



"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
"Unwarped by party rage, to live like Brothers."

PEACE.

Mr. Quincy's Address concluded.

As to the third cause of war, "a state of soldiery professed," in other words, the influence of the military class, a state of society such as I have described, and as we have reason to anticipate, will not so much diminish its influence, as annihilate the whole class, by rendering it useless; when there is no employment and no hope of it, for the military class, it can have no continuance.

A people highly moral and highly intellectual, would not endure the existence of such a distinct class. They would realize that the principle of military life resulted, in making moral agents, machines; citizens, slaves; that a soldier, as such, can have no will but his officer's; knows no law but his commands; with him, conscience has no force; heaven no authority; conduct but one rule, implicit, military obedience. It requires but a very small elevation of the moral and intellectual standard, at present, existing among mankind, to make them realize the utter incompatibility of the existence of such a class, with long continued peace, or with that higher moral and intellectual state, to which both nature and duty teach man to aspire.

If it be asked, how a nation, destitute of a military class, can be safe from foreign violence and invasion, it may be answered, first, that the existence of such a class is ever a main inducement both to the one and the other. For either your military force is weaker than your neighbors, in which case he is insolent; or it is stronger, in which case you are so; or it is equal, in which case the very uncertainty begets, in both, a spirit of rivalry, of jealousy and of war. Second, that all experience has shown that a well-appointed militia, defending their own altars and homes, were competent to every purpose of repelling foreign violence and invasion. Third, that a society, which should engage in no intrigues, covet no foreign possessions; exemplify in all its conduct a spirit of justice, moderation, and regard for the rights of others, would assume a position the most favorable to predispose its neighbors to adopt, toward it, a kind and peaceable demeanor. Should it fail, its conduct would be effectual to concentrate round it the affections of its own citizens; and thence produce unanimity and vigor in the use of all the means, to which it might be necessitated to resort, for the purpose of repelling actual invasion.

The amelioration of the moral and intellectual condition of man, is not, however, at this day peculiar to any one nation. In a greater, or less degree, it is incident to all. By commerce, by the press, by a very general acquaintance with each other's language, by identity of pursuits, similarity in the objects of religious faith, and by coincidence of interests, the various nations, composing the civilized quarters of the globe, have mutually elevated and instructed, and are, every day, mutually elevating and instructing one another. Thought and invention, in any one nation, exist for the common benefit of all. Every where the same scenes are passing. People growing more enlightened; more resolved; more powerful. Monarchs more wise; more timid; less arbitrary. In all nations, the multitude are grasping after a representative control, in the management of state affairs—and sooner, or later, they will be successful. Kings begin, already, to realize the necessity. They must feel it more—they cannot choose but to yield to it. The light is too powerful, it cannot be shut out. Knowledge too penetrating, it cannot be excluded. Let Emperors & Kings league—let the North pour forth its military hordes. These are only the obstacles appointed by Providence to ensure greater certainty to that universal amelioration of the human condition, to which man is destined, by rendering it slowly and gradually progressive. The enormities of the French revolution evidence the guilt and crime, in which a nation may be involved, by having light and freedom put into its possession, before it is prepared to receive them. Monarchs & their hosts are but instruments in the hands of Providence; destined to check the rapidity, not forever to terminate the intellectual progress of our species. To be effectual and permanent, this advance must be slow. Fetters must be broken off by degrees, from nations which have been for ages in chains. Light must be poured gradually upon the eye, which is first introduced to the day. This is the law of our nature. This is the course of Providence.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the extension of these influences, among the mass of mankind, must, even in Europe, tend to diminish the recurrence of war, not only from the reasons and consequences already urged, but also from the actual state of European soldiery; the necessary result of their education, their habits and their relations to society. In our own country, accustomed as we are to associate, whatever there is of the military character in it, with the services and intervals of our revolution, or to see it, little separated from the virtues and innocence of civil life, we can scarcely form

an idea of the degraded moral and intellectual condition of the mere soldiery of Europe. Their own statesmen and historians seem at a loss to express their abhorrence of the whole class. "War makes thieves," says Machiavel, who was himself no enemy to the profession, "and peace hangs them." For those, who know not how to get their bread in any other way, when they are disbanded and out of employ, disdaining poverty and obscurity, are forced to have recourse to such ways of supporting themselves, as generally bring them to the gallows.

The experience of our own day is not very different. From the revival of the ancient system of buccaneering in the West India seas, and the crimes, committed in every part of Europe and America, since the cessation of hostilities, it is apparent that those, who can no longer rob and murder, under the sanction of civil society, have, at length, set up for themselves; and are carrying on their old trade, at their own risk and under their own authority. What better can be expected from men, sold like slaves, from one despot to another; contracting to do the work of murder, for hire; careless, for whom; indifferent, against whom; or for what; expecting pay and plunder; these assured, asking no further questions.

It is impossible, without recurrence to feelings and sentiments of a higher and purer nature, than those, induced by common life, to do justice to the deep moral depravity and the cruel bloodstained scenes of ordinary warfare. Alas! How must they be viewed, by higher intelligences and virtues!

Science and revelation concur, in teaching that this ball of earth, which man inhabits, is not the only world; that millions of globes, like ours, roll in the immensity of space. The sun, the moon, "those seven nightly wandering fires," those twinkling stars, are worlds. There doubtless, dwell other moral and intellectual natures; angelic spirits; passing what man calls time, in one untried pursuit of truth and duty; still seeking; still exploring, ever satisfying, never satiating the ethereal, moral, intellectual thirst; whose delightful task it is—as it should be ours,—to learn the will of the Eternal Father; to seek the good, which to that end—for them and us to seek,—he hides; and finding, to admire, adore and praise—him first, him last, him midst and without end.

Imagine one of these celestial spirits, bent on this great purpose, descending upon our globe; and led, by chance, to an European plain, at the point of some great battle; on which, to human eye, reckless and blind to overruling Heaven, the fate of states and empires is suspended.

On a sudden, the field of combat opens on his astonished vision. It is a field, which men call, "glorious." A hundred thousand warriors stand in opposed ranks. Light beams on their burnished steels.—Their plumes and banners wave. Hill echoes to the noise of moving rank and squadron; the neigh and tramp of steeds; the trumpet, drum, and bugle call.

There is a momentary pause;—a silence, like that, which precedes the fall of the thunderbolt; like that awful stillness, which is precursor to the desolating rage of the whirlwind. In an instant, flash succeeding flash pours columns of smoke along the plain. The iron tempest sweeps; heaping, man, horse, and car, in undistinguished ruin. In shouts of rushing host—in shock of breasting steeds,—in peals of musquetry—in artillery's roar—in sabres' clank—in thick and gathering clouds of smoke and dust, all human eye, and ear, and sense are lost. Man sees not, but the sign of onset. Man hears not, but the cry of "onward!"

Not so, the celestial stranger. His spiritual eye, unobscured by artificial night, his spiritual ear, unaffected by mechanic noise, witness the real scene, naked in all its cruel horrors.

He sees—lopped and bleeding limbs scattered,—gashed, dismembered trunks, outspread, gore-clotted, lifeless;—brains bursting from crushed skulls; blood gushing from sabred necks; several heads whose mouths mutter rage, amidst the palsy of the last agony.

He hears—the mingled cry of anguish and despair, issuing from a thousand bosoms, in which a thousand bayonets turn, the convulsive scream of anguish from heaps of mangled, half-expiring victims, over whom the heavy artillery-wheels lumber and crush into one mass, bone, and muscle, and sinew;—while the fetlock of the war-horse drips with blood, starting from the last palpitation of the burst heart, on which his hoof pivots.

"This is not earth,"—would not such a celestial stranger exclaim;—"This is not earth!"—"This is hell! This is not man! but demon, tormenting demon!"

Thus exclaiming, would not he speed away to the skies? His immortal nature unable to endure the folly, the crime, and the madness of man.

If in this description, there be nothing forced, and nothing exaggerated; if all great battles exhibit scenes, like these, only multiplied ten thousand times, in every awful form, in every cruel feature, in every heart-rending circumstance;

will society, in a high state of moral and intellectual improvement endure their recurrence? As light penetrates the mass, and power with light, and purity with power, will men in any country, consent to entrust their peace and rights, to a soldiery like that of Europe, described as "a needy, sensual, vicious cast, reckless of God and man, and mindful only of their officer?"

Even in Europe, is not a brighter and purer day breaking? Even there, though overwhelmed by the weight of mightiest monarchies, public opinion heaves and shakes the mountain mass, by which the moral and intellectual development of human nature is oppressed. Already the middling classes of society have burst the ancient feudal chains, and priest-craft manacles, and vindicated for themselves, a glorious day; under whose light, knowledge and virtue are expanding, and checking the crimes of courts, as well as of the crowd and pointing with the finger of authoritative scorn at the vices of the high and the noble, not less than at those of the low and ignoble.

"Revolutions go not backward." Neither does the moral and intellectual progress of the multitude. Light is shining where once there was darkness; and is penetrating and purifying the once corrupt and enslaved portions of our species. It may, occasionally, and for a season, be obscured; or seem retrograde. But light, moral and intellectual, shall continue to ascend to the zenith until that, which is now dark, shall be in day; and much of that earthly crust, which still adheres to man, shall fall and crumble away, as his nature becomes elevated.

With this progress, it needs no aid from prophecy, none from revelation, to foretell that war, the greatest, yet remaining curse and shame of our race, shall retire to the same cave, where "Pope and Pagan" have retired, to be remembered only, with a mingled sentiment of disgust and wonder, like the war-feast of the savage; like the perpetual slavery of captives; like the pledge of revenge, in the scull-bowl of Odin; like the murder of orphans in Greece, and of gladiators, in Rome; like the witch-burnings, the Smithfield-fires, and St. Bartholomew-massacres, of modern times. At every new moral and intellectual height attained, man looks back on the darkness of the region below, with pity and astonishment, mingled with contempt. And future times shall look back upon the moral and intellectual state of man, at the present day, proud and boastful as we are, with the same sentiments and feelings, with which, in manhood, we look back on the petulance of infancy; and the weak and toyish wants and passions, which disturb the tranquillity of our childish years.

If these anticipations have any color of hope, amid the antique customs and throned population of Europe, how just and how bright are they, in this favored country, where God and nature combine to invite man to lay the foundations of a new and happy era, for our race! How does the moral, intellectual, and local condition of the United States combine to repress all the three causes, "which prepare and dispose states for war." First, by elevating and improving the condition of the people. Second, by restraining the ambition of rulers. Third, by rendering it easy, if we will, to expunge the entire class of "soldiers professed."

Never did a nation commence its existence, under auspices, so favorable, as did the United States. Other nations advanced slowly from the savage state, or from a state, worse than savage, that of professed robbers and plunderers. On the contrary, the United States, educated as colonies, under systems of liberty, as pure as elevated, and as practical, as the wit of man had ever devised, became, as it were, a nation in a day; without any of those wild excesses and bloody convulsions, which attended the foundation of other nations. Our citizens were, in fact, republicans, when they were, as yet, colonists. On assuming independence, they did little else than transfer the attributes of the monarch to the people; and provide the organs, by which the will of the new sovereign should be expressed.—Forms were changed. But their principles, their habits, their manners underwent no alteration. It is impossible not to perceive how admirably adapted our state of society is, for the cultivation of simplicity, true to nature, to reason and virtue, in all our purposes, and in all our institutions.

Even our militia system, although regarded by many zealous advocates for peace, as stimulating war, is, in fact, the most powerful means of preventing its recurrence. In the present condition of the world, a well appointed militia is unavoidable, in every state, which would escape the necessity of "a state of soldiery professed." The right to defend its own territories against actual invasion is the last which society can permit to be questioned. In such a state of moral sentiment, as at present exists among the nations of the earth, the possibility that a nation may be reduced to the necessity of resisting actual invasion is a reason, every where, for warlike preparations. As long as this possibility continues, those advocates for peace, weaken their own ground and narrow their own influence, who put

preparations by the militia on a level, in point of moral offence, with preparations by standing armies. In its true character, a militia is a military force, effectual to repel invasion, and effectual for nothing else.

Those, therefore, best consult the interests of the pacific system, who admit the necessity, in the present period of society, of preparations by a militia; thereby depriving the advocates of a standing army of all pretence, grounded on the apprehension of invasion; and yet, at the same time, adopting a mode of defence, safe for the liberties of the people, and inapplicable to every state of hostilities; except one; and that, beyond all doubt, the most unquestionable, in point of principle. The greatest advance to a condition of universal peace would be that, in which there were no "state of soldiers professed;" no arms, but in the hands of the people; and the authority to use them limited to the fact of actual invasion.

The local relations of the United States are, in the most extraordinary manner, adapted to limit and decrease the influence of all the causes of war. Our rulers are responsible to the people at short periods. The extent of our territory is such, that ages must elapse, before our numbers can exceed the productive powers of our soil to support. Of consequence, extreme poverty, which Lord Bacon calls "the hard means to live," will scarce, for ages, be the condition of any important portion of our citizens. With militia power, enough to make all fear of foreign invasion idle, we have territory enough to render all desire in us of foreign acquisition, little less than frantic. What then have we to do with a standing army? Of all nations, under heaven, the United States have the least apology for possessing even a shadow of such an institution. If any nation was, or ever can be safe, with a militia alone, that nation is the United States.

Such are the answers to the questions, relative to the auspices, which attended the foundation of your society, and the hopes, which accompany its progress.—They are neither few, in number; nor doubtful in type. They are as certain as the capacity of man for moral improvement; and as positive as the development of that capacity is unquestionable. Societies, like yours, are at once evidences of the fact, and instruments to ensure the fulfilment of the hope. They are the repositories of that moral and intellectual armory, which is destined to be the means under Providence, of breaking in pieces the sword, the spear and the battle-axe, and every other implement of war, in like manner as the rays of light and of truth, concentrated by the magic mirror of Cervantes, melted into air and dissipated, the dwarfs, the knights, the giants, the enchanters and battlements of ancient chivalry.

These means are as plain, as their tendency is noble. Whatever there is in the circumstances of the time, tending to make war less frequent, less probable, or more odious, on that seize; that analyze, display and enforce. Bring the principles, connected with those circumstances, home to men's business and bosoms; not by discoursing on the beauty of moral truth and on the bliss of a tranquil state, but by exhibiting those facts and relations existing among men, and between societies, which, if cherished and multiplied & strengthened, give rational grounds of belief that brighter and calmer days may be made to dawn and be perpetuated on our tempest-torn race.

The reasons of this belief, take with you into life. Carry them into the haunts of men, press them upon all, who guide and influence society. Make, if possible, a recognition of them a condition of political power. Above all, satisfy the people of their true interests. Show your fellow-citizens of this, and the men of every country, that war is a game ever played for the aggrandizement of the few, and for the impoverishment of the many; that those who play it voluntarily, do it always for selfish, never for public purposes; that war establishments are every where scions of despotism; that when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch; and never fail to finish by withering every branch, except their own.

Be not then discouraged, gentlemen.—True it is, yesterday's sad event has filled all our hearts with a deep sorrow. He, who at your last anniversary, on this occasion, in this place, and at this hour, was addressing you, now lies low in death.—Heaven has willed; and Gallison* is gone. His warm heart is cold. His mortal light is quenched. His pure example lives only in remembrance. He is gone; the pious, the excellent; the learned man; an ornament of our bar; a model for our youth; the delight of the aged; one of the choice hopes of our state; whom all honored, for his worth was at once solid and unobtrusive; whom none envied, for his acquisitions, though great and rare, were but the fair harvest of his talents, of his labor and his virtues.

Let not this Providence discourage.—Your brother has only taken early possession of the promise to the "pure in heart." He now "beholds his God." Could his

* John Gallison, Esq. who died on the 24th December, 1820.

spirit speak, it would be but to repeat to you the language of his Redeemer—"blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Like him make yourselves worthy of the hope, and heirs of the promise. Set before your eyes the glorious nature of the object, at which you aim. Absolute failure is impossible, because your purposes concur with all the suggestions of reason; all the indications of nature; all the testimony of history; and all the promises of religion. They are pure; elevated; divine. Your end is the honor and happiness of your race. Your means are the advancement of the moral and intellectual character of man.

What though the image you assail, be great; and the form thereof terrible; and its brightness dazzling? What though its head be of brass, and its arms & legs and body of iron? Its feet are but clay.—The stone, which is cut out of the mountain without hands, shall dash it in pieces; and shall, itself, become a great mountain, and cover the whole earth.

WORKING ON THE HIGHWAYS.

Worcester, (Mass.) June 13.

It is somewhat remarkable that mending the roads in this country should be nearly synonymous with making them impassable. People who have journeys to take, often hasten to accomplish them "before the roads are repaired." There must be some radical error in this business of repairing the roads; and we are inclined to think it consists in the system, generally followed, of allowing every man to work out, as the phrase is, his proportion of a large amount of taxes, and of bestowing the whole labor at once. At an earlier period of our history, when a small population was equally dispersed over a large extent of territory, the system was naturally adopted, and advantageously carried on. The laws on the subject were in conformity with the habits of the people. But in the present state of our community the necessity of the system ceases to exist. In this town, for example, two thirds, if not more, of the highway taxes are assessed upon individuals whose situation or employments do not permit them to work out their own taxes. Much of the labor, therefore, is done by men hired for the purpose, who, being allowed payment according to the time they are employed, are often more solicitous to pass that time pleasantly than they are about the condition in which the roads may be left. The consequence is, that much which is done, is done in so incomplete & slovenly a manner, that the last state of the road is worse than the first.

Another unavoidable evil of this system is, that a much greater amount of taxes is made necessary by it than the reparation of the roads would otherwise require.

So defective is the system, and so great the waste of money by its operation, that some portion of the community have abandoned it. The people of Northampton, as we understand, have for several years assessed and collected money for repairing the highways, in the same manner as they do moneys for other municipal purposes, and have contracted with individuals to keep the roads in good repair throughout the year. The advantages of this system were soon apparent; not only were the roads kept constantly in good order, but the expense at which this was effected was less than half that incurred under the former system.

To shew that this result is what may reasonably be expected wherever the experiment shall be tried, it may not be amiss to state that two men, with a cart and horse, employed during eight months of the year, are sufficient to keep in repair the whole Worcester turnpike, a distance of 36 miles. This is accomplished by repairing every defect as soon as it occurs; thereby not only preserving the road uniformly good during the whole season, but saving a vast expense which would be incurred every spring were the road repaired only once during the year.

We are aware that many prejudices are to be overcome before the present system of working upon the highways will be abandoned. The more, however, this subject shall be considered by reflecting men, the more apparent become the disadvantages attending the system. Should it be abandoned for that which we have endeavored to recommend, and which, in some places, has been tried with so much suc-