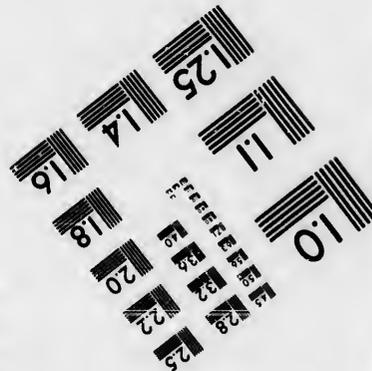
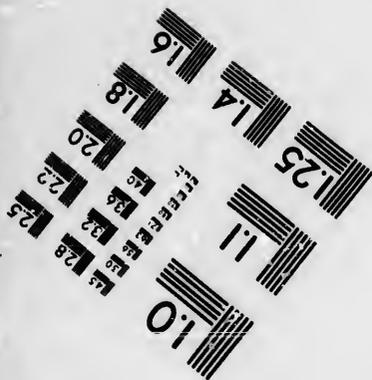
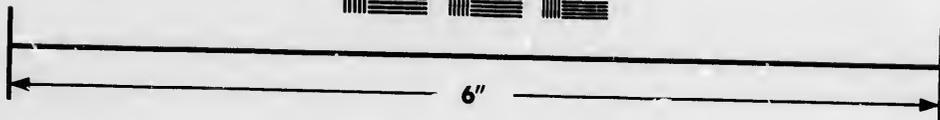
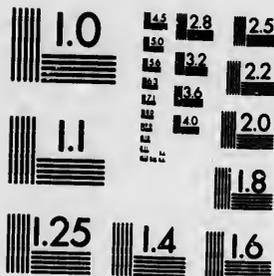


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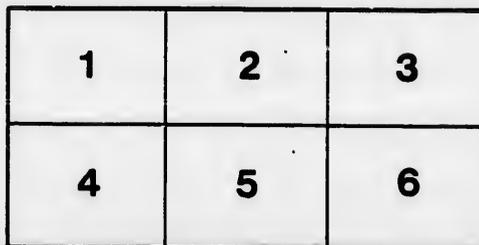
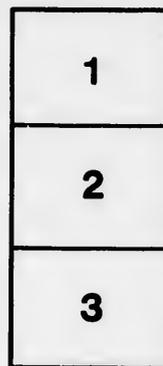
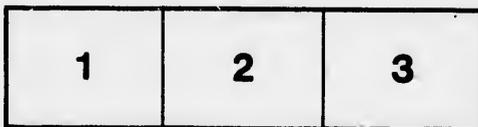
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10

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

F. C. H.

ABRIDGED BY THE
LIVERPOOL PEACE SOCIETY.

X

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth PEACE; Good will toward men. Luke II. 14.

Blessed are the peacemakers: For they shall be called the children of God.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, THOU SHALT NOT KILL; And whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without cause, shall be in danger of the judgment.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH: But I say unto you, that ye RESIST NOT EVIL.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR, and hate thine enemy; But I say unto you, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES. MATT. V.

THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF. Mar. XII., 31.

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also so to them. Matt. VII. 12.

Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. Rom. XII., 21.

Toronto:

PRINTED BY HUNTER, ROSE & CO., FOR ANDREW HAMILTON, YORKVILLE,
1870.

(From a late Report of the Liverpool Peace Society.)

"As usual, the committee commence their annual report with an abstract statement of principles. Wholly impregnable as they are believed to be in their truth, the extreme inconsistency of these principles with the practice of Christendom can only be accounted for on the ground of the prevalent impression that they are fanatical and impracticable in their nature. It is claimed that these characteristics are not fairly ascribed, except in so far as they are applicable also to Christianity itself, because of the perfection, and not of the fallacy, of the doctrines inculcated.

"The allegations of the Peace Party against war are that it is anti-Christian, illogical, and unmanly, and are thus supported.

"However noble may be the ruling motives which induce some soldiers to risk or sacrifice their lives in defence of the lives, liberty, and property of others; or, as more usually occurs, in blind obedience to the call of their country on any military service whatever; yet the relation of the best of them to the enemy whom they seek to kill is in direct opposition to the Christian precepts, "Love your enemies," "Do good to them that hate you," "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," "Overcome evil with good." War, therefore, in its relation to the enemy, is anti-Christian.

"Again, in the present day, war undertaken merely for conquest or the acquisition of power or territory is universally condemned, and some show of injury, sustained or threatened, is considered requisite to justify a resort to arms. Victory, however, always rewards the stronger or more skilful antagonist, and determines nothing in reference to the right. War, therefore, is only appropriate in the case for which it is reprobated, and is illogical where justice is at stake.

"Lastly, intelligence and love are the highest characteristics of humanity. That, therefore, is unmanly which degrades the mutual relations of rational beings to the exercise of brute force, and which arrays in murderous hostility to each other the children of the Universal Parent.

"The rigid immediate application of a perfect canon of mortality to a fallible and, at best, only progressive community, is doubtless impracticable, and the Peace party indulged no such fanatical project. But so long as the Church not only ignores the obligations of Christians to "follow peace with all men," but actually consecrates the banners and fosters the spirit of war; so long as statesmen can devise no expedient by which incorporated nations can participate in that simple initiatory process in the civilization of each—the substitution of common law for individual physical force; so long as it is deemed expedient that a special society should exist to uphold the standard which appears to have lapsed from its rightful supporters, and to advocate incessantly such approximations as events render practicable."

Christian Non-Resistance.

As events which have lately occurred have stimulated some minds to inquire into the definition, scope, and obligation of the principle briefly entitled Non-Resistance, and, since it is a subject always timely and highly important, I will contribute my mite towards the answering of these questions.

Self-defence not only seems, but *is*, a natural instinct and a natural right ; and the same may be asserted of the defence, not only of our friends and neighbours, but of every human being whom we see wronged, and have power to help ; and this is pre-eminently true of those whom Providence has specially placed under our guardianship. Nobody doubts, nobody ever questioned that it is a good and a right thing to avert injury from ourselves and others.

The question next arises—Am I to do this right and desirable thing, the averting of injury from myself or others, by the use of any means, indifferently ;—by the readiest and most convenient instrument, irrespective of all other considerations ?

If, travelling in a barbarous country, I am threatened with violence, may I lie to secure my escape ?

If my friend, arraigned under an unjust law, or on an erroneous charge, asks me to be his bail, may I, to do him this kindness, falsely swear myself possessed of the needful amount of property ? If my mercantile credit, dear to me as life, be imperilled by the want of money at a critical moment, may I resort to theft or forgery to avert this danger ?

If a case at law, involving both my personal reputation and the subsistence of my wife and children, is sure to be decided against me through the testimony of a particular witness, may I kill him ? May I even kidnap him, and keep him a prisoner ?

The consideration of cases like these will show us that there are some acts which may not be done even in self-defence ; and a little further reflection will make it plain, that since the rules of right and wrong, the principles of

morality and religion, remain quite undisturbed by our private exigency, such exigency does not at all release us from obedience to them ; and that, therefore, we are limited in self-defence, as in all the other transactions of our lives, to the use of means and instrumentalities that are *right*.

To say otherwise would be to reverse the verdict of the world and of our own consciousness, in some of the most honored examples that history has given us. It is universally allowed that Aristides did well to adhere to that justice which caused his banishment : that Socrates was wise in pursuing the very course which brought him to the fatal hemlock ; that Shadrach was right in refusing to worship the golden image, even in sight of the burning fiery furnace ; and that Luther did nobly in the persistent declaration, even when ruin seemed about to overwhelm him. "Here I stand ! I can do no other !"

Do *our* true wisdom and safety lie in any different path from that taken by these men ? Must not *we*, too, in any exigency which may befall us, find what measures of defence are permitted us by first asking—What is right ? I will assume it to be settled that we must do so.

The next question is—"How shall we ascertain what is right ?"

All sorts of different authorities are appealed to by different people on this subject. The Catholic will point you to "the church" for direction ; the Protestant, to the Bible ; one man, to the law of honor ; another, to public sentiment ; a third, to the law of the land ; and a fourth, to the "higher law," or the "inner light." Each man must necessarily decide this point for himself, since, before he can *follow* either of these rules, or any other, he must first have *chosen* that one, and rejected the rest.

I choose, as my rule, CHRISTIANITY ; by which I mean the rule of living which the LORD JESUS of Nazareth summed up in these two provisions ; to love GOD *with the whole heart*, and *our neighbour as ourselves*—defining our neighbour to be any one who is in need that we can relieve—illustrating the nature of love by showing that it should be *practical* in its operation, and should include even our enemies—further explaining that this love must have a constant and active energy in reforming the world, *overcoming* its evil, and overcoming it *with good*—and emphatically enjoining that all good shall be cherished and all evil overcome in each man's own heart and life, as well as in the world around him.

I choose this rule simply because it is the best that I can find, or conceive of. It seems to me perfect, adapted in the most thorough manner to secure the progressive improvement, the welfare, and thus the happiness, of the

human race. If, however, you choose a different rule, very likely you will disagree with my conclusions. What I am now concerned to show is, that my rule, (above stated,) the Christian rule, requires that the law of love should regulate our overcoming of evil as well as every other department of our action, and this equally, whether the evil in question is directed against ourselves or others. I trust that thus far the case is plain.

Here then are the laws which are to regulate our action against evil-doers, whether the thing assailed be our individual welfare, or the individual welfare of a 'neighbour,' or the general welfare of the community.

LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOUR AS YOURSELF !

LOVE EVEN YOUR ENEMIES !

OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD !

Let us make the application of these rules to a particular case.

Stealing is an evil and a crime unhappily too common in all communities. It is an injury to individuals, and an offence against society. Theft is one of the recognized evils which it is the duty and interest of us all to overcome. But it is to be overcome *with good*, not with evil.

A man who has lost property by theft sometimes knows the thief, and knows where *he* possesses property of equal value. Shall he steal that, and thus restore the disturbed equilibrium of property? This might compensate for the loss, but would it remove the evil? Is it a right method of proceeding?

Nobody will say so. Instead of removing the evil, it has doubled it. If one theft is an offence against good morals and the welfare of society, two thefts must be yet more so. This is not the proper mode of proceeding. Nobody uses it, nobody would justify it. On the contrary, it is the interest of the person robbed, and of the whole community, to pay a sacred regard to the laws of property, and to show, by their whole conduct, that they respect and scrupulously observe those rights which the thief has violated. Only thus can they justify themselves in complaining of him, and applying remedial measures to him, as a thief. If they show themselves dishonest in the very case in question, with what face can they accuse *him* of dishonesty?

What I wish to have noted here is the fact, that, in proceeding against the thief—(unhappily and unjustifiably the custom of the community is to proceed *against* him, instead of applying to him the law of love!)—we ourselves set the example of a faithful adherence to the laws of property, and do not

at all pretend that his prior commission of the offence in question justifies us in committing it.

Suppose, instead of a theft, that the offence committed is an assault. A man strikes me, wounds me ! Perhaps his aspect gives good reason for the supposition that he means to kill me ! What am I to do ? This man appears to be an enemy ! He certainly acts like one ! Under the circumstances, I must consider and treat him as an enemy.

What is the treatment in question, according to my rule, heretofore given ?
LOVE YOUR ENEMIES !

Again : he has done me a wrong. He has no right to kill, or to wound, or even to strike me. This is not brotherly treatment. Besides, who knows how far his enmity, or passion, may carry him ? This is clearly a case for self-defence !

Shall I kill him—wound him—strike him ?

What ! do to him the very thing which I censure in his conduct to me ? Perpetrate a second wrong by way of redressing the first ? Show that I am as ready to commit violence as he, when my supposed advantage requires it ?

Am I not, then, to defend myself at all ?

Yes ! self-defence is right, but let us not deceive ourselves by a wrong use of language. To kill, to wound, and to strike, are acts of offence even more than of defence. I will save myself from harm, if I can do so by any right means, but to strike the striker would be like stealing from the thief, a repetition of the wrong act, a casting out Satan by Satan.

Let us look again at the rule !

OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD !

I remember, too, that one of the Venerated Teachers who have written on this subject, as if in reply to the question whether the general rule admitted of any exception, gave his precept in this emphatic negative form, namely :

“ See that none render evil for evil to any man.”

My rule, then, the rule which I recognize as the best I can possibly conceive of, requires me to use none but *good* means, *right* means, to overcome evil.

If a calm and friendly aspect, an inquiry why such an assault is committed, and an appeal to reason and justice, without either passion or retaliation, will avail to calm the passion of my antagonist, and make him explain, apologize, and offer satisfaction, this is the best possible termination of the affair. **“ If**

he shall hear thee, *thou hast gained thy brother.*" I will by all means try this method first. It may be that I shall, by this simple and easy method, transform an enemy into a friend; a work which the whole police of the city, backed by the army and navy, could not accomplish. This, manifestly, is the *first* thing to be tried. Moreover, this would certainly be successful in a large number of cases which are now prolonged and made more bitter by violence and retaliation. Is it not true that "A soft answer turneth away wrath?" and also that "Grievous words stir up anger?"

In cases where this does not succeed, but where the violence of my assailant is continued or increased, I have to decide on the spot whether it will be better for me and my brother (I must try not to lose sight of his welfare, however regardless he may be of mine,) to bear with perfect quietness whatever his passion may inflict—in the hope that, when passion has subsided, he will see, repent of, and acknowledge his injustice—or to use my strength to restrain him without injuring him. If I adopt the former of these two methods, if I bear his insults and assaults with a patience manifestly proceeding not from fear or meanness of spirit, but from good-will to him, and conscientious self-control, and if this course produces the desired effect, and he comes to me on the morrow to acknowledge his fault and to offer reparation, this is the second best possible termination of the affair. Again, I shall have *gained my brother!* And that man will be, ever after, more likely to befriend me, and more likely to control himself, than if I had returned his injurious treatment. Moreover, as in the case before supposed, I am sure that this method would succeed in a certain proportion of cases. God's arrangement for mankind is, that wrong-doing should breed self-reproach, and that this should tend to confession and amendment. I will trust to God's arrangement!

On the other hand, if my bodily strength is sufficient, and I judge it best to use *that* in self-defence—grasping my opponent, and, without injuring him, holding him so that he cannot injure me—this method also is at my option. The right of self-defence is unquestionable, and circumstances may show this to be the best way of using it. And if, while I thus prove to my opponent my physical superiority, my language and demeanor, manly and yet friendly, can show him his fault, and make him sincerely regret it, this is the third best possible termination of the affair. Again, I have gained my brother.

Suppose, finally, that all these methods fail to preserve me, as they all sometimes will fail; for Non-Resistance must often receive the cross before

the crown, and triumph only through suffering, and the followers of JESUS and Paul, in this heavenly path, will still sometimes meet with foes as powerful and unrelenting as theirs ; if all these resources fail, and I am killed on the spot, what then ? Have I erred, have I acted foolishly, have I thrown my life away by refraining from the return of injurious violence upon my adversary ? I do not think so ; but let us deliberately look at it, and see the balance of advantage and disadvantage.

For me, the most important thing in the whole world is to be in the right ! I have certain duties to wife, children, friends, enemies, and society, which are to be attended to *in their turn* ; but my first and most essential duty is to keep my own heart and life in conformity with the great law of God, which I have above described as Christianity. This law, as I have said, prescribes love as the invariable rule and motive of action ; it requires, generally, the avoidance of injury to others, and requires particularly and emphatically the avoidance of injury to *enemies*. Even if I die in carrying out this rule, I have gained the first and most important point, and I die in the path of duty, leaving behind me a noble, not a shameful, example.

In the next place, this duty to myself precisely coincides with my duty to the enemy with whom I am immediately concerned. He is one who eminently needs precisely this lesson, the knowledge that there is such a thing as a practical recognition of duty as more important than bodily safety, or even the continuance of this mortal life. If he has held the opinion attributed to Satan—"All that a man hath will he give for his life,"—he has now seen his mistake. If he has formerly heard me express allegiance to the principle of Christian love for all men, even for enemies, or if he has known that I try to live in accordance with it, he now knows this allegiance to be real, not assumed. He has put himself more than ever in the wrong. He can hardly fail to see that I have been wholly in the right. If these circumstances make so deep an impression as to convict him of sin, to show him the path of duty, and to lead him heartily to embrace it, again I have *gained my brother*. This certainly is worth dying for.

If this best result does not happen, still I have faithfully adhered to my own principles, and have left on record this testimony, the strongest I could possibly give in favor of the Christian rule, that I choose to die rather than violate it.

Now let us look at the other supposition.

If I save my own life by killing my *assailant* ! In the first place I sacrifice

my rule, the great, glorious, divine rule of love. I desert my colours! I violate, for my mere bodily safety, the great principle which I have upheld and praised as immeasurably more important than bodily safety or temporal interests of any kind. This position is neither a pleasant nor a satisfactory one.

In the next place, neither is it satisfactory to say, as my explanation of the transaction to the public, and to other individuals concerned—"I killed him because he was so wicked as to try to kill me!" If the mere attempt to kill me showed wickedness in him, what character does the actual killing of him show in me?

In the third place, I have taken the responsibility, merely to protect my bodily and temporal interests, of violently thrusting my brother out of the sphere of action in which our Father had placed him, out of the reach of those influences and that moral discipline which God has plainly designed for the treatment and development of men in this stage of their existence. Who am I, that I should expel my brother from the school where our Father placed us both? It is for the Power that placed us here to decide how long we shall remain! I have rashly and wrongfully assumed an authority which was never committed to me!

Finally, let us look at the consequences, the carrying out into other particulars, of the principle upon which I have acted. If homicide is unjustifiable only when wanton and entirely unprovoked, and if some sorts of provocation shall be deemed to justify it, where shall the line be drawn? If I may commit it to save my life, may I also commit it to save my character—my reputation—my fortune—the interests of my political party—the interests of my religious sect? If for my individual life this act may be done, may it not be done to help forward a great principle?—the cause of God—the cause of humanity—the cause of Protestantism—the cause of liberty—may I not, for the sake of such great interests as these, destroy him who imperils them. If I can cut short a pernicious career by sudden execution, may I not do it? If I may do it by club, or sword, or pistol, may I not do it by poison?

There is no end to these questions! No end to the supposition of cases in which great good may be done if we are to be allowed to do it by violent and evil means. The only way is to say to such insinuations—"Get thee behind me, Satan!" The only way is utterly, positively and invariably to refuse to do evil, with whatever plausibility it be offered to us as the means of accomplishing good!

The right to life is one of the *inalienable* rights of man.

Just as the slaveholder's claim of property in a black man is shown to be absurd and ridiculous by the fact that the black man's hands, and feet, and head, having been born parts of him, *necessarily* belong to him, and cannot *possibly* become the property of another rather than of himself—so the claim of a right to take the life of a man, whether made by the community or by another individual, becomes absurd and preposterous in view of the fact that God gave him his life, and that the taking of it by another is a presumptuous interference with God's appointment and God's prerogative. No man has, or can possibly acquire, the right to take the life of another.

But the Christian doctrine of love goes further than this. No man has, or can possibly acquire, the right to *injure* another. To prevent or repel injury, by uninjurious means, is our right and our duty ; but we are not to cast out Satan by Satan ; the history of the world overflows with evidences of the *folly* of attempting this ; gaining, sometimes, a temporary and partial measure of success, it always fails in the long run. But even success is not the measure of duty ; and the Christian rule stamps intentional injury as invariably wrong ; our overcoming of evil is to be, *invariably*, an overcoming *with good* !

I am aware, however, that the inquiries which I am attempting to answer may have a benevolent, not a selfish object. In making these inquiries, one may not be thinking mainly of his individual safety, but of the extent to which he may proceed in helping the weak and oppressed. I must therefore make particular reference to the case of the defence of others, who have general or special claims upon me.

Besides the general obligation which rests upon me to love all men, and to help such needy ones as I can help, I have certain special obligations. My wife and my children have particular and emphatic claims to protection from all injury that I can avert. What effect is my Non-Resistance to have upon the protection of these. Will their necessities, their danger or suffering, be good ground for a modification of, or an exception to, or a temporary departure from, my Christian principles ?

Let me test this matter by proceeding at once to the strongest possible case, an injury threatened to my wife,—my dearer and better self, to whose protection I am bound even more by present love than by the long-standing compact under which I promised her protection.

Of Course, *all I can do* shall be done for her safety. My strength, my

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life, shall interpose between her and harm, and he who would assail her must pass over my body. It is the duty of us both to *suffer* wrong rather than *do* wrong, but I, as the stronger, choose to take upon myself the suffering for both. I shall meet the violence of the assailant as I did in the former case, but, while my life lasts, the assault must be made upon me, not upon my wife. She is to be safe while I live. So far all is plain. But may I, fearing lest the sacrifice of my life be not sufficient to avert the threatened injury, may I proceed to kill the assailant? doing for my wife what I am conscious that the Christian law forbids me to do for myself! committing an injury to prevent the commission of an injury!

I have said above that the rules of right and wrong, the principles of morality and religion, remain quite undisturbed by our private exigency, and that such exigency does not at all release us from obedience to them. I have said, further, that the Christian rule of love to all, even the injurer—and of invariable abstinence from injury on our own part—and of the use of good only, never of evil, in the work of overcoming evil—is the best rule I know, or can possibly conceive of. And, finally, I have admitted that this rule, though best, incomparably best, on the whole, does not in all cases secure the bodily safety of him who practises it.

It would seem that the question is already answered. Shall I demand, in the case of my wife, a different rule of action from that which God has appointed for the whole human race, which he has appointed because it is the best possible rule, and which I myself have recognized as the best possible rule, both for the whole and for every individual?

My wife and I constitute (perhaps) one five-hundred-millionth part of the human race. No possible injury can be threatened to, or inflicted upon us, which was not recognized and contemplated in that system by which God governs the race, and in that system also by which He has appointed that they shall govern themselves, namely the Christian system. No possible injury can be inflicted upon us which has not already been inflicted in thousands of other instances, without occasioning, or requiring, any change in the rule. Who are we, that we should rebel against it? Who are we, that we should demand to be better protected, more thoroughly cared for, than the rest of mankind? that we should demand a better destiny than that afforded us in God's world, and under his laws?

Is there not a sound, a just, a grand meaning in that saying of THE GREAT

TEACHER, that a man may lose his life by saving it, and may save his life by losing it ?

To me it seems plain that the true safety and interest both of me and my wife, lie in placing ourselves, and in keeping ourselves, in conformity and co-operation with this great Christian law, and in trusting the consequences of such conformity to Him who made the law.

But it is not merely the 'higher law' which points in this direction. Let me descend to the region where my opponents in this debate have (as they think), their strong hold, the ground of present success and bodily safety, and see if they have that realm wholly on their side.

What says the voice of History ? What says the applause of men in regard to those who have disdained to purchase the bodily safety and temporal interests of their nearest and dearest by a violation of duty ? What made Mrs. Hemans select for the subject of her beautiful dramatic poem (The Siege of Valencia) one of two instances which the history of Spain records, in which a Christian knight refused to surrender the city which had been given him to defend, even when the Moorish besiegers made the lives of his captive children the price of his fidelity ? Was it not because men had honored his fidelity as glorious even at the cost of such a sacrifice ? What made Miss Edgeworth describe the wife of Vivian as saying—when he had abandoned his principles and his honor to regain her lost fortune—'And you *did* consider me ? And that *did* weigh with you ? Oh, that is what I dreaded most !' cried Lady Sarah,—'When will you know my real character ? When will you have confidence in your wife ? What pain can be so great to me as the thought of my husband's reputation suffering abasement ?'

My wife is not less noble in soul than Vivian's. She, too, would scorn to be protected at the sacrifice of my principles—of the rule of right—of the law which our common Father, having made for all His children, must be supposed to have intended for her also. We will together take the risk of abiding by that law.

To glance at the results of the opposite course of action—would that course absolutely insure us success ? Does violence in defence always conquer violence in offence ? Do they that take the sword for what are called good reasons—that is, because they are assailed—never perish by the sword ?

To sum up, then, what a Christian, one who believes in, and endeavours to live by, the great law of love,—is to do when assailed by violence and injury. He is first, above all, to *keep himself in the right*. He is to accomplish what

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good he can by right means ; to leave undone for the present all that he cannot do by right means, and to bear with fortitude, and without losing the spirit of love, or departing from the manifestation of love, whatever evil may befall him.

Extract from the 64th Annual Report (for 1868), of the British and Foreign Bible Society :—

The Evangelical Society has four Colporteurs at work in winter—two at their own expense, and two in the French parishes on the Bernese Jura, at the expense of the Bible Society of Geneva. Like most of the Colporteurs of the Swiss Societies, they are half Evangelists. Their success is always considerable.

As these Societies draw their supplies almost exclusively from us, I follow with interest our books as they pass through the hands of the Colporteurs into the houses of the people, and I think we are justified in looking with more than a general interest at the experiences of their men. I have therefore given the following incidents related by the Secretary, but which have not appeared in print :—

“ In a village in the mountains, Bernese Jura, two Colporteur Evangelists were five years ago brutally beaten and driven away. They were strong men, but offered no resistance. They refused to prosecute the men who had illused them ; but the Protestant Pastor took the matter up, and a small fine was inflicted, the Burgomaster sympathising evidently with the men he was obliged to punish. This spring the same men visited the village again. They found all changed. The landlady of the inn recognised them and overwhelmed them with kindness. She told them that not one of those who had maltreated them was now alive, and that not one of them had died a natural death. Be it as it may, the villagers connected their fate with their conduct to the Colporteurs, and these latter found now an open door and susceptible hearts.”

A second case :—“ One of the Berne Colporteurs entered a three-storied house in which, according to the custom of the country, three different families lived. He began with the highest story, and sold copies in this and in the next. On enquiring about the family on the ground floor, he was warned not to enter, but he entered nevertheless. He found both the man and his wife at home. He offered his Bibles : his offer was replied to with abuse and a positive order to leave the house instantaneously ; he however stayed, urging them to buy and read God's Holy Word. Then the man rose in a violent rage and struck him a severe blow on the cheek. Up to this moment the Colporteur had stood quietly with his knapsack on his back. He now deliberately unstrapped it, laid it on the table, and turned up the sleeve of his right arm, all the while steadily looking his opponent in the face. The Colporteur was a very strong man. Addressing his opponent, he said, “ Look at my hand, its furrows show that I have worked : feel my muscles, they show that I am fit for any work. Look me straight in the face ;

do I quail before you? Judge then for yourself if it is fear that moves me to do what I am about to do. In this book my Master says,—When they smite you on one cheek, turn to them the other also. You have smitten me on one cheek, here is the other Smite! I will not return the blow." The man was thunder-struck. He did not smite, but he bought the book, which under the influence of God's Spirit, works such marvels in the human heart."

ANECDOTE OF WILLIAM LADD.

[From Spear's Essays on the Punishment of Death.]

The following anecdote is one of the best we have ever seen. MR. LADD was often requested to permit it to be published before his death, but he said he preferred to keep it as his best. Since his decease, MR. SAMUEL E. COUES, his friend and associate in the great Peace enterprise, has given it to the world. There would be few quarrels, if all were governed by the principle developed in this admirable anecdote.

"It was not mere good nature, but the adoption of the peace principles, which made him thus gentle-hearted. A story, which he often told with peculiar relish, will illustrate the moulding of his character—the gradual progress of his mind in adopting the peace principles. 'I had,' said he, 'a fine field of grain, growing upon an out-farm, some distance from the homestead. Whenever I rode by, I saw my neighbor Pulsifer's sheep in the lot, destroying my hopes of a harvest. These sheep were of the gaunt, long-legged kind, active as spaniels; they could spring over the highest fence, and no wall could keep them out. I complained to neighbor Pulsifer about them, sent him frequent messages, but all without avail. Perhaps they would be kept out for a day or two, but the legs of his sheep were long, and my grain rather more tempting than the adjoining pasture. I rode by again—the sheep were all there; I became angry, and told my men to set the dogs on them, and if that would not do, I would pay them if they would shoot them.

"I rode away much agitated; for I was not so much of a peace man then as I am now, and I felt, literally, full of fight. All at once a light flashed in upon me. I asked myself, would it not be well for you to try, in your own conduct, the peace principles you are preaching to others? I thought it all over, and settled down my mind as to the best course to be pursued.

"The next day I rode over to see neighbor Pulsifer. I found him chopping wood at his door. 'Good morning, neighbor.' No answer. 'Good morning,' I repeated. He gave a kind of grunt, like a hog, without looking up. 'I came,' continued I, 'to see you about the sheep.' At this he threw down his axe, and exclaimed in a

most angry manner, 'Now, a'n't you a pretty neighbor, to tell your men to kill my sheep! I heard of it;—a rich man like you to shoot a poor man's sheep!'

"'I was wrong, neighbor,' said I,—'but it won't do to let your sheep eat up all that grain; so I came over to say that I would take your sheep to my homestead pasture, and put them in with mine; and in the fall you may take them back, and if any one is missing, you may take your pick out of my whole flock.'

"Pulsifer looked confounded; he did not know how to take me. At last he stammered out, 'Now, Squire, are you in earnest?' 'Certainly I am,' I answered; 'it is better for me to feed your sheep in my pasture on grass, than to feed them here on grain; and I see the fence can't keep them out.'

"After a moment's silence—'The sheep shan't trouble you any more,' exclaimed Pulsifer; 'I will fetter them all. But I'll let you know that when any man talks of shooting, I can shoot to; and when they are kind and neighborly, I can be kind too.' The sheep never again trespassed on my lot.

"'And, my friends,' he continued, addressing the audience, 'remember that when you talk of injuring your neighbors, they talk of injuring you. When nations threaten to fight, other nations will be ready too. Love will beget love—a wish to be at peace will keep you in peace. You can only overcome evil with good—there is no other way.'"

SUMMARY OF THE LOSSES BY RECENT WARS.

From "Contemporary Wars," by M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu.

I.—LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE.

Number of men who were slain on the field of battle, or who died through wounds and disease :—

	Killed by War.
Crimean War	784,991
Italian War (1859)	45,000
War of Schleswig Holstein	3,500
American Civil War—	
Northern Army	281,000
Southern Army	519,000
War of 1866, between Prussia, Austria and Italy ...	45,000
Distant expeditions and various wars, Mexico, Cochin China, Morocco, St. Domingo, Paraguay, &c.	65,000
Total	1,743,491

HERE IS A TOTAL OF ABOUT 1,750,000 MEN SWEEPED OFF BY WAR FROM

WAR AGAINST WAR.

From *The Herald of Peace* of April 1st, 1870, published under the auspices of THE PEACE SOCIETY. Office, No. 19, New Broad Street, London, E. C. Quarto, monthly, price 2d, or by post, 3d. Henry Richard, M.P., Secretary. The Peace Society was formed in the year 1816. Its object is to counteract the spirit, and to abolish (if possible) the practice of war.

"The following able paper, by M. FREDERIC PASSY, the Secretary of the Paris League of Peace, forms the introduction to an interesting collection of extracts from the speeches and writings of many eminent men, in favour of Peace. Its vigour and impressiveness will make it acceptable to many in this country, and we have therefore translated it for the pages of the *Herald*."

"These words, inscribed as the title of a popular work ('*Guerre à la Guerre*,' by M. A. Larrien), are a speech in themselves; they constitute a sure indication of a new condition of public feeling and thought.

"It would formerly have been deemed little short of madness to enter upon a public opposition to war; now it would be considered still greater folly to undertake its advocacy. Formerly, even amongst the most civilized people, war was regarded as the foremost, the noblest, and the most natural employment of human energy; but now, wherever there is any pretension to a condition superior to barbarism, it is only sanctioned as a sad necessity, which must occasionally be submitted to, but of which no one cares to assume the responsibility. Formerly, in short, war was deified, now it is anathematised. A great conqueror used to be called a hero; the days are coming when he will be branded as a curse.

"Many and various are the causes which have contributed to this great change.

"Formerly it was not customary to estimate costs and expense. 'War,' it used to be said, 'is not a business;' but now men have begun to take account. They have cast up their bill of 'glory,' and have discovered that it was a bill of insolvency.

"Inquiries are now raised respecting the real advantages, even under the most favorable circumstances, of what is conventionally termed a *successful* war. Attention is being awakened to the certain, necessary, and absolutely inevitable costliness of all war whatsoever, whether successful or unsuccessful. We are giving some thought to the number of men killed, the diminution of population, the obstacles to industry, the losses of property and the destruction of harvests, plantations, and public buildings involved by war. We are, at length, pondering over the statistics of the taxes and financial burdens borne by past generations in order to carry on contests which were so destructive to themselves; and to those past taxes we have to add the heavy imposts which the present and long future generations must continue to endure for the discharge of the inexhaustible demands of those debts of blood. And the result of all our investigations and calculations demonstrates that, of all the sources of misery and suffering

which afflict humanity, there is none so actively and inevitably fatal as war.

"Our ancestors were, unfortunately, very ignorant of the circumstances of other nations, and hence were accustomed to depict their neighbours in the darkest colours. A *foreigner* was regarded as being necessarily a rival, and even a natural enemy. The chief and avowed object of political action was to promote self-interest at the expense of other countries. But races are now becoming better acquainted with one another. We have discovered that a man is a man whatever may be his language and the denomination conferred upon him by the circumstances of his birth. Nations are becoming increasingly united by links of commerce, science and intermarriage, and are experiencing as a fact that the world is not an object of prey to be fought for, but a common patrimony for mutual possession and improvement. The minds as well as the persons of men are being brought into closer mutual contact; barriers of separation are falling; intercourse and union are rapidly extending; and the entire globe, thanks, under God, to steam and electricity, is becoming a vast network, the meshes of which, everywhere interwoven, cannot henceforth be broken in one part without general suffering.

"*War used to be a duel*; a frightful one, but yet grand and attractive. The combatants knew and appreciated those with whom they fought. Courage, perseverance, physical strength, and the union of intelligence with foresight still availed much, whatever might be the risks as to success or defeat. Man was still something, even among the most fearful onslaughts of brute force. He felt that it was so, and he was proud of it. But, in our own day, science has advanced, and has brought to perfection not only the arts of production, but those of slaughter. She has reduced war, almost suddenly, to a mere mechanical operation. '*It is scientific butchery!*' as a contemporary writer has energetically exclaimed. (M. Gueroult, in his remarkable article on 'the Utopianism of Peace,' in the *Opinion Nationale*.)

"We now make use of *killing-machines*. We deliver to them men, the flower of our youth, and they give them back to us corpses. Under these conditions, the interest of conflict, and almost all conflict itself, disappears. We have but huge executions, characterized by horror alone. The soldier, the officer, the general, are now no more, literally, than *flesh for cannon*. Thought and feeling revolt with disgust in face of these vast and stupid butcheries.

"Further, and in consequence of many influences, *the conviction of human fraternity has made progress*. Formerly it was limited to the frontiers of one's own country, but now it has passed those bounds, and nations are felt to be included in the obligations which used to be deemed only binding on individuals. It is being admitted that, after all, there are not two codes of morality, one for individuals and another for communities, but that human societies, like their members, are subject to obligations of mutual consideration and respect. The conviction has gained ground that robbery and murder do not change their nature by a change of scale or of name, and that if a man who lies in wait for another, by the wayside, to attack him, is an assassin and a thief, so likewise a hundred thousand armed men, who invade an unoffending country to massacre or take captive its inhabitants, are, whether they so regard it or not, only brigands on a large scale.

"And just as a family possessing a lively sense of honour feels that honour compromised when a member of it, in order to advance his position or his fortune, takes part in one of those adventures which are never free from the suspicion of dishonest dealings with other men's property, so, in like manner, communities which cherish a delicate feeling of national honour are conscious of their patriotic feelings being wounded when any real or apparent aggrandisement of their country's wealth, power or territory is obtained as the price of violence or tyranny. 'I am an Englishman,' once exclaimed an eminent speaker in the British Parliament, Mr. Roebuck, on the occasion of the outrages committed in India, 'I am an Englishman, but there are some things greater and more sacred, in my estimation, than the greatness of England, and amongst those things I place the progress of the human race.'

"The feeling thus expressed is, thanks to God, no longer the privilege of any one race. It is the feeling entertained by all who, throughout the globe, constitute the *élite*, and, as we may say, the advanced-guard of mankind. By this *élite* war is condemned. It is pre-eminently the enemy and obstacle to progress, the source of hatred, the cause of slaughter, the agent of demoralization, and the inexhaustible source of disease and misery.

"*War is condemned, but it is not yet suppressed.* It is detested, protested against and scorned; nevertheless it is submitted to, and too often, alas! with resignation. We hope that it may disappear, and yet are not quite sure that our hope may not be a rash one! Yes, we actually hesitate too often respecting the propriety of avowing the hope boldly. A certain mischievous word, the word *Utopia*, ever powerful, in spite of the innumerable humiliations which every day inflicts upon it, by the realization of something deemed impossible the preceding evening, continues to press with all its force upon those worthy people who fear above all things the epithet 'chimerical.' Hence the campaign against war continues to be regarded by so large a number as one of those well-intentioned undertakings which *practical* men willingly relinquish to *Quixotic* enthusiasts. This prejudice must be got rid of, and there is only one way to do it, to attack those whom it enthralles through their own weakness. It is to show them who are the real champions of this struggle which they shrink from, and upon what grounds, under what auspices, with what authority, and with what source of confidence those who sustain it have entered upon it, and feel themselves warranted in anticipating eventual success. 'Be bold!' said a minister once to some reformers, who solicited his open advocacy of their cause, 'Be bold, and we will join you!' And similarly, a multitude of *secret* friends are exclaiming to us daily, 'Prove that you can be successful, and that we may safely avow our sympathies with you!' However, be this as it may, our ranks continue to increase, and our issue of peace publications is being well maintained.

"In the first part of our peace series we treated of the subject of war in its several aspects. We showed the immense cost involved by the foolish and unproductive strifes of nations, their consequences and results. We proved that, by an inevitable and fatal connection, slaughter produces evil, as hate perpetuates hatred, and that famine and disease are the certain accompaniments of war. We ex-

amined the influence of modern armaments as regards possible collisions in the future, and demonstrated the importance, both in the interests of internal and foreign security, of immediately abandoning the aggressive system which has been so fatally prevalent amongst all nations, for a system truly defensive, and exempt alike from its dangers and its expenses.

“ ‘*Who are you?*’ is the inevitable question of those to whom it is insinuated that their principles are not those of ideal perfection. ‘*Who are you* who undertake so boldly to arraign the experience of all mankind, and who imagine that you may repudiate that which custom, tradition and necessity have consecrated?’ ‘Where is your title, your precedent, your authority?’

“ ‘*Who are we?*’ We are the whole body of those who calculate and deliberate, and of those whose names carry weight in the material, moral, religious, scientific, and even military traditions of mankind. We are the witnesses of the past and the precursors of the future. With us is the voice of wisdom and experience, the testimony of all who have lived, thought, felt and suffered, of all who have enlightened mankind, as well as of those who misled them. Divided as to all other matters, but united on this point, listen to that which, from the depths of our tombs, and from the height of our renown, we cry, as with one voice, to the human race. Listen to those of your contemporaries and of your ancestors, more illustrious than yourselves, to deliver to all who are attentive to this solemn charge, which is already beginning to meet its echo in every language and in every region—‘*War against War!*’

“Yes, war against war, whose very conquerors themselves have proved it to be vanity, and whose horrors have been proclaimed by every system of philosophy and religion. *It kills not only the body but the soul*; it devours, enslaves, spoils and degrades.

“Inflamed with perpetual hostility to industry, wealth, and to human life itself, it converts the choicest results of labor to ashes, and changes the finest of mankind into mere beasts of prey.

“War recognizes neither family ties, liberty nor friendship; it commands neighbour to plunder neighbour, and relative to massacre relative, and even compels the lover to set in flames the roof which shelters his betrothed.

“Surrounding governments and nations with the withering grasp of excessive taxation and restriction, it leads them, in turn, from anarchy to despotism, and from despotism to anarchy, and bathes the very soil of once happy regions in blood and tears.

“War, in short, involves in its train every form of calamity, of suffering, and of absurdity; it steals the plough from the field, the mechanic from the workshop, and the child from its mother, and is, in fact (to quote from a passage contained in another part of this volume) *the continuation, on a grand scale, of the abominable crime of Cain.*

“Then, once more, let us proclaim war against war; for its riddance is the first essential of the era of light and liberty for which the world is longing, an era which has only been rendered impossible hitherto by a want of faith in its attainment.

“‘If men were philosophers,’ said General Hoche to one of his lieutenants, ‘they would not fight.’ ‘If my soldiers reflected,’ had previously exclaimed another warrior, Frederic II., King of Prussia, ‘not

one of them would fight.' 'When a smith possesses pinchers, he does not amuse himself by grasping the red-hot iron with his fingers,' were the words of another monarch, long ago, when a chivalrous enemy proposed to him the settlement of a quarrel by single combat.

"Men have hardly as yet become philosophers; and if by philosophy we are to understand wisdom, habitual and complete, it is much to be feared that they will never, as a multitude, become worthy of the name. But they are beginning to reflect, and, what is more, they are beginning to possess the power, by means of the suffrage, of carrying out into action the fruits of their reflections; and it is scarcely probable that they will much longer cheerfully resign themselves to play the part of mere pinchers.

"Whilst these lines are being penned, an important election is taking place in a country which has had the privilege of weighing and solving the first of many great problems, and it is upon the very question of peace that one of the candidates, our excellent friend, Mr. Henry Richard, bases an appeal to a large constituency. His name is a symbol and a standard, the standard of *war with war*. An address which he has issued to the electors bears this suggestive title, '*The Cost of War*.' From that document, which we have appended in full to the present work, we merely quote, at present, one paragraph:— 'The total expenditure on account of past and present military and naval operations, of Great Britain, in the year 1868, is exactly *one hundred guineas* per minute, day and night, throughout the year.' One hundred guineas, two thousand five hundred francs, per minute, is the cost of war amongst our neighbours; it is as much, and more, amongst ourselves; and, in proportion, it is as much, or even greater in other nations! What floods of exhausting perspiration, and even blood, must this enormous exaction be wringing from the bruised flesh and palpitating veins of poor mankind! How many hearths without fire, children without clothing, and mouths without food, does it represent!

"Truly, men must be fools, and worse than fools, if, *knowing these things*, they do not rise everywhere, as in a body, against this insatiable devourer, whose very repose is murderous, and which, as has been remarked, consumes as much whilst ruminating as whilst feeding. Men will deserve all the calamities and burdens of war if, when they possess the power of legally and peaceably, but irresistibly, making their will known and respected, they shall hesitate to proclaim it; if, wearied with barren strifes, interminable agitations and purposeless divisions, they do not unite, once for all, in the holy and beneficent *Crusade of Peace*; and if, finally, from every electoral urn, as from every thoughtful head and every feeling heart, there do not issue a voice, as of a thunder-peal, before which every obstacle shall give way. 'The age of cannibalism is past; it is ours not to kill, but to live; and, WAR SHALL BE ABOLISHED!'"

FROM "BRITISH WAR HISTORY DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY."

By WILLIAM STOKES, Manchester.

But for the huge expenses of that gratuitous display of military skill,

it is extremely probable that the invidious 'income tax' would have undergone a considerable reduction. And it would have been but fair to the public at large had this been the case; for when first imposed in 1842, by the late Sir Robert Peel, he stated in the House of Commons that though "it might be required for five years, yet he would propose a continuation for three years only." Twenty-seven years have passed since that tax first drew money from the pockets of numbers who could ill afford to meet the demand made upon their too narrow incomes, and whose families have suffered year by year throughout this long period in consequence of their diminished resources. Yet the tax continues with all the tenacity of a financial leech, and after extracting from the national industry no less than £175,000,000, it remains the sad memento of *our guilty conflicts in "India, China and Syria,"* and supplies another *proof of the folly and sin in wasting our wealth in distant wars.* Yet, as Divine Government is inseparable from righteous compensations, it may be that an 'income tax' of £6,900,000, in 1868, is the penalty due to the thoughtless admiration of war, in which so many of the British people have too long indulged.

"Here the period properly terminates. Not so, however, the lessons of which it has been a main purpose of these papers to teach. These remain to be reviewed, and, if possible, to be re-enforced by whatever considerations of sound policy and national wisdom the era itself supplies.

"And, 1st, It has been a period of heavy debt and an inexorable taxation. It is highly probable that no nation in any age of the world ever spent so much of the people's money on war, or contracted so heavy a debt for war purposes, as various British governments have done during the present century. In these respects we stand alone in the world, and merit the title of THE SPENDTHRIFT NATION. Our Saxon industry and enterprise to which the world at large can furnish no parallel, with the one modern exception of the United States of America, have accumulated a capital such as mankind never witnessed before. Yet vast as that wealth and capital have been, the universe has never seen a national debt so huge, so heavy, so frightful as that of Great Britain! And for what has that debt been contracted? For civil government? For education? For the relief of the poor? For none of these, but for war; cruel, guilty war. The century commenced with a national debt of £451,699,919. In 1868, including terminable annuities (£47,930,222), it stood at £797,031,650. Increase throughout the period, £345,331,731; and during the present reign the addition to the debt has been £7,453,930. Taxation especially for war interests, has been correspondingly large, as the following comparisons will show:—

	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
" In Prussia, they spend 26 on War forces, 17 on Debt, 57 on State.			
" Russia, " 34 " 12 " 54 "			
" Spain, " 25 " 18 " 57 "			
" Portugal, " 26 " 23 " 51 "			
" Austria, " 29 " 27 " 44 "			
" France, " 26 " 31 " 43 "			
" Gt. BRITAIN " 43 " 42 " 15 "			

"This statement proves that while six important European States

expend on an average 51 per cent per annum of their national income on civil government, which is the only legitimate object of financial outlay, England expends but 15 per cent for the same object, or less than one-third of theirs. The comparison is equally humiliating with regard to war and debt. The average per annum for those six States for these purposes is 49 per cent, while that of England is not less than 85. There is no similar war extravagance in the known world. Even China—though but imperfectly civilized, manages the Government of 360 millions of mankind with about sixty millions of revenue—that is about 3s. 4d. *per head*, per annum—but we, with our superior enlightenment, contrive to extract from the industry of the people no less a sum than £2 5s *per head* for precisely the same work. It is only fair to ask is extravagance a *Christian* virtue, and economy but a *Pagan* vice? Possibly this enquiry may shortly be urged home upon British officials more closely than has been the case during the present century.

“2nd. The period has been remarkable for annexations and enlargement of empire on a most extended scale. No other nation upon earth with the sole exception of Russia, has evinced such a “lust of dominion” as the British nation has done; and calm lookers-on can hardly persuade themselves that a ruling party among the English are not bent on universal empire. Whether this be so or not, one thing is unquestionable, which is, that scarcely an opportunity has been lost for adding to territories already too extensive and too remote for safe and successful government. One very questionable result of this ambition has been an *apparent* necessity for large warlike forces, whose appointed work is understood to be to *keep down* the discontent which that very ambition has produced. But another and a far more alarming effect of this lust of empire has appeared in the fearful bloodshed, with all the unmitigated horrors of war, which this love of dominion, this pride of conquest, has formed in many parts of the world. Our colonial history is everywhere—with hardly one exception—a history of bloodshed. Rivers of human gore have marked the path of the British conquest in India, Burmah, Scindia, Africa, China and other parts. This sanguinary course, with a flippancy that merits the severest reprehension, has been tolerated, and even defended, on the plea of ‘the progress of civilization.’ With such superficial reasoners it would be a waste of time to argue, for ‘civilization,’ to be worth the name, is inseparable from peace: but, if not, in what besides is it better than barbarism itself? The government of the sword is not civilization, unless a *perpetual threat* deserves that venerable name. Such a government evermore appeals to man as the brute; but true civilization as constantly appeals to man as the reasonable being, made in the image of God, and this appeal is never made by war and bloodshed.

“3rd. The period has been one marked very distinctly, by the *inferiority of the Bible and the Pulpit, to the Sword and the Soldier*, in the Government of Great Britain. It is more than unfortunate when religion bends to become a mere time-server at the table of worldly fashion. Her true mission is to give law to the world, and not to crouch to the world’s dictation. And especially is this the case in all matters affecting the precious, the solemn life of man; nor short of this, can she act up to the merciful design of her Lord and Master, who came, ‘not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.’ Her duty

consequently is, *a perpetual protest against war*. She cannot do otherwise without abdicating her claim to be the ministrant of Him who has pronounced his highest blessing on the 'peace-makers' of the world. That she should turn round and become a war maker, or give her sanction to war makers is to act the traitor,—to defy her heavenly King,—and to transfer her services to the cause of His enemies. And this most disgraceful part, with but few honourable exceptions, she has performed with a criminal consistency, through all the present century. She could have prevented the great French War, but she did not prevent it. More recently, she could have discountenanced the *furor* in favour of Rifle Corps, but she encouraged it. And on a number of other occasions, where her strong denunciation of bloodshed would have driven back the advocates of war into an ignominious silence, she, by her compromising ministers, rather hounded them on to the murderous strife.

“The Christian religion is a religion of Peace everywhere and under all circumstances. It is based on that highest and most powerful of all laws, namely, *the law of love*. This fine and heavenly law it carries out, even to the worst and most dangerous forms of human enmity, by teaching its subjects “to love their enemies and to do good to those that hate them.” With this divine law, war of every kind and under all possible circumstances, is utterly incompatible; hence the wilful and anticipated destruction of the enemy must ever be opposed to the religion of the Son of God.

“But how far, during the present century, has this great law been enforced by the Christian ministry? Who among them condemned the French War? And, with some honourable exceptions whom it would be a real gratification to name, who denounced the spirit and object of the modern Rifle Corps? Rather, have not the pulpits, as a rule, either connived at the monster evil, or openly encouraged its practice? Have they not deified the soldier, and branded a man who studied to be ‘meek and lowly in heart,’ as a coward and contemptible? In the hands of such men, the Christian religion has not a fair chance in her contest with Paganism and Infidelity, but where she should be sent out as the gentle daughter of heavenly love, she is presented as a warrior thirsting to shed the blood of mankind. *The result is a want of power, and to an alarming extent a want of success*. She is feeble because she is faithless; and directly or indirectly, she employs the sword of the soldier, whereas her true strength lies in ‘the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God.’ With the soldier’s sword in her hand she will never conquer the world.

On a calm review of the present century, so far as England is concerned, there are three or four words that stamp its character and will form its motto in the view of generations to come, and these words are WAR—TAXATION—and NATIONAL DEBT.”

