

land of course this often happened in the older times of the warrior kings; as far as William Third; that whole order of things within the past two centuries disappearing. Marlborough is perhaps the last practical example; Wellington coming pretty near to it for a moment. The triumph of statesmanship is to avert a war; a double triumph instead of a single one. With every age, a relatively larger complex of interests must be infringed by war, and fewer promoted. Hence the inevitable tendency in later times has been for the strongest nations to war, if at all, on the weakest—or such as were presumed so—while the rest look on; a sad detraction, one would think, from any glory appertaining. Witness the desperate energy in manufacture of such glory, and the high protection this manufacture needs; the eager appropriation of "honor" as a watchword, whether the actual proceedings be in their nature honorable, or dishonor to the national character and record.

Such are the reflections prompted by a single sweep of eye along the crest-lines of history, merely with enough attention to the real formation of them for a rational understanding. But it is not these high ranges only which have led us to our good, though we are apt to look and talk as if all the vale and plain were filled in from their slopes. The silent, suffering, toiling race of men; who have labored the soil and product of the earth all ages through, a little for themselves and much for others; who have kept all the rest in being, and by slow steps improved a little in their means; injuring none and benefiting many: what is the visitation of war to these, and to their part in the general welfare?

**Suggestions as to War.** If we should pause a little more especially upon some of the separate peaks along those ridges, some of the wars that have seemed most vital to the progress of mankind, embodying principles that have struggled their way out to hard-won victory—we may find interesting suggestion. A war that has once taken place, appears in the register forever, fatal and inevitable. But it need be no more inevitable than other events, often hanging long in a tremulous balance. When we examine closely how that balance turned, we may be often struck with the evidence, how distinctly it has appeared to be, by acts of palpable wrong, on the side we more esteem. We need not stop on any conflicts of mere enmity or ambition, let us take only those we call noble, in which we can sympathize with ardor, for the cause at stake. Outside our own country, few contests are more calculated to rouse this fervor, than those of the English Commonwealth, or Great Rebellion as it used to be called. The fact that sympathy also with the defeated cause may still be found, seems only to in-

tensify the vitality of the struggle, its elements proving to be of such enduring strength. But it seems almost inconceivable that an American, competently read, can fail to go with the Long Parliament, at least, in the years of its prime. Now the measures which swept away inveterate abuses, limited tyrannic power, safeguarded public liberties, brought high offenders down—all these may be approved indeed; but not one or all of these would have led to war. What did lead to it, were clear abuses of legislative power, and infringements of right; the Parliament began to persecute and to overpass its constitutional bounds, as plainly as the king had done though it may be not so flagrantly, nor so memorably, the wrongs being more diffused in their application, and forgotten in the revolutions following. These were the provocations that stung the Royalists up to the fighting temper, and the sense of Parliament now being really in the wrong, sustained them to the end. The Protectorate was a majestic phase of English history, Cromwell one of the noblest of rulers and of men; but these are no more involved in that question of right and wrong, than the Napoleonic wars.

1776: And how of our own Revolution, which links itself so fitly to that struggle of the century before? Sacred things are to be touched with care; but this we may be free to remark: while our Continental Congress and our other chosen leaders may have been in all the right of the Long Parliament with none of its wrong, yet that session of 1774 made no war, and spent its whole effort to avoid any. As in the other case, it was rankling and needless exasperations which would seem to have goaded on the actual strife. In those on England's part we are pretty well instructed; our own we do not always bear in mind, nor their serious consequence. Infuriate and reckless mobs, who outraged officers in the mere discharge of duty, burned the libraries and destroyed what rudiments of art collection might be found in the homes of the adverse-minded, cruelly persecuted and exiled thousands of worthy neighbors, much of the land's best blood, for the crime of keeping the loyalty in which their whole lives had passed; unmeasured anarchies, license, uttering itself in the terms of the horse-jockey who said to John Adams on the threat of prosecution for some villainy, "Why, Mr. Adams, I thought there were to be no more courts and laws after this"; it was in riots like these, much rather than in deliberate contests over legal rights among Anglo-Saxons, that we may find the material out of which war could be made. Again there came high blessings in the sequel; the career of Washington, the Constitution; but those could not recommend the evils that had gone before. Like other good things that have come out of

evil, they attest the wisdom of God who rules, not that of man who wrecks. So have houses and cities risen again in nobler form from the ashes of conflagration, so men and states have lived in better guarded health after sickness and destroying scourges; that does not recommend pestilence, or arson.

**Seven Years.** We sympathize with the great Frederic, in his seven years' wrestle against the fearful overmatch of half Europe armed for his destruction; yet we have to recognize the overbearing aggression of his earlier years, which leagued such powers against him.

**Thirty Years.** If there ever was a war in the world, which according to the "Strenuous" theory, should have blessed the people who waged it, such a one was that of the Thirty Years in Germany. There indeed was grim earnest, sacrifice of all things, mightiest interests involved, indomitable persistence a generation long, heroes growing wild, and the holiest of causes, faith itself, at stake. And except the very exhaustion of powers concerned, which brought an end to all such murderous orgies ever after in the name of religion—the result was ruin only. Germany down to that strife had been giving us its art of printing, Hanseatic League, its Luther and the rise of modern thought; for a century from that time it gave us almost nothing. Then a great new life began to open, far away from all such causes and effects. But never was there such a waste, of a great people not yet ready for decline.

**Exalted by Peace.** In the record of the United States, we have a singular example of a nation reaching a foremost place among the powers of the world, whose glory has arisen from all other sources rather than international war. Our only two great armed struggles were not properly such; but rather family settlements, adjusted in a noisy kind of way, very interesting to ourselves. In so far as we came out with any credit from the war of 1812, the success was much more in the treaty than the field; the one decisive military victory coming after the covenant of peace. Our one case of pure orthodox "glory", an unbroken series of splendid victories, ending in conquest of the hostile capital, was a fight with a people helplessly weaker; and the cause, was it such as to fix the flush of exultation, or of shame upon the American cheek? In our other struggle with alien peoples, we have discreetly kept the like odds in our hands. If we have an honored name among the nations, it is on far other grounds than these. That we may be mindful of our true renown and character, established in the course of fact as well as the laws of right, is the inward prayer and the outward suggestion of the thinking patriot.

The result of our examination rests,