The Conservative.

great people. And its divinest attribute is the pacific nature of its aims; its contrast with the Spartan code of Lycurgus is like storm and sunshine. It hardly seems to contemplate a state of war at all, or a people addicted to any such pursuit; though there were legendary if not historic glories of the martial sort, and Solon himself was a successful warrior on occasion. Then, Athens had evolved the greatest if not the only effective frame of self government the world had seen ; a gradual development of ages, it had grown toward completion under Solon and Clisthenes, in the course of the century just before the Persian war. Next, Athens was in full career of that production wherein she far surpassed all nations of the world, the finer arts; her sculptures and her architectures were approaching the perfection, which raised the level of human talent itself forever after.

Just as all these branches of national genius were upon the mellowing of their

ripest fruit, the Militarism. Medic tempest swept across the land. For a time, these brighter works were suspended for sterner ones, which made Greece a camp instead of an Academe, and her heroes warriors, instead of gods; in place of Solon now was Aristides, for Clisthenes was Themistocles, for arts were only arms. The invasion gloriously repelled, those beautiful impulses resumed their sway; no doubt with quickened current after the obstruction, with new data of experience, new pride of national life. But not one form of art or public work appeared, of which we can say that it was not well on its way before that strenuous crisis, and that it might not have matured as soon without the interruption. The culmination might have been in some respects less brilliant, than it was on the "razed tablet" of desolated Attica; but it might have been far more abiding, and harmoniously completed For that pride of victory sowed in the bosom of Athens a fatal seed. No sooner had the pæans of glorification died away-or receded but a little, for they have never died-than the rising generation began to thirst for new triumphs. They could not bear to fall so far below their fathers, and as they had not now their own existence to defend, they began to reach out after empire. Within a short lifetime after

peace. It may hardly occur to us at once that in the Roman world, not the pen indeed but the plow was mightier than the sword. The story of the Eternal City comes before us as essentially one of war and conquest, varied only by faction, which was little else than internal war. If so, then all the more affecting is the ideal of the Roman sovereign, "crowned with olive, founding first in laws the urban state," in whose reign alone of kings the gates of war were shut, whose rule was inspiration straight from Heaven, the gentle and holy yet imperial Numa. Only twice again, according to Roman legend, those gates were closed; the last time, a few years before the birth of Christ, and they dwelt on the record with a joy and love which showed that even in those iron hearts the image of peace was higher throned than that of war. But on the whole, undoubtedly Rome enforces the lesson rather by practice of the opposite. Insatiable aggression, as in the case of Athens but by larger scale and longer period, brought on corruption first and finally downfall. Yet when Rome had ceased to exist as a state, the most enduring life of all her work was her system of civic law.

A thousand years of Middle Ages followed, the essential business of which New Breeds of Men. was the working up of new races over the whole scene of Europe into civilization and Christianity. This could afford but few examples of extended peace, except that the good of the period arose chiefly from the teaching of the Gospel and such other as followed, which was naturally pacific; and the evil, from the condition of war, intestine as well as external, which pervaded all the continent so deeply. Whatever was to advance the condition of man, in those ages as in others, came in the main by ways of peace; what arrested and delayed, by war, though often an unavoidable scourge. But it was unavoidable exactly as the estate of man was nearer that of the brute. Here

At last that sombre interval drew toward its close, the term being marked by the accomplishment of the work; the organization of these peoples in such the Asian peril, they were involved in a measure as to take up the part of civilsore conflict still, the inevitable result of ized nations in the modern world. It is their unscrupulous aggressions, which instructive to remark the nature and gnawed their vitals out for thirty years, the origin of the various causes or influand left them tottering to their fall. In ences which brought this general change, conclusion, Athens owed her glory to the greatest and most progressive since her larger measure of peace, and her Christianity. Naturally they were very degradation to the usurping spirit of manifold, regarding almost every aspect war. If, walking only the high places and of human faculty and condition. And scarcely one of all these influences had the broader ways of history, we now any direct relation with war. First octurn to Rome, we Rome in Peace. curs the Revival of Learning, with its may find at the first glance little here of the triumphs of new art and thought ; which instinctive-

ly flies the shock of arms. In the train of this Renaissance, or New Birth of the human mind, was innumerable following, all of the same kindred. The advance of industry and commerce was among the foremost, flourishing in peace and wasting in war. The liberties of town were an offspring of this. The liberties of peoples were normally a matter of unarmed struggle, once in a while needing to be fought for, and then the fighting as a matter of course gets all the credit. The growth of science, notably associated with the opening of the modern period, is the very symbol of man's intellectual expansion; and if its ways are not always pleasantness, its paths are essentially peace. Its conquests are the opposite of war, and its inventions are for the brotherhood of mankind. Among them indeed may be those that serve the purposes of war, as that of gunpowder, whose extending use was an influence in the modern system ; but war is no more to be credited with such discoveries, than with the mining industries that furnish its arms. Far greater than this was the art of printing, toward which war could contribute nothing. The rise of schools and universities was another such blessing. The explorations of the world, which brought new continents into ken, had almost as little military connection in their mainspring; at least they were primarily a business of peaceful enterprise. The new grasp of Christianity which took effect in the Reformation, might bring on wars eventually; but it was of no such origin, and Luther as absolutely discarded the sword for his own part as Jesus did. One special means of European illumination which is reckoned among the agencies that brought on the modern era, took particular impulse from a war: the diffusion of Greek learning among the nations from the fall of Constantinople. If any one should call up this exile then as witness that "war is kind", and the Turks the enlighteners of Europe, we would contest that point no further.

So we have re-Expanding Peace. and there a shining figure might appear, covered our civililike Alfred, who fought his way to zation, and this time, we may hope, to peace-it was the works of the latter lose no more. From that epoch to the that gave to these their truest glory. present, according to the lines we have traced, in the natural order of things the functions of peace are likely to enlarge, and those of war in relation of importance to abate; on however mightier scale the wars themselves may rage. Less and less is it likely that the true interests of man will be advanced by them ; the best that can be hoped is that some old encumbrances will be removed by them; and more and more this will be better accomplished by pacific growth and increase of intelligence, by the sun instead of the storm. More and more the statesman is the leader rather than the general ; in our United States, no general in command has ever determined the policy of the country. In Eng-