligence, and an effort to lay open "the fountains of the great deep," and go down and counteract the heaving elements of the earthquake? If we can, then we can make men feel, that, though the *latter* may be hopeless, yea, impious as hopeless; yet the *former* shall be both practicable and praiseworthy. This reasoning from what is, to what God, as a moral governor, designs should be, is always sophistical and delusive. It may often perhaps, influence the minds of men, yet it is by deluding, not by convincing them.

The Dutch once offered Charles II. of Spain, to make at their own expense the Tagus navigable up to Lisbon, if for a certain specified number of years he would allow them a stipulated duty upon the merchandize which should be transported upon it. After long and solemn deliberation upon a proposal so highly advantageous to them, the court of Castile came at length to this sage, and as was then thought, most pious result: "If it had pleased Almighty God to make the Tagus a navigable river, the intervention of human industry would not have been necessary. It does not appear, therefore, that God designed it should be so. The proposed undertaking would seemingly violate the order of divine providence, and be an impious attempt to mend the apparent imperfections in the works of God. We cannot, therefore, give our consent to it."\* This delusion has now passed away, but it has given place to the one under consideration, which is of the same species, and equally ridiculous, and which is soon, I trust, to find the same termination.

This declaration is also used to strengthen the general delusion—that *there is no common umpire established to which disputed questions between nations can be referred and decided*. Many, who feel no opposition to the object of our society, find this a very serious difficulty in their minds. They are stopped at the threshold by the opinion, that, until there

\* Clark's Letters on the Spanish nation.

is some common tribunal established, to which the greater part of the nations of Europe, at least, shall mutually agree to refer their disputed questions, and abide by its decisions, there can be no hope in the effort for permanent and universal peace. Nations are sovereign, they say, and independent of each other—there is no high authoritative earthly tribunal above them, to which an appeal can lie for a final adjustment of their multiplied cases of collision. The last resort must be to the sword, and wars therefore must continue as long as there are great national questions to be decided. This is an example of the train of reasoning by which many minds are deluded on this subject.

The absurdity of the attempt to settle questions of right and wrong in an equitable manner by the sword, is too clear to need proof ; for the physical resources and relative strength of nations vary, as much as among individuals, from infancy to maturity ; and is the weaker nation more liable to be wrong than the stronger ? Beside, what has physical force to do with moral right and wrong ? Is it said that an appeal to arms is an appeal to God, and that it is to be expected that Heaven will favor the right, and frown upon the wrong side ? So it was formerly said, and certainly with as much propriety, of the ordeal by fire and water : heaven will favor the innocent, and he shall not sink, though thrown bound hand and foot into the ocean. Heaven shall protect the innocent, and human nerves shall neither shrink nor feel, though laid on red hot plates of iron.

But passing by the absurdity of thus settling disputed moral questions, and to which we might add the impiety and solemn mockery of such an unholy appeal to the Almighty, I would wish to meet the difficulty at once, and dispel, if possible, the delusion it occasions. And I remark, that the objection is altogether premature. It is not time to make it yet, for a long period to come. It rests upon the ground that because there is not *now* such a common national umpire, there never *can be*. It just takes it for granted that public sentiment

must always stand in its present position ; or at most, that what now appears impossible, actually is so.

But the thinking part of the world can be set right on this subject. The design of all our efforts is to bring the public mind to such a state that an appeal to arms shall not be the arbiter of national disputes ; and that the “ultima ratio” of kings shall no longer be tolerated. And now, unless it can be shown that there is no other resort but the sword, in the wide region of nature, then the objection is premature. If there is any other way, who shall say that God will not enable us to find it ? And if when we do find it, it is a *better* way, who can say that the world shall not be convinced that it is so, and adopt it ? Oh ! in a matter of so much importance as the lives and hopes, and perhaps eternal salvation of millions, the search should be very deep, and the effort long protracted, before we give up the object in despair.

But are the difficulties on this subject as great as the objection supposes ? Does not the past history of the progress of the human mind throw much encouraging light around us ? There was a time, when among individuals the last resort was to the law of force. But this has been changing before the light of science by progressive improvements, until, at the present time, all the formality, and care, and solemnity of a trial by jury are established and perfected. And while individuals have thus progressed, must nations be left forever to the law of force, which is the very condition of primitive barbarism ? Yea, nations have not been thus left entirely. Certain rules of international communication, called the *laws of nations*, are already established and observed by the governments of the civilized world ; and by which a thousand sources of collision and dispute, which would formerly have drenched the earth in human blood, are amicably adjusted. And cannot these regulations be extended, and embrace a far wider range of international interests, and thus remove the causes of war over the whole field of their influence ? At the formation of the treaty of Ghent, between Great Britain and America, a number of questions, which it was foreseen

might endanger the peace of the two countries, were left as matters of mutual reference to a third party. And in accordance with this agreement, a question on the subject of slavery was mutually referred to the emperor of Russia, and that of the unsettled northern boundary to the king of Holland.

The very formation of our own general government, is a standing evidence of the practicability of an umpire in national disputes. The articles of the old confederation formed in 1776 between the thirteen colonies, then declared free and independent states, had this clause: "The United States, in Congress assembled, shall be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states, concerning boundary jurisdiction, or any cause whatever." And when these then free and sovereign states formed themselves into a general government, they each gave up the right forever, not only of making war upon each other, but with any nation whatever, and left all their disputes to be settled by the common tribunal of the union. Thirteen, or thirty, or any number of free and sovereign states, over any of the continents or islands of the earth, without the formation of a general government, may find here a model for a tribunal which shall be the "last resort" in *all* questions hitherto decided by the sword. And if the nations of the earth can be brought to see and feel its importance for their own prosperity and welfare, as did the states of our present government, the work would be finished and war abolished.

The baronial wars in Europe for many centuries filled the land with violence and blood. The barons, who exercised dominion over all the peasantry upon their estates, often waged war with each other, subjecting all the families of their vassals to the sufferings and horrors of the conflict. They claimed this as their right, and for a long time maintained it, until, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, a growing sense of its enormities obliged them to abolish the custom, and refer their disputes to the common tribunal of their own national governments.

Religious differences were once settled by the faggot and the sword, but which are now properly left to the man's own conscience. The Bible is the only standard, and the court of Heaven the only final arbiter. An article agreed upon in the diet of Augsburg, in 1555, among others, was as follows : " For the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference."

These numerous instances of what has been, abundantly show that there may be a different method of settling national disputes, than by sending their citizens to plunder and destroy each other. Indeed, where this is done, and nations have drawn the sword to settle their disputes, it has been only one, and that a very bloody and unnecessary step in the process. Resort must be had to mutual negotiations before peace is again restored. The dispute, the real question at issue, is settled, after all, by the personal conference of the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent parties. The sword has not adjusted the difficulty, unless it has been so effectual in its work of death that one party surrenders at discretion. Where the liberty of a people has been entirely cloven down, and the conqueror has set his foot in triumph upon the neck of his prostrate antagonist, then may it be said that *war* has settled the controversy. Yes, the sword has thus settled the question of Polish liberty and independence, and doomed her firmest patriots to the endurance of Siberian frost and storms, or scattered them in other lands without a country or a home. But, if both parties come from the contest with their independence preserved, the question has ultimately to be settled by negotiation, and not by war. And why might not this have been the result without the sacrifice of the blood and treasure that preceded it ? That sacrifice has never thus been made with the assurance that it would bear upon the side of justice. Innocence is more often crushed than defended by a resort to arms. And if it must at last come to a mutual negotiation, why go around through the bloody fields of war to arrive at it ? At any rate, it will

be time enough to throw this objection across our path some fifty or a hundred years hence, when the effort shall have been fully made, and the experiment thoroughly tried.

It is an objection which carries as much force in the mouth of a duellist as in that of an advocate for war. There is no tribunal before which *he* can bring the nice and scrupulous feelings of his wounded honor. The statutes of neither civil nor criminal law afford these any protection. He must have the right of self-defence and self-vindication. Why, were it not for his *pistol* or his *sword*, his nice and delicate sense of personal honor might be outraged every day. This is as valid in the one case as in the other, and all the guilt of private warfare may be extenuated in the same way in which it is sought, for public war. The delusion in both is similar.

The last source of delusion on this subject to which I shall now refer, is the opinion—*that large communities may dispense with those moral obligations which rest upon individuals.* Were it not for this Machiavelian principle, exerting its wide spread influence over the nations, and deluding, both the ministers of state and the multitude of the people, but few things indeed would be allowed as justifiable causes of war. And where is the foundation for this opinion, that nations may draw out thousands of their unoffending citizens, to lay each other dead upon the field of battle, and send the voice of wailing through all their families, for a cause, that if it had moved an individual to take the life of his fellow, would have brought down upon his guilty head the mingled execrations of *earth and heaven*? Does that Great Being who looks over the kingdoms of the earth, and traces all their connections and relations, with the same ease as those of the families or the individuals which compose them, dispense with the unchanging and eternal rule of right in its application to the *one*, and rigorously enforce its obligations upon the *other*? Shall the larger violate it with impunity, while the humbler delinquent is made to feel all the weight of its tremendous penalty? Ah! how loud is the testimony which God has made to ring upon the ear of nations, that at the bar of his providential government

he holds them all responsible ! How many nations, as such, have heard his loud threatenings for their sins ! And which among them have found that these were mere idle breath ? Why is once proud Babylon now a habitation for dragons, and a dwelling for owls ? Why are the bleaching nets of fishermen now spread over that rock which was once the foundation of lofty Tyre—the wealthy mistress of the seas ? Yea, why has God thrown out upon the four winds of Heaven to be scattered among all people, still a distinct race, though “ a bye word and a proverb,” that nation which he once cherished as peculiarly his own ? The bolts of national judgments are not yet laid aside by the hand of the Almighty,—the wreck and ruin of *ancient* kingdoms, warn *modern* governments of their allegiance to his throne. They proclaim aloud that the nations of the earth are as “ the dust of the summer’s threshing floor” before God, and that he deals with them according to the measure of their responsibilities, and the burden of their guilt.

Beside, what virtue that adorns a private citizen would not spread a lustre around that nation which should practise it ? Or what virtuous principle which diffuses happiness and joy through a neighborhood, or the inmates of the domestic circle, that would not spread the same blessedness over the mightiest empire which should cherish it ? The principles of justice, fidelity, forbearance, and forgiveness ; and the whole force of moral appeals to the magnanimity, equity, or benevolence of human nature, spread as ennobling a lustre over the palace of sovereigns, or the senate chamber of statesmen, as the dwelling of the citizen, or the name of an individual. Oh ! how would that nation which should lift up such a serene aspect, and look forth upon the world, extending the honest hand of faith and friendship to all the tribes of men, draw down at once upon itself the reverence of surrounding kingdoms, and the benedictions of Heaven !

Themistocles, the Athenian, unblushingly acknowledged a successful deception which he had practised upon Sparta, and justified the act by the maxim that “ every thing is lawful for



the good of our country." In accordance with this sentiment, in full assembly of the people, he requested that some person should be appointed to confer with him upon a scheme which he declared was of the greatest public importance, but which required the most profound secrecy. Aristides was unanimously selected as the man whom all could trust. After being made acquainted with the project of Themistocles, he returned to the Athenian senate with this simple report: "Nothing can be more advantageous than the design of Themistocles, but at the same time nothing can be more iniquitous." The project was to burn the allied fleet then in the Piræus, and thus at once make Athens mistress of the sea, and the arbiter of all the Grecian states. But with this simple report of Aristides the Just before them, ignorant of every thing but the fact that they were to decide between great political advantage, and great national injustice, the result was worthy of Athens' highest fame. *Every vote was found upon the side of justice.* Who does not feel that such a decision was as obligatory as it was honorable? Let every nation feel its obligation to decide public measures upon the same principle, and wars are forever abolished.

I have now presented some of the principal sources of that military delusion, which has sent and is sending misery and mourning over all the nations of the earth. It is from this delusion, that the greatest obstacles to the entire abolition of war originate. And from the very partial view of the subject which we have now taken, it is evident that our object can be accomplished. War is not one of the fixed and immutable principles of nature. It is the product of human choice—its origin is from man, and that which man causes, man can prevent. Instead, therefore, of sitting down in despair, and relinquishing the victims of war to their fate, as if it were irresistible as the deadly blast of the Simoom, it is the part both of humanity and religion to arouse ourselves, and look over its causes and its dreadful consequences, and around us to see what are the means or the hopes of its prevention. To a mind of enlarged comprehension, accustomed to look over the moving causes of events in

their wide and powerful operation, many things which appear as visionary speculations, or the wild dreamings of enthusiasm to others, are distinctly seen by him in all the grandeur of their outline, and certainty of their accomplishment. And on the subject of universal peace, there are many things which put in no doubtful or ambiguous light the practicability and success of the undertaking.

For the encouragement and confidence of the friends of our object, a few reasons will now be added, which tend directly to the confirmation of its final success. *The augmented force of awakened public sentiment is evidently favorable to the success of our object.* The abolition of war, and establishment of universal peace, like all other objects of great public interest, must be effected by the power of enlightened and combined public sentiment. And results already accomplished, are sufficient to teach us the practicability of controlling the causes of war in this way. Political power has hitherto been in the hands of a few, and exercised by them for the control of the multitude. And as might have been expected in our fallen world, those who possessed this power have, with very few exceptions, exerted it for the purposes of their own personal pride and aggrandizement. Despotism has stretched its iron sceptre over the people, and made them the slaves of its own interest and ambition, by keeping upon their minds the bondage of ignorance. The military hero has sported with the lives of his soldiers at his own caprice, through that blind obedience which martial law imposes upon an army. The great mass of mind has been enveloped in thick darkness. Public sentiment has not been combined, and could not therefore make itself felt. The hand of power has lain heavy upon the neck of the people, but they have been both unaccustomed and unable to judge of the measures which oppressed them. When their burdens have become intolerable, they have arisen in their might, and with "brute force" torn in pieces their oppressor, but at the same moment have blindly elevated another in his place, changing the man, but leaving untouched in all its rigor the despotic system which ground them. This is the

general history of former revolutions, and will be so where there is not a general diffusion of intelligence. An enlightened and sound public sentiment must be formed, before, to any people, liberty can be a blessing, or self government a possibility.

And this is the great work now in progress among the nations. As the Lord Chancellor of England has said, "The schoolmaster is abroad, more powerful with his primer than the soldier with his bayonet." Far and wide is witnessed this waking up of intellect, and formation of public sentiment, giving to society an individual identity—a soul that vivifies and moves it—a simultaneous pulsation which sends the life-blood warm through every member. Some of the mightiest minds which this world knows are putting forth their powerful energies to spread far and wide the light of general science, and gospel morality. Combining the elements of thought and reason, and pouring upon the popular ear, and into the public mind, the streams of intellectual and moral wisdom, and by their powerful influence giving shape and symmetry to a mass that was before "without form and void, and darkness resting upon it." General principles and practical results are closely examined, and mind enkindles mind, and the light spreads from nation to nation, and a common sympathetic influence reaches over oceans and continents, binding the families of distant kingdoms in the ties of one common brotherhood. One nation recently, by an almost bloodless revolution, shook off its oppressors and sent them into exile; and how rapidly was the shock felt along the shores of Belgium, and away across the wide spread plains of Poland, while the heavings of the unquiet earth admonish us that some mighty causes are still at work beneath.

Public sentiment is thus rapidly gathering up and combining its strength, and among other manifestations of its power, it holds kings in check, and restrains their mightiest armies within well defined limits. Russia sends forth the legions of her hardy soldiery, cutting their passage through the Balcan, and, spreading themselves upon the plains of Turkey beyond, and flushed with victory, moving on almost in sight of the renowned capital of the eastern world; yet while this golden prize is just

within her reach, the public voice of Europe stops her career, and brings her legions back from the warm gales and soft suns of the south, to their own country of frost and storms. Turkey accedes to the Russian ultimatum, and thus cancels the terms on which alone the invasion of her territory had been permitted by neutral powers, and the public sentiment of Europe would not allow one of the mightiest of her monarchs to advance another step with hostile purpose.

France, too, sends forth her choicest troops, and pours their combined force upon one point—the citadel of Antwerp falls before them ; but there the work of blood and slaughter must cease. Like “the titular dignitaries of the chess board,” her generals can move only in their prescribed direction. The public feeling of Europe had marked out the narrow boundaries of their procedure, nor dare victorious armies step beyond them. In what age of the world has it been known before, that kings and conquering armies turned back from the goal of their ambition, because the public voice demanded it ? It is a new era in the history of war, and lets us know the secret of that power which can control it.

Half a century since, and the Reform Bill of England would have been gained, if gained at all, at the point of the bayonet, instead of being carried by the force of public sentiment. That measure originated with the people, was forced unwillingly from the hand of power by them, and has doubtless opened a door for farther changes, which they will never allow to be again closed upon them. Whether good or evil is to be the result, depends upon the wisdom and moderation of the popular party ; but whichever it may be to them, to the world it has held out the important lesson of the resistless force of combined public sentiment. In relation to war, the people are already learning that all its contributions, both of taxes and labors, of suffering and of life, must come from them, and that their wives and children must bear its bereavements ; that its whole burden must be laid on their shoulders. When public sentiment shall have been fully formed under the influence of these facts, national questions will be settled in some other way than by

the sword. The empty cry of honor, or the charmed name of military glory will not then induce the people to lay these burdens on their own necks, that others may wear the laurels, or gather the spoils of victory. Appeals to their national pride, or patriotism, or their country's honor, will be examined before they are allowed to control the community. The sacred deposit of the lives of thousands will not be put in the hands of warriors who regard them only as the passive instruments of their revenge or ambition. When Napoleon disclosed to his ministers his design of seizing the Spanish throne, and treacherously detaining Charles and Ferdinand as prisoners, whom he had invited to meet him at Bayonne, he made the following declaration—"If it were to cost me 80,000 men, I would not undertake it, but it will cost me only 12,000—mere child's play, and it will soon be over. I do not wish," he adds, "to do any one an injury; but, when my political car is in motion, it must go on; and we be to those who are beneath its wheels."\* This is but a specimen of the manner in which men of war can sport with the lives of their fellow mortals, and doom thousands to an untimely death with cool calculation, for obtaining possession of that which is no more theirs than the plunder of the pirate. The time must come when man will not bear that his life shall be thus trifled with—when public sentiment shall frown upon the whole sanguinary system. What has already taken place is the clear pledge of what is soon to come.

Another fact which is clearly in our favor is, *that the moral sense of man decides for us*. When any great moral truth is clearly and correctly apprehended, the conscience must give a correct response, just as surely as the understanding, when a mathematical truth is distinctly perceived. The conscience may be perverted by prejudice, ignorance, inattention, or wilful obstinacy, and so may the understanding be thus darkened, and then both may give a wrong decision. But when their appropriate truths are clearly perceived, the understanding will no more certainly decide that "the whole is greater than its

\* *Analectic Mag.* vol. viii. p. 468.

parts," than the conscience will feel that God is to be obeyed—and so of any other distinctly perceived truth. The fact is, that God has adapted the sensations of conscience to the application of moral truth, and a sense of moral obligation and responsibility must be awakened in the one, by a clear perception of the claims of the other, and when they actually meet, there is no possibility but they must answer to each other. If among all the millions of your race you should find one whose conscience gives a different response, you may throw him aside from the class of moral agents, just as you would an insane intellect from the class of rational beings.

This fact ensures the practicability of our object. When it is correctly apprehended by the community, we know what the decision of the moral sense must be. And I have no fear of the ultimate success of any object which commends itself to the enlightened moral sense of man. There may be many obstacles. Opposition may arise from those who have counter interests and prejudices, and ridicule and derision may be directed at both the object and its friends; but if it can lay its hold upon the public conscience and make its claims felt, by so much the more as it becomes understood, there is no ground for fear; that cause will not die for the want of firm supporters. If it does not triumph in this age, it will in another, and just in proportion as it is kept out before public attention, may its success be anticipated. There may be a general slumber, because the subject has not been agitated, but when it is applied to the moral sense of the community, that community will be aroused by it. Nor can that opposition from without, which feels a pang of honest remorse within, be very disheartening to the tried friends of the object.

Thus was it with Wilberforce and his brethren in benevolence in their determined effort for the abolition of slavery. The habits and prejudices and interest of men were all against them, while at the same time the moral sense of almost the entire world was in a dead slumber on this subject. But they did not despair, for they knew that the public conscience could be awakened, and that they could tell so sad a tale of the hor-

rors of this accursed traffic, that the English nation would not endure it. And they kept steadily on in their great work. They spread the map of Africa, stained with blood and cruelty, before the nation. They went down into the hold of the slave ship, and brought up such a picture of wretchedness and misery, that human nature sickened and turned pale at the sight. They unfolded all the horrors of the *middle passage*, and the unfeeling barbarity with which the whole traffic was connected, and in spite of the most determined opposition, they roused the nation to their object ; and lived to see the broad seal of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION fixed upon the records of the kingdom.

The cause of Temperance is passing through the same process. It lays its hold upon the moral sense of the community. Its object and its principles commend themselves to the conscience. It unfolds a history of woe and sorrow and sin, too dreadful for an enlightened community to endure. Hence, in spite of all opposition, the work goes on, healing and blessing in its progress.

The cause of peace comes home to the moral sense of the community with as resistless a force. The world are to a great extent asleep on this subject, it is true, but it is a slumber from which it is no more difficult to awaken them, than was found in other cases where success has already crowned the effort. Oh! we have the materials for an irresistible appeal to all the better feelings of our nature. The sterner faculties of reason and conscience not only lie open, but there is a way to all the finer sympathies and tender sensibilities of the human heart. War promotes the rankest vices, excites the most unholy passions, and gives rise to the foulest deeds. From its history may be drawn the saddest story of human suffering, the darkest scenes of misery, mourning and death.

Take the seat of war in any place, and draw around it a circle of an hundred miles diameter, and go in and travel over the whole area, and you shall find its entire population exposed to all the destructive influence which the presence of hostile armies occasions. Frequent alarms, violence and outrage,



plunder and conflagration and death, on all sides ; the whole circuit withered and desolate, as if some blighting curse from heaven had fallen upon it. And as the armies move their position, they move on with them this whole breadth of wretchedness, and lay it down upon another region, withering all that was fair and lovely within it.

And then the awful scene, when closes in the deadly conflict. Tumult, and noise, and rage, and reckless hardihood ; the wildest frenzy, and bitterest oaths and curses, amid the smoke and din of battle. Each one strives to deal promiscuous death around him the most effectually, and falls, no one knows by whose hand, save that it was by the hand of some fellow mortal ; and souls in rapid succession flee away, "without a requiem to the judgment." The wounded lie groaning in all the agonies of pain and despair, while soon, away to distant lands are borne the tidings of husbands, sons and brothers slain ; the bloom and beauty of many a social paradise, turned to paleness and sorrows, which can now, never know any alleviation.

Oh ! on every battle field there are stains of human guilt, which all the sunshine and rain of Heaven can never bleach out ; and from it there goes abroad the tidings of sadness and sorrow, for which earth has no cordial. Strip off the delusion which has so long hung over this subject, and conscience loud declares—it is a work for fiends beneath, rather than for him to whom a Saviour left his grace and his example.

But lastly—*the sure word of prophecy has settled the certainty of our object.* The declarations of holy writ, are clear, distinct and emphatic on this subject. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion together, and a little child shall lead them. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Isa. xi. ch. "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. They shall sit every man under his

vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid, for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it." Micah, iv. chapter.

Wide as the dwellings of man, and enduring as his generations, is the reign of peace to extend. The "noise and confusion of the battle of the warrior" is to cease from under the whole heaven, and "garments be rolled in blood" no more. Certain, however, as is that coming day of harmony and friendship, no prophecy or past providence of God gives us any reason to expect it without the direct and voluntary agency of man. The jarring moral elements are not to be hushed in peace by some sudden and miraculous spell thrown upon the nations. It were but the blindness and bigotry of fanaticism to expect it. War must be abolished, by acting upon the broad principles of gospel benevolence, and fixing the object definitely before us, and laying its crimes and wretchedness, folly and guilt before the public mind ; and thus moving the public sentiment in its reprobation. And universal peace must be established, by kindling the spirit of philanthropy, and holding up to view the glowing, but real picture of its calm security and blessedness, and bringing the world to love its quietude, and deprecate the influence which should disturb it.

And those predictions from Heaven which give their assurance of the final issue, are themselves also a guaranty that instruments shall not be wanting. The Most High can never want means for the fulfilment of his purposes. And when the nations shall "learn war no more" the occasions of war will cease ; for it is the false honor which has been attached to the cruel and bloody science of war, which has prolonged its practice.

How lovely the scene here spread out in prophetic vision ! The dark and fierce passions which have been stimulated and strengthened by war, raging the fiercer amid the wider desolations they have made, shall all give place to the mild emotions of kindness and friendship, and the tender associations and sympathies of fraternal affection. Commerce, unmolested, shall float fearless over every ocean. All along the marts of

trade shall be seen the gathering throng of cheerful merchantmen ; and through all the walks of business shall be heard the hum of honest and contented industry. Those hands which had been only taught to deal death around them the most skilfully, shall lay aside forever the weapons of destruction, and take hold on the implements of husbandry. All that genius, and intellect and wealth which had been spent in depopulating the earth, shall now be turned into channels of productive industry. The hand of cultivation shall spread bloom and beauty through all the valleys, and up the sides of every hill and mountain, over all the continents and islands of the earth. Yes, and the wild beast of the forest grows tame, as man lays aside *his* savage and ferocious spirit, and the wide world smiles and blooms again as in the days of her primitive blessedness. It is the long looked for, long prayed for reign of the King of Peace. Happy—forever blessed, shall those be who have stood foremost in its advancement.

Oh ! my country ! blest in many things beyond any other land on which the sun hath shined—how high in real and unfading glory shall be your station amid millennial governments, if the faithful pen of history may but record your name among the first on that bright roll of nations who hailed the breaking morn which ushered in the day of perpetual and universal peace.

Oh ! let the implements of honest industry, or the emblems of commercial enterprise, under the bright beamings of the star of peace be graven upon her escutcheon, rather than it should be adorned with the proudest and gayest ensigns that ever blazed along a martial triumph.

**R E P O R T**  
OF THE  
**CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY.**

---

IN reviewing the past year, the Connecticut Peace Society has much cause of gratitude to God, and of mutual congratulation with all its fellow laborers. The number of those, within its more immediate sphere of influence, who are beginning to acknowledge the practicability of its plans, as well as the importance of its object, is very considerably increasing.

It has, at the same time, to mourn the loss of one of its most active and efficient members; of one whose mind and heart were zealously devoted to its prosperity; and who stood ready to devote his time, his influence, and a portion of his substance, to the promotion of large and generous plans for its extension. Every one, who, of late years, has had familiar intercourse with OLIVER D. COOKE, Esq., cannot fail to have observed the deep interest which he felt in the cause of universal and permanent peace; and to those who have been associated with him in the promotion of this object, the recollection of his efforts should furnish additional motives to greater fidelity and perseverance. As the President of the County Peace Society, and a member of the Board of Directors of the State Society, both these associations will long have reason to lament his loss, and to cherish, with gratitude, the memory of his past services.

During the past year, the Society has distributed 2260 copies of Mr. Grimke's Address, and 450 of the Annual Report, and loaned, for perusal, 473 books and pamphlets. In the same period of time, five County Societies have been formed,

within the State, making eight in all ; so that each county will now, it is hoped, take an active part in co-operating with the rest, and with the State Society, in this great work. United and persevering effort, under the blessing of God, furnishes the only prospect of success. In this, as in all other enterprises, division of labor is the true principle of action. National Peace Societies should make it one of their leading objects, to bring about the formation of similar associations within smaller circles of territory ; and these again, within smaller ; and so on, until the attention of every individual in the community is arrested, and his understanding enlightened, and his conscience awaked, and his affections enlisted, and his hearty co-operation won.

*Living agents*, too, active, zealous, untiring, are indispensable. Societies formed in ever so imposing a manner, with splendid lists of officers high in talent and in station ; eloquent, soul-stirring public addresses ; pamphlets, periodicals, reports, publications in whatever form ; all these need the living agent to give them efficacy.

The friends of universal peace must take a deep personal interest in the matter. They must make it the subject of fervent, earnest prayer, both in private and in public. They must talk about it as claiming a place, in the regards of Christians, with the other benevolent enterprises of the day. They must endeavor to persuade their neighbors and friends to examine the subject, to attend the meetings of the society, and to read what able and judicious men have written.

It is thus by bringing *mind in contact with mind, through the efforts of the living agent*, that great enterprises depending on public opinion for their success, can alone hope to secure that success.

Public opinion is yet to rule the world. Man, every where, is fast learning his individual prerogatives and power. The governments of the earth are partaking more and more of the representative form. The will of the people, as expressed by their delegates, in the different branches of the government, is to be the only legitimate source of authority in civil and politi-

cal concerns, modified, indeed, and directed by the constitutions which they themselves have established. What, then, will not this public opinion, if properly enlightened, and influenced by the spirit of the gospel, be able to achieve ?

All the records of history prove that war is a great evil. Military glory, at the present day, is manifestly yielding up its influence over the councils of the powerful European nations. Some of their most distinguished statesmen are publicly avowing the sentiment, that peace-measures constitute the true policy of those governments which seek the real prosperity and happiness of the people whose destinies they guide. Our own favored country has just furnished an illustrious display of this very sentiment, when our fears were tremblingly alive to the anticipation of a far different and most portentous result. Above all, that gospel which breathes "peace on earth and good will to men," holds out for universal observance its golden rule of *doing to others as we would have others do to us* ; and prophecy assures us that this gospel shall yet bind all men together in one common brotherhood ; and providence and inspiration both teach us, that we must use the means which God has placed in our hands, that we may be co-workers with Him in the accomplishment of His great and glorious purposes of love to our fallen race. Are these things so ? And shall not Peace Societies succeed ; and will not their friends be roused to new and more vigorous efforts in their behalf ? Will not those who have yet looked coldly on them, examine their claims with a patriot's eye, and a philanthropist's hope, and a Christian's faith, and see that, by the simple process of *enlightening and influencing public opinion*, and, eventually, in this way reaching *the governments of nations*, the war-spirit may be subdued, and another umpire be found to settle international disputes, than *an appeal to arms*.

Suppose, the entire population of these United States were agreed in the opinion, that war has been the greatest scourge of man ; that universal peace would best promote the welfare, both of individual nations, and of the whole human

race ; that nothing but a strictly defensive war is justifiable, and this, not till all possible means of reconciliation and the adjustment of difficulties have been tried ; that it is better often to suffer wrong than hastily to resort to arms ; and that the governments of Christendom should do all in their power to cherish such principles in their intercourse with each other, and to promote their diffusion and observance throughout the world. Suppose that respectful petitions embodying these sentiments should be presented to our National Legislature, from all sections of the country ;—suppose these petitions should request our General Government, through the medium of the Executive, and the Ministers to foreign powers, to make such sentiments known to all the governments with which ours has intercourse. Suppose these topics should come up for deliberation and discussion in the prosecution of this intercourse, just as the proposition *to make the slave trade piracy*, has. Then let plans be discussed, and measures proposed, by which *an impartial arbitration* could be provided to settle international disputes, and at least, this principle be adopted in our treaties with foreign powers, that no appeal should, in any case be made to arms, until all effort to procure such an impartial arbitration had failed.

Would not the voice of this great, growing, free, and prosperous nation, thus speaking to the world, in the language of fraternal affection, and of a magnanimous policy, be listened to, and felt ? Who can doubt it ? Let the experiment be made. It is safe. It is practicable. It is easy. Until it is made, let not Peace Societies be reproached as having, indeed, a praiseworthy object in view, but presenting no plans for its accomplishment which can be carried out into practical results.

But universal peace, it is said, will not prevail, till Christianity shall pervade the earth. Promote the spread, and the influence, of the gospel, and its spirit will unite mankind virtually into one great Peace Society.

And will those who advance this sentiment abide by its legitimate application to other kindred subjects ? The universal spread and influence of the Gospel will render unnecessary



many means that are now used, to teach men their duty, and lead them to perform it. Christianize mankind, and the slave-trade will cease. Shall no means be adopted to exhibit the horrors and injustice of this trade, and bring up public opinion, every where, to such an abhorrence of it, that all the governments of the earth shall pronounce it piracy? Bring all men under the controlling influence of the gospel, and intemperance will cease. Shall no efforts be made to enlighten and reform society in this respect, because a day is coming when the spirit of Christianity will lead to universal temperance?

Miserable sophistry! because one general principle, if universally and effectually applied, in any of our concerns and projects, would ensure complete success, shall we, in the mean while make use of no subordinate and collateral principles, to aid in carrying the leading one into effect?

No; if on the one hand the universal spread of the gospel is essential to a universal and permanent state of peace, so, on the other, is the destruction of the war-spirit, and the diffusion of the principles of peace, an indispensable means of the final triumphs of Christianity. They are both parts of one great plan. In carrying on this plan to its final consummation, the making the whole earth like the primeval paradise, God works, and man must work. The gospel must be diffused, and so must the principles of freedom, and temperance and peace. Benevolent labor, like all other labor, to be efficient, must be divided. Peace Societies come in for their share of this labor, and they have the faith to believe, that *it will not be in vain in the Lord.*

It appears, from the last report of *the Society in England for the promotion of permanent and universal Peace*, that this cause is not only making progress in that country, but in continental Europe. The philanthropic Count de Sellon, at Geneva, and *the Society of Christian Morals* in Paris, are continuing their praise-worthy efforts. We hail with gratitude these dawnings of a brighter day, in the serene splendor of which all nations shall yet rejoice.

But to our own highly favored country we look, with intense

interest, for a great and noble example of national effort in bringing about a state of universal peace. Our political institutions rest on the principles of peace. Our policy, in all foreign relations, has always been that of peace. Public opinion is most decidedly against the war-spirit. The genius of our matchless constitution is that of conciliation and compromise. The same influence, under God, has again saved our country. It is, we fondly hope, extending its dominion throughout the land. May it speedily be felt, not only in all our internal intercourse, as members of individual states, and citizens of one great republic, but in all our intercourse with the nations of the earth, stretching out to them the hand of fraternal regard, and proclaiming for universal adoption, the sentiment, that we all belong to the same human family, bound, by every principle of interest and duty, to treat each other as brethren, and to do each other good, as we have opportunity.

By order of the Directors,

T. H. GALLAUDET, *Secretary.*

*Hartford, May 1, 1833.*

### TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY,		DR.
To Cash paid for printing 3000 Grimke's Address,		\$200 00
"    "    "    500 Reports,	- -	6 75
8 Calumets of Peace,	- - - - -	6 00
Expenses of Agents,	- - - - -	29 25
		<u>242 00</u>
CR. By Cash rec'd from T. S. Grimke,	- -	\$120 00
"    "    members, \$72; donation, \$1,		73 00
"    "    the sale of Mr. Grimke's Address,		9 00
		<u>202 00</u>
		40 00

The Society have 753 of Mr. Grimke's Address on hand. The above is as accurate a statement as can be made in the absence of the Treasurer.

WM. WATSON, *Agent.*

Accepted, May 10th, 1833.

# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

## CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY.

---

**ARTICLE I.**—The name of this Society shall be **THE CONNECTICUT PEACE SOCIETY.**

**ART. II.**—The object of the Society is the promotion of permanent and universal peace, by printing and circulating tracts to diffuse information, tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind, and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace, upon the basis of Christian principles. Its labors are not limited, but extend to the whole human family.

**ART. III.**—The funds of the Society shall consist of annual subscriptions, life subscriptions, donations of individuals, and contributions of auxiliary societies.

**ART. IV.** This Society shall consist of all persons who approve of its object, and who will pay one dollar annually to promote the same.

**ART. V.**—Each subscriber of ten dollars, shall be a member for life.

**ART. VI.**—Each member of the Society shall be entitled to a copy of all the addresses and tracts published by the Society.

**ART. VII.**—All Auxiliary Societies shall receive at cost such a number of the publications of the Society as will be equal in value to half the amount contributed by them respectively, to the funds of the Society.

**ART. VIII.**—The Government of this Society shall consist of a President, a Vice President in each county, a Treasurer, Recording and Corresponding Secretary, an Assistant Corresponding Secretary, and not less than four Directors. Any

three of the above officers shall form a quorum. The officers of this Society shall have power to fill vacancies and add to the numbers of Directors.

ART. IX.—A general meeting shall be held at Hartford or New-Haven in the month of May annually, to receive the Report of the Directors, and Treasurer's Account, to elect Officers, and to attend to such other business as the interest of the Society may require, at which time an Address may be expected.

#### OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

JOHN CALDWELL, Esq.,	<i>President.</i>
DAVID WATKINSON, Esq.,	<i>V. President, Hartford County.</i>
DR. THOMAS HUBBARD,	" <i>New Haven Co.</i>
HON. WM. P. CLEAVELAND,	" <i>New London Co.</i>
ROGER M. SHERMAN, Esq.,	" <i>Fairfield Co.</i>
GEORGE BENSON, Esq.,	" <i>Windham Co.</i>
DR. WILLIAM BUELL,	" <i>Litchfield Co.</i>
RICHARD HUBBARD, Esq.,	" <i>Middlesex Co.</i>
ELISHA STEARNS, Esq.,	" <i>Tolland Co.</i>
REV. THOMAS H. GALLAUDET,	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
REV. HENRY GREW,	<i>Recording Secretary and Treasurer.</i>
HEZEKIAH HUNTINGTON, Esq.,	<i>Director.</i>
MR. ALBERT DAY,	"
MR. J. HUBBARD WELLS,	"
DR. D. S. DODGE,	"
LYNDE OLMSTED, Esq.,	"
REV. C. C. VANARSDALEN,	"
MR. WILLIAM WATSON,	" <i>and Agent.</i>

As revised, May 10th, 1833.