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MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE

SPEECH

OF

LORD ASHLEY, M.P.,

Anthony Ashley Cooper
1843

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1843.

On Moving, "That an Humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration, the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of a moral and religious education amongst the working classes of her people."

LONDON:

JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL MALL.

1843.



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SPEECH.



SIR,—The question, that I have undertaken to submit to the deliberation of this House, is one so prodigiously vast, and so unspeakably important, that there may well be demanded an apology, if not an explanation, from any individual member who presumes to handle so weighty and so difficult a matter. And, Sir, had any real difference of opinion existed, I should probably have refrained from the task; but late events have, I fear, proved that the moral condition of our people is unhealthy and even perilous—all are pretty nearly agreed that something further must be attempted for their welfare; and I now venture, therefore, to offer, for the discussion, both matter and opportunity.

Surely, Sir, it will not be necessary as a preliminary to this motion to enquire on whom should rest the responsibility of our present condition—our duty is to examine the moral state of the country; to say whether it be safe, honourable, happy, and becoming the dignity of a Christian kingdom; and, if it be not so, to address ourselves to the cure of evils which, unlike most inveterate and deeply-rooted abuses, though they cannot be suffered to exist without danger, may be removed without the slightest grievance, real or imaginary, to any community or even any individual.

The present time, too, is so far favourable to the propounding of this question, as that it finds us in a state of mind equally distant, I believe, from the two extremes of opinion; the one, that education is the direct, immediate, and lasting

panacea for all our disorders; the other, that it will either do nothing at all, or even exasperate the mischief. That it will do every thing is absurd; that it will do nothing is more so; every statesman, that is, every true statesman, of every age and nation has considered a moral, steady, obedient, and united people, indispensable to external greatness or internal peace. Wise men have marked out the road whereby these desirable ends may be attained; I will not multiply authorities; I will quote two only, the one secular, the other sacred.—“I think I may say,” observes the famous John Locke, “that, of all the men we meet with, nine parts in ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind.” “Train up a child,” said Solomon, “in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.”

Now, has any man ever shewn by what other means we may arrive at this most necessary consummation? If it be required in small states and even in despotic monarchies; much more is it required in populous kingdoms and free governments;—and such is our position—our lot is cast in a time when our numbers, already vast, are hourly increasing at an almost geometric ratio—our institutions receive, every day, a more liberal complexion, while the democratic principle, by the mere force of circumstances, is fostered and developed—the public safety demands, each year, a larger measure of enlightenment and self-control; of enlightenment that all may understand their real interests; of self-control that individual passion may be repressed to the advancement of public welfare. I know not where to search for these things but in the lessons and practice of the Gospel: true Christianity is essentially favourable to freedom of institutions in Church and State, because it imparts a judgment of your own and another’s rights, a sense of public and private duty, an enlarged philanthropy and self-

restraint, unknown to those democracies of former times, which are called, and only called, the polished nations of antiquity.

Sir, I do not deny, very far from it, the vast and meritorious efforts of the National Society; nor will I speak disparagingly of the efforts of some of the dissenting bodies; but in spite of all that has been done, a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, "a great and terrible wilderness," that I shall now endeavour to lay open before you.

Sir, the population of England and Wales in the year 1801 was 8,872,980; in 1841 it had risen to 15,906,829, shewing an increase in less than half a century on the whole population of 7,033,849. If I here take one-fifth (which is understated, one-fourth being the ordinary calculation,) as the number supposed to be capable of some education, there will result a number of 3,181,365; deducting one third as provided for at private expense, there will be left a number of 2,120,910; deducting also for children in union workhouses, 50,000; and lastly deducting 10 per cent. for accidents and casualties, 212,091; there will then be the number of 1,858,819 to be provided for at the public expense. Now by the tables in the excellent pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. Burgess, of Chelsea, it appears that the total number of daily scholars, in connection with the Established church, is 749,626. By the same tables, the total number of daily scholars, in connection with dissenting bodies, is stated at 95,000; making a sum total of daily scholars in England and Wales, 844,626; leaving, without any daily instruction the number of 1,014,193 persons. These tables are calculated upon the returns of 1833, with an estimate for the increase of the Church of England scholars since those returns, and with an allowance in the same proportion for the increase of the dissenting scholars. But if we look forward to the next ten years, there will be an

increase of at least 2,500,000 in the population; and should nothing be done to supply our want, we shall then have in addition to our present arrears, a fearful multitude of untutored savages.

Next, I find as a sample of the state of adult and juvenile delinquency, that the number of committals in the year 1841 was, of persons of all ages, 27,760; and of persons under the age of sixteen years, the proportion was $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I quote these tables in conformity with established usage and ancient prejudice; but they are, with a view to any accurate estimate of the moral condition of the kingdom, altogether fallacious—they do not explain to us whether the cases be those of distinct criminals, or in many instances, those of the same individuals reproduced; if the proportion be increased we have no clue to the discovery whether it be real or fictitious, permanent or casual; if diminished, we congratulate each other, but without examining how far the diminution must be ascribed to an increased morality, or a more effective Police—it is very well to rely on an effective Police for short and turbulent periods; it is ruinous to rely on it for the government of a generation.—For after all, how much there must ever be perilous to the state, and perilous to society, which, whether it be manifested or not, is far beyond the scope of magisterial power, and curable only by a widely different process! I will not, therefore, attempt a comparison of one period of crime with another; if the matters be worse, my case is established; if better, they can be so only through the greater diffusion of external morality. That morality, then, which is so effective even on the surface of the nation, it should be our earnest and constant endeavour to root deeply in their hearts.

Having stated this much in a general way, I will now take a few of those details which form a part of the com-

plement of this mass of wickedness and mischief—we shall thus learn the principal seats of the danger, its character and extent locally, and in a great degree, the mode and nature of the remedy.

Sir, there have been laid upon the table within the last few days, a report by Mr. Horner and Mr. Saunders, inspectors of factories; and also the second report of the Childrens' Employment Commission; from these documents I shall draw very largely; and I wish to take this opportunity, as their final report has now been presented, of expressing to the commissioners, my sincere and heartfelt thanks for an exercise of talent and vigour, never before surpassed by any public servants.

The first town that I shall refer to is Manchester—some of those details I shall now quote I stated in the last session; but I shall venture to state them again as they bear immediately on the question before us. By the police returns of Manchester made up to December, 1841, we find the number of persons taken into custody during that year, was 13,345. Discharged by magistrates without punishment, 10,208; of these, under 20 years of age, there were males, 3,069; and females, 745. By the same returns to July 1842, (six months), there were taken into custody, 8,341; (This would make in a whole year, were the same proportion observed, 16,682;) of these, males 5,810; females 2,531. Now as to their instruction; with a knowledge of reading only, or reading and writing imperfectly, males, 1,999; females, 863. Neither read nor write, males, 3,098; females, 1,519;—total of these last 4,617. At 15 and under 20, 2,360; of these, males 1,639; females 721. But take what may be called the “curable” portion, and there will be, at 10 years and under 15, 665; males 547, females 118. Discharged by the magistrates in 182, without punishment (six months), 6,307, or at the

rate of 12,614 in a year. Can the House be surprised at this statement, when the means for supplying opportunities to crime and the practice of debauchery are so abundant? It appears that there are in Manchester—Pawnbrokers, 129; this may be a symptom of distress; beer houses 769; public houses 498; brothels 309; ditto, lately suppressed, 111; ditto, where prostitutes are kept, 163; ditto, where they resort, 223; street-walkers in borough, 763; thieves residing in the borough who do nothing but steal, 212; persons following some lawful occupation, but augmenting their gains by habitual violation of the law, 160; houses for receiving stolen goods, 63; ditto, suppressed lately, 32; houses for resort of thieves, 103; ditto, lately suppressed, 25; lodging-houses where sexes indiscriminately sleep together, 109.

But there is another cause that aids the progress of crime which prevails in the town of Manchester. I will mention the fact that a vast number of children of the tenderest years, either through absence or through neglect of their parents, I do not now say which, are suffered to roam at large through the streets of the town, contracting the most idle and profligate habits. I have here a return that I myself moved for in the year 1836, and I see that the number of children found wandering in the streets, and restored to their parents by the police in 1835, was no less than 8,650, in 1840 it was reduced to 5,500—having heard this table the House will not be surprised at the observations I am about to read from a gentleman of long and practical knowledge of the place. “What chance,” says he, “have these children of becoming good members of society? These unfortunates gradually acquire vagrant habits, become beggars, vagrants, criminals. It does not appear unfair to calculate that in the borough of Manchester 1,500 children are added to

‘les classes dangereuses’ annually. Besides,” he adds, “the moral evil produced by these 1,500, let a calculation be made how much money per annum this criminal class costs the state.”

I will next take the town of Birmingham; and it will be seen by the police returns for 1841, that the number of persons who were taken into custody was 5,556, of these the males were 4,537, and the females 1,018. Of these there could neither read nor write, 2,711; who could read only and write imperfectly, 2,504; read and write well, 206; having superior instruction, 36. I feel that it is necessary to apologise to the House for troubling them with such minute details; nevertheless, details such as these are absolutely indispensable. Now from a report on the state of education in the town of Birmingham, made by the Birmingham Statistical Society—one of those useful bodies which have sprung up of late years, and which give to the public a great mass of information, that may be turned to the best purposes—I find that the total number of schools of all kinds in the town of Birmingham is 669; but then the society calls everything a school where a child receives any sort of instruction, perhaps in a place more fitted to be a sty or coal-hole. Now out of the whole mass of the entire population of Birmingham there were 27,659 scholars. A vast proportion of these schools are what are called “dame schools;” and what these are in truth, may be known by the surveyors’ report, who says of them, “moral and religious instruction forms no part of the system in dame-schools. A mistress in one of this class of schools on being asked whether she gave moral instruction to her scholars, replied ‘No, I can’t afford it at 3*d* a week.’ Several did not know the meaning of the question. Very few appeared to think it was a part of their duty.”—This, then, being the number of the schools for

educating the young, and the character of the education imparted to them, I may now be allowed to state what are the means for the practice of vice. From the police returns for 1840, it appears that the number of these places is 998, and they are thus distributed:—Houses for reception of stolen goods, 81; ditto for resort of thieves, 228; brothels where prostitutes are kept, 200; houses of ill-fame, where they resort 110; number of houses where they lodge, 187; number of mendicants' lodging houses, 122; houses where sexes sleep indiscriminately together, 47—998; add to this, public-houses, 577; beer shops, 573. I will close this part by reading to the House an extract from a report, made by a committee of medical gentlemen in Birmingham, who, in the most benevolent spirit, devoted themselves to an examination of the state of Birmingham; and who, looking to the removal of the growing evils that threaten the population, assert, that ‘the first and most prominent suggestion is, the better education of the females in the arts of domestic economy. To the extreme ignorance of domestic management, on the part of the wives of the mechanics, is much of the misery and want of comfort to be traced. Numerous instances have occurred to us of the confirmed drunkard who attributes his habits of dissipation to a wretched home.’

I will next take the town of Leeds; and there it will be seen that the police details would be very similar in character, though differing in number, to those of Manchester and Birmingham—the report of the state of Leeds for 1838, is to this effect:—“It appears that the early periods of life furnish the greatest portion of criminals. Children of seven, eight, and nine years of age are not unfrequently brought before magistrates; a very large portion under 14 years. The parents are, it is to be feared in many instances, the direct causes of their crime.”

“The spirit of lawless insubordination (says Mr. Symons the sub-commissioner) which prevails at Leeds among the children is very manifest: it is matter for painful apprehension.” James Child, an inspector of police, states that which is well worthy of the attention of the House: He says there is “a great deal of drunkenness, especially among the young people. I have seen children very little higher than the table at these shops. There are some beer-shops where there are rooms up stairs, and the boys and girls, old people, and married of both sexes, go up two by two, as they can agree, to have connection. . . . I am sure that sexual connection begins between boys and girls at 14 and 15 years old.” John Stubbs, of the police force, confirms the above testimony. “We have,” he says, “a deal of girls on the town under 15, and boys who live by thieving. There are half a dozen beer shops where none but young ones go at all. They support these houses.”

I will now turn to Sheffield:—The Rev. Mr. Livesey, the minister of St. Philip’s, having a population of 24,000, consisting almost exclusively of the labouring classes, gives in evidence,—“Moral condition of children . . . in numerous instances most deplorable. . . . On Sunday afternoons it is impossible to pass along the highways, &c. beyond the police boundaries, without encountering numerous groups of boys, from 12 years and upwards, gaming for copper coin . . . the boys are early initiated into habits of drinking. But the most revolting feature of juvenile depravity is early contamination from the association of the sexes. The outskirts of the town are absolutely polluted by this abomination; nor is the veil of darkness nor seclusion always sought by these degraded beings. Too often they are to be met in small parties, who appear to associate for the purpose of promiscuous intercourse,

their ages being apparently about fourteen or fifteen." The Rev. Mr. Farish states, "There are beer houses attended by youths exclusively, for the men will not have them in the same houses with themselves." Hugh Parker, Esq. a justice of the peace, remarks, "A great proportion of the working classes are ignorant and profligate . . . the morals of their children exceedingly depraved and corrupt . . . given, at a very early age, to petty theft, swearing and lying; during minority to drunkenness, debauchery, idleness, profanation of the Sabbath; dog and prize-fighting." Mr. Rayner, the superintendent of police, deposes, that "Lads from twelve to fourteen years of age constantly frequent beer-houses, and have, even at that age, their girls with them, who often incite them to commit petty thefts . . . vices of every description at a very early age . . . great number of vagrant children prowling about the streets . . . these corrupt the working children. . . . The habits of the adults confirm the children in their vices." George Messon, a police officer, adds, "There are many beer-shops which are frequented by boys only . . . as early as thirteen years of age. The girls are many of them loose in their conduct, and accompany the boys. . . . I remember the Chartist attack on Sheffield last winter. I am certain that a great number of young lads were among them—some as young as fifteen: they generally act as men." All this was confirmed by Daniel Astwood, also a police officer; by Mr. George Crossland, registrar and vestry clerk to the board of guardians; by Mr. Ashley, master of the Lancasterian school; by Dr. Knight, and by Mr. Carr, a surgeon. Mr. Abraham, the inventor of the magnetic guard, remarks, "There is most vice and levity and mischief in the class who are between sixteen and nineteen. You see more lads between seventeen and nineteen with dogs at their

heels and other evidences of dissolute habits." Mr. James Hall and others of the working people say, the "morals of the children are tenfold worse than formerly There are beer shops frequented by boys from nine to fifteen years old, to play for money and liquor." Charlotte Kirkman, a poor woman of the operative class, aged 60, observes; and I much wish here to draw the attention of the House, because it is extremely desirable that they should know in what light, the best and most decent of the working people regard these things, "I think morals are getting much worse, which I attribute in a great measure to the beer-shops. . . . There were no such girls in my time as there are now. When I was four or five and twenty, my mother would have knocked me down if I had spoken improperly to her. . . . Many have children at 15. I think bastardy almost as common now as a woman being in the family-way by her husband. . . . Now it's nothing thought about." "The evidence (says the sub-commissioner), with very few exceptions, attests a melancholy amount of immorality among the children of the working classes in Sheffield, and especially among young persons. Within a year of the time of my visit," he continues, "the town was preserved from an organised scheme to fire and plunder it, merely by the information of one man, and the consequent readiness of the troops. A large body of men and boys marched on it in the dead of the night; and a very large quantity of crowsfeet to lame horses, pikes, and combustibles were found on them, at their houses, and left on the road. Several were pledged to fire their own houses. I name this, as a further illustration of the perilous ignorance and vice prevailing among that young class between boys and full grown men, who were known to be among the chief actors in these scenes."

Mr. Symons—and I shall the more effectively quote his

opinions, because he is most strongly opposed to the political views which I venture to hold—further says, and it is right that I should state it in justice to so excellent a body of men : “ If vice increases in Sheffield, the blame assuredly rests not on the clergy ; few towns are blessed with so pious or active a ministry. It is not for want of exertion on their parts, if the churches and chapels are unfilled, and the schools scantily attended ; and this remark applies also to part of the Wesleyan and some other religious denominations.”

I shall now proceed to another district, to Wolverhampton, and there I find Mr. Horne giving the following description :—“ Among all the children and young persons I examined, I found, with very few exceptions, that their minds were as stunted as their bodies ; their moral feelings stagnant. . . . The children and young persons possess but little sense of moral duty towards their parents, and have little affection for them. . . . One child believed that Pontius Pilate and Goliath were apostles ; another, fourteen or fifteen years of age, did not know how many two and two made. In my evidence taken in this town alone, as many as five children and young persons had never heard even the name of Jesus Christ. . . . You will find boys who have never heard of such a place as London, and of Willenhall, (only three miles distant,) who have never heard of the name of the Queen, or of such names as Wellington, Nelson, Bonaparte, or King George.” “ But,” (adds the commissioner) “ while of scripture names I could not, in general, obtain any rational account, many of the most sacred names never having even been heard, there was a general knowledge of the lives of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard, not to mention the preposterous epidemic of a hybrid negro song.”—This we may suppose is an elegant periphrasis for the popular song of “ Jim Crow.”—Mr.

Horne goes on to say—"The master of the British School deposes, 'I have resided, as a teacher, for the last six years, during which I have observed that the character and habits of the numerous labouring poor are of the lowest order.' The master of the National School says 'besotted to the last degree.'"—Sir, there are many things of an extremely horrid description to be detailed concerning the physical condition of the children in these parts, but I forbear to touch them at present, being engaged only on their moral deficiency.

I now go to Willenhall, and there it is said,—“A lower condition of morals cannot, I think, be found—they sink some degrees (when that is possible) below the worst classes of children and young persons in Wolverhampton; they do not display the remotest sign of comprehension as to what is meant by the term of morals.” Next, of Wednesfield, it is said the population are “much addicted to drinking; many besotted in the extreme; poor dejected men, with hardly a rag to their backs, are often seen drunk two or three days in the week, and even when they have large families.” The same profligacy and ignorance at Darlaston, where we have the evidence of three parties, an overseer, a collector, and a relieving officer, to a very curious fact; I quote this to shew the utter recklessness and intellectual apathy in which these people live, caring little but for existence and the immediate physical wants of the passing hour; they state, “that there are as many as 1,000 men in Darlaston who do not know their own names, only their nicknames.” But it is said, that in Bilston things are much better. It is remarked that the “moral condition of children and young persons on the whole was very superior to that in Wolverhampton;” he excepts, however, “the bank-girls, and those who work at the screw-manufactories.” Among them, “great numbers of bastards;” the bank-girls drive

coal-carts, ride astride upon horses, drink, swear, fight, smoke, whistle, sing, and care for nobody." Here I must observe, if things are better in Bilston, it is owing to the dawn of education, "to the great exertions of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, and the Rev. Mr. Owen, in the church; and Mr. Robert Bew, (chemist,) and Mr. Dimmock, (iron merchant,) among the dissenters." Next, as to Sedgely, "children and young persons," says the rector, "grow up in irreligion, immorality, and ignorance. The number of girls at nailing considerably exceeds that of the boys; it may be termed the district of female blacksmiths; constantly associating with depraved adults, and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and drink, smoke, swear, &c. &c. and become as bad as men. The men and boys are usually naked, except a pair of trowsers; the women and girls have only a thin ragged petticoat, and an open shirt without sleeves."—Look to Warrington; the Honourable and Reverend Horace Powys, the rector, says, and there is no man more capable, from talent and character, of giving an opinion,—“My conviction is—and it is founded on the observation of some years—that the general condition of the children employed in labour in this town is alarmingly degraded, both religiously, morally, and intellectually.” And here, too, is the evidence of the Rev. John Molyneux, a Roman Catholic priest, who began by stating his peculiar qualifications to give testimony, having a congregation of three thousand persons, and chiefly among the poorer classes. “Children in pin-works,” he said, “are very immoral—they sit close together, and encourage each other in cursing and swearing, and loose conversation, which I grant you they do not understand,”—a conclusion in which I can not agree:—“but it renders them he adds prone to adopt the acts of immorality on which they converse.”—“Those girls

who from very early labour at pins go to the factories, do not ever make good housekeepers : they have no idea of it ; neither of economy, nor cooking, nor mending their clothes."

Next, Sir, I will examine the Potteries. Mr. Scriven, the sub-commissioner, uses these expressions :—" I almost tremble, however, when I contemplate the fearful deficiency of knowledge existing throughout the district, and the consequences likely to result to this increased and increasing population. . . . It will appear," he adds, " by the evidence from Cobridge and Burslem, that more than three-fourths of the persons therein named can neither read nor write. . . . It is not from my own knowledge," he continues, " that I proclaim their utter, their absolute ignorance. I would respectfully refer you to the evidence of their own pastors and masters, and it will appear that, as one man, they acknowledge and lament their low and degraded condition." Mr. Lowndes, clerk to the board of guardians of the Burslem union, says : " It is with pain that I have witnessed the demoralizing effects of the system, as it has hitherto existed. . . . It appears to me fraught with incalculable evils, both physical and moral." Mr. Grainger, a sub-commissioner, in his report respecting Nottingham, writes : " All parties, clergy, police, manufacturers, workpeople, and parents, agree that the present system is a most fertile source of immorality. . . . The natural results . . . have contributed in no slight degree, to the immorality which, according to the opinion universally expressed, prevails to a most awful extent in Nottingham. Much of the existing evil is to be traced to the vicious habits of parents, many of whom are utterly indifferent to the moral and physical welfare of their offspring." " Education of the girls more neglected even than that of boys. . . . Vast majority of females utterly ignorant. . . . Impossible to overstate evils which result

from this deplorable ignorance." . . . "The medical practitioners of Birmingham forcibly point out the 'misery which ensues; improvidence, absence of all comfort, neglect of children, and alienation of all affection in families, and drunkenness on the part of the husband.'" And here I have to call the attention of the House to the testimony of a most respectable person, a simple mechanic; and I am very anxious to put forward the views of this individual; because, his statements are the result of long and personal experience. I refer to the evidence of Joseph Corbett, a mechanic of Birmingham. I confess that I should like to read the whole of the report. I recommend it strongly to your attention; it will be found in the appendix to Mr. Grainger's report. I cannot, however, refrain from quoting one or two passages of it. "I have seen," he says, "the entire ruin of many families from the waste of money and bad conduct of fathers and sons seeking amusement and pastime in an alehouse. From no other single cause alone does half so much demoralization and misery proceed." He then adds, "from my own experience," and here he spoke with feeling on the subject, for he referred to what he had seen in his own home, and what he had witnessed with respect to his parents:—"My own experience tells me that the instruction of the females in the work of a house, in teaching them to produce cheerfulness and comfort at the fireside, would prevent a great amount of misery and crime. There would be fewer drunken husbands and disobedient children. . . . As a working man, within my observation, female education is disgracefully neglected. I attach more importance to it than to anything else." I cannot think that any one will be displeased to hear such sentiments coming from a man in the situation of Joseph Corbett. Take this as a proof of what the working people may be

brought to, if they cease to be so utterly neglected. This is an instance, among many, to shew what thousands of right-hearted Englishmen, if you would but train them, you might raise up among the ranks of the operative classes.

This, Sir, is pretty nearly the whole of the statements which I have to make as to these districts ; but there are other opinions, by persons of great authority on this subject, and which, with the permission of the House, I will read, although I have not permission to give the names of the writers. One gentleman, whose opportunities of observation are unequalled, speaks of “the present existence of a highly demoralised middle-aged and rising generation, worse and more debased than, I believe, any previous generation for the last three hundred years.” A clergyman, writing from one of the disturbed districts, says :—“The moral condition of the people is as bad as it is possible to be. Vice is unrebuked, unabashed ; moral character of no avail. * * * A spirit of disaffection prevails almost universally — magistrates, masters, pastors, and all superiors, are regarded as enemies and oppressors.” Another, in writing from the disturbed districts, states :—“I took down myself the following words, as they fell from the lips of a Chartist orator—‘The prevalence of intemperance and other vicious habits was the fault of the aristocracy and the mill-owners, who had neglected to provide the people with sufficient means of moral improvement, and would form an item of that great account which they would one day be called upon to render to a people indignant at the discovery of their own debasement.’ Another remarked :—‘A working man’s hall is opened on Sundays ; and in this, 300 poor children are initiated into infidel and seditious principles.’ Another said :—‘A wild and satanic spirit is infused into the hearers.’” An officer of great experience to whom I

put the question—"What are the consequences to be apprehended if the present state of things be suffered to continue?" replies—"Unless a speedy alteration be made in the manufacturing districts, a fresh and more extensive outbreak will again occur, threatening loss to the whole nation.'"

Sir, I must now remark, that this condition of things prevails, more or less, throughout the whole of England, but particularly in the manufacturing and trading districts. The evil is not partial, it is almost universally diffused over the surface of the country. The time I might be allowed to occupy would be insufficient for me to travel through the whole of the details; but the House will find, in the second report of the Children's Employment Commission, which is devoted to the statement of their moral condition, the proof that it everywhere afflicts the country—it is nearly universal throughout the whole of the coal and iron-fields of Great Britain and Wales.—Look to the east of Scotland—one clergyman says:—"The condition of the lower classes is daily becoming worse in regard to education; and it is telling every day upon the moral and economic condition of the adult population." Another clergyman remarks:—"The country will be inevitably ruined, unless some steps are taken by the Legislature to secure education to the children of the working classes." Of North Wales we see it stated:—"Not one collier-boy in ten can read, so as to comprehend what he reads:" while of South Wales it is observed:—"Many are almost in a state of barbarism. Religious and moral training is out of the question. I should certainly be within bounds by saying that not one grown male or female in fifty can read." In the West of Scotland I find the same class of persons described as follows:—"A large portion of the colliery and ironwork

hands are living in an utterly depraved state, a moral degradation, which is entailing misery and disease on themselves, and disorder on the community." There is an equally lamentable state of things existing in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, North Staffordshire and Cumberland. The replies of many of the children who were questioned by the commissioners, shew a state of things utterly disgraceful to the character of a Christian country. One of the children replied to a question put to him: "I never heard of France; I never heard of Scotland or Ireland; I do not know what America is." James Taylor, a boy eleven years old, said that he "has never heard of Jesus Christ; has never heard of God, but has heard the men in the pit say 'God damn them;' never heard of London." A girl eighteen years old, said, "I never heard of Christ at all." This indeed, the commissioner adds, is very common among children and young persons. She proceeded to say, "I never go to church or chapel;" again, "I don't know who God is." The sub-commissioner who visited Halifax, has recorded this sentence: "You have expressed surprise, says an employer, at Thomas Mitchell not having heard of God; I judge there are very few colliers here about that have."

Now can it be possible that such a state of things should exist without being attended with the most pernicious consequences? but, I will go further, and rejoice that it is not possible—an evil unfelt is an evil unseen; nothing but an urgent and a biting necessity will rouse us to action from our fancied security.

First, Sir, observe the effects that are produced by the drunken habits of the working-classes; you cannot have a more unanswerable proof of the moral degradation of a people. I know it is frequently asserted that inebriety has yielded, in many instances, to greater habits of tem-

perance ; but suppose it to be so ; the abatement is merely fractional ; and no guarantee is given, in an improved morality, that those persons will not return to their former vicious courses—the abatement, however, has not taken place, at least in those districts which were lately subjected to the enquiries of the Commissioners. Will the House now listen to some statements on this subject, which, lamentable as is the condition they disclose, describe but a tenth part of the evils springing out of this sad propensity ? In the year 1834 a Committee was appointed on the motion of Mr. Buckingham, to investigate the causes and effects of drunkenness. That Committee produced a report, which, by the by, has never received a tithe of the attention so valuable a document deserved ; from that report we learn that the sum annually expended by the working-people in the consumption of ardent spirits is estimated at twenty-five millions ! and “ I have no doubt,” says a witness of great experience, “ that it is, in fact, to a much larger extent.” I wrote to the chaplain of a county jail, a gentleman of considerable observation and judgment, and put to him the following question,—“ How much of the crime that brings prisoners to the jail can you trace to habits of intoxication ?” Now mark his reply ; “ In order to arrive at a just conclusion, I devoted several nights to a careful examination of the entries in my journals for a series of years, and although I had been impressed previously with a very strong conviction, derived from my own personal experience in attendance on the sick poor, that the practice of drinking was the great moral pestilence of the kingdom, I was certainly not prepared for the frightful extent to which I find it chargeable with the production of crime : I am within the mark in saying that three-fourths of the crime committed is the result of intemperance.” In corroboration of this, I will appeal to the very valuable evidence

given by Mr. J. Smith, the governor of the prison in Edinburgh. That witness states—"Having been for a number of years a missionary among the poor in Edinburgh, and having for two years had the charge of the house of refuge for the destitute, I have had, perhaps, the best opportunities of observing how far drunkenness produced ignorance, destitution, and crime; and the result of my experience is a firm conviction that, but for the effects of intemperance, directly and indirectly, instead of having five hundred prisoners in this prison at this time, there would not have been fifty."

The next document to which I shall refer, I regard as of a most important nature, and as one which deserves the most serious attention of the House. It is a memorial drawn up by a body of working men at Paisley, and addressed to their employers. It bears assuredly a remarkable testimony as to the moral effects of intemperance. I entertain a strong opinion of the great value of this paper, not only from the opinions which it expresses, but because it develops the sentiments of that class who are the agents and victims of this disastrous habit, and who speak, therefore, from practical knowledge. It states that "drunkenness is most injurious to the interests of the weavers as a body; drunkards are always on the brink of destitution. There can be no doubt that whatever depresses the moral worth of any body of workmen, likewise depresses their wages; and whatever elevates that worth, enables them to obtain and procure higher wages." This, Sir, in my opinion, is as sound political economy as ever has been spoken, written, or published. Again, I find it stated in the report of Mr. Buckingham's committee, that the estimated value of the property lost or deteriorated by drunkenness, either by shipwreck or mischiefs of a similar character, was not less than £50,000,000 a year.—These are the financial

losses ; and it may be easy to estimate, with sufficient accuracy, the pecuniary damage that society undergoes by these pernicious practices ; but it is not so easy to estimate the moral and social waste, the intellectual suffering and degradation which follow in their train. To that end I must here invite the attention of the House to evidence of another description ; I will lay before them the testimony of eminent medical men, who will shew what ruin of the intellect and the disposition attends the indulgence of these vicious enjoyments—we shall see how large a proportion of the cases of lunacy is ascribable to intoxication ; but we shall draw, moreover, this startling conclusion, that, if thousands from this cause are deprived of their reason and incarcerated in mad-houses, there must be many-fold more who, though they fall short of the point of absolute insanity, are impaired in their understanding and moral perceptions. The first medical authority to which I shall refer, is a very eminent physician, well known to many members of this house, I mean Dr. Corsellis, of the Wakefield Lunatic Asylum : “ I am led,” he says, “ to believe that intemperance is the exciting cause of insanity in about one-third of the cases of this institution ;” and he adds, “ the proportion at Glasgow is about twenty-six per cent., and at Aberdeen eighteen per cent.” Dr. Browne, of the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, says—“ The applications for the introduction of individuals who have lost reason from excessive drinking continue to be very numerous.” At Northampton, the superintendent of the asylum says—“ Amongst the causes of insanity intemperance predominates.” At Montrose, Dr. Poole, the head of the asylum, says—“ Twenty-four per cent. of insane cases from intemperance.” Dr. Prichard, who is well known, not only in the medical, but also in the literary world, writes to me that—“ The medical writers of all countries reckon intemperance among the

most influential exciting causes of insanity. Esquirol, who has been most celebrated on the continent for his researches into the statistics of madness, and who is well known to have extended his enquiries into all countries, was of opinion that “this cause gives rise to one-half of the cases of insanity that occur in Great Britain.” Dr. Prichard adds that “this fact, although startling, is confirmed by many instances. It was found that, in an asylum at Liverpool, to which four hundred and ninety-five patients had been admitted, not less than two hundred and fifty-seven had become insane from intemperance.” It is confirmed as a scientific fact by statements of American physicians almost without exception. Dr. Rensselaer, of the United States, says, that, “in his opinion, one half of the cases of insanity which came under the care of medical men in that country arose more or less from the use of strong drink.”—These things, Sir, not only inflict misery and suffering on a very large class of the present community, but they entail a heavy loss on the country at large. It cannot be denied that the state has an interest in the health and strength of her sons; but the effects of various diseases on one generation are transmitted with intensity to another! I may also mention, to support these opinions, that the number of admissions to the Somerset Hospital, Cape Town, in the course of a year and nine months, was 1,050, and of these not less than 763 were the result of intemperance. It was also found, by *post mortem* examinations, that in the same period the number of deaths in that hospital, which was caused by intemperance, was not less than eight out of ten. Now look to the pauperism it produces; one instance shall suffice: Mr. Chadwick gave in evidence before the Committee on Drunkenness, in 1834,—“The contractor for the management of the poor in Lambeth, and other parishes, stated to me that he once investigated the cause of pau-

perism in the cases of paupers then under his charge. The inquiry, he says, was conducted for some months, as I investigated every new case, and I found in nine cases out of ten the main cause was the ungovernable inclination for fermented liquors."

Next, Sir, vice is expensive to the public; Mr. Collins, in his valuable statistics of Glasgow, observes,—“The people will cost us much, whether we will or not; if we will not suffer ourselves to be taxed for their religious instruction, we must suffer to be taxed for the punishment and repression of crime.” I will now just give a short estimate of the amount of the expense to which the country is subjected directly for the suppression of crime. I find that the expense of jails in 1841 was £137,449; during the same period the expense of houses of correction was £129,163; making together a total of £256,612. The expense of criminal prosecutions in 1841 was £170,521; the charge for the conveyance of prisoners was £23,242; the charge for the conveyance of transports to the hulks, &c. £8,195; and the expense for vagrants £7,167. These items make together the sum of £209,125. The expense of the rural police, and it should be remembered that this is only for a few counties, is £139,228. Thus the charges under the three heads which I have mentioned, amount, in a single year, to £604,965. But here, Sir, is a document well deserving, I think, of the attention of the House,—a curious illustration of the facts we are asserting; I have not been able to verify it myself, but I will take it as stated—In the county of Lancaster, in 1832, the number of criminal cases tried at the assizes was 126, and the average charge for each of them £40. The number of cases tried at the sessions was 2,587, and the average charge for each of these was £7. 19s. The aggregate amount of charge was £25,656. Now in addition to this average charge, let us take the

estimate cost for the transportation across the seas of each person convicted at £25. This would be a gross sum for the cost of each prosecution of £65;—if the calculation, then, of Mr. Burgess be correct, that eleven shillings in the year will supply the education of one child for that term, we must confess that for the expense of a single convict, we might, during the space of twelve months, give moral and religious education to one hundred and seventeen children. Nevertheless, Sir, it is a melancholy fact, that while the country disburses the sums I have mentioned, and more too, for the punishment of crime, the State devotes but thirty thousand a year to the infusion of virtue ; and yet, I ask you, could you institute a happier and healthier economy in your finances, than to reduce your criminal, so to speak, and increase your moral expenditure? Difficulties may lie in your way ; mortifications may follow your attempts, but you cannot fail of raising some to the dignity of virtuous men, and many to the rank of tranquil and governable citizens.

I have not here included an estimate of the loss inflicted on society by plunder, violence, and neglect ; nor can I arrive at it ; it must, however, be necessarily very large. Let us use as an approximation, a statement made by a late member of this House (Mr. Slaney) that, in one year, in the town of Liverpool alone, the loss by plunder was calculated at the enormous sum of seven hundred thousand pounds.

Thus far, Sir, I have endeavoured to lay before you an outline of our present condition, and to collect, into one point of view, a few of the more prominent mischiefs. A partial remedy for these evils will be found in the moral and religious culture of the infant mind ; but this is not all : we must look further, and do more, if we desire to place the working-classes in such a condition that, the lessons they have learned as children, they may have freedom to practise as adults.

Now, if it be true, as most undoubtedly it is, that the State has a deep interest in the moral and physical prosperity of all her children, she must not terminate her care with the years of infancy, but extend her control and providence over many other circumstances that affect the working-man's life. Without entering here into the nature and variety of those practical details, which might be advantageously taught in addition to the first and indispensable elements, we shall readily perceive that many things are requisite, even to the adult, to secure to him, so far as is possible, the well-being of his moral and physical condition. I speak not now of laws and regulations to abridge, but to enlarge his freedom; not to limit his rights, but to multiply his opportunities of enjoying them; laws and regulations which shall give him what all confess to be his due; which shall relieve him from the danger of temptations he would willingly avoid, and under which he cannot but fall; and which shall place him, in many aspects of health, happiness, and possibilities of virtue, in that position of independence and security, from which, under the present state of things, he is too often excluded.

Sir, there are many evils of this description which might be urged; but I shall name three only, as indications of what I mean, and as having a most injurious and most lasting effect on the moral and physical condition of an immense portion of our people. I will briefly state them; and there will then be no difficulty in shewing their connection with the present motion; and how deep and how immediate is their influence on the morals of infants and adults, of children and parents; and how utterly hopeless are all systems of education, so long as you suffer them extensively to prevail.

The first I shall take is the truck system. Now hear what Mr. Horne, the sub-commissioner, says on this subject:—"The truck system encourages improvidence, by

preventing the chance of a habit of saving, for nobody can save food. It prevents a family from obtaining a sufficient supply of clothes, and more comfortable furniture, in proportion to the possession of which it is always found that the working-man becomes more steady, industrious, and careful. It therefore amounts to a prevention of good conduct." In another place, he says: "The poor working man never sees the colour of a coin, all his wages are consumed in food, and of the very worst quality; and to prevent the chance of his having a single penny in his possession, the reckonings were postponed from week to week, until sometimes two or three months had elapsed." Now, as to the corrupting effects of this system, Mr. Horne, in his report, emphatically says:—"One final remark should, however, be made on the particular evil of the system, which principally relates to the moral condition of the children and young persons, nothing can be worse than the example set by the truck system—an example which is constantly before the eyes of the children, and in which they grow up, familiarised with the grossest frauds, the subtlest tricks, and the most dishonest evasions, habitually practised by their masters, parents, and other adults, in the very face of law and justice, and with perfect impunity." Such is the result of this part of the inquiry made by Mr. Horne. That gentleman uses the emphatic language that the truck system not only familiarises the mind, and the mind too of the child, with the grossest frauds, but that it tends to prevent the practice of any of the moral virtues. See, too, the effect as stated in the evidence produced before Parliament. It is notorious that the system has led to the most serious effects in several parts of the country. The whole man suffers; his experience; his thrifty habits; his resolutions of forethought; he is widely and justly discontented, becomes a bad subject, and ripe

for mischief. In 1834 the existence of the truck system drove the mining districts of South Wales into open rebellion; it produced the disturbances that took place in Staffordshire in 1842; and no one can calculate the flood of the moral and physical mischiefs that devastated those counties as the result of their outbreak.'

I will take, in the second place, the payment of wages in public-houses, beer-shops, and localities of that description. You have recognised the principle of interdicting such a practice in the Colliery-bill of last year; let me shew how necessary it is that a law of that kind should become universal:—"Payments of wages in cash," says Mr. Horne, "are made in a public-house (for the convenience, they pretend, of change), where it is required that every man shall spend a shilling as a rule, which is to be spent in drink. Boys have also to spend proportionately to their wages (generally sixpence), and either they thus learn to drink by taking their share, or, if they cannot, some adult drinks it for them till they can. The keeper of this house generally delays the settling of accounts, so as to give more time for drinking previously." Now, Sir, I have frequently heard discredit thrown on the exertions that have been made to promote the improvement in the moral condition of the working classes, in consequence of the criminal conduct of some who had received a moral and religious education. No doubt it is true that persons may be found in jails who have received their education in Sunday and other schools; but there is many a man who will trace his ruin to the practice I mention; whole families have been pauperized; and, by a perverted logic, moral teaching itself is declared to be useless, because the system we allow has made moral practice next to impossible.

The third, is the state of the dwellings of the poor—I

will at once put before the House a picture drawn by an able hand ;—Captain Miller, the valuable superintendent of the police at Glasgow, writes thus: “ In the very centre of the city there is an accumulated mass of squalid wretchedness, which is probably unequalled in any other town in the British dominions. There is concentrated every thing that is wretched, dissolute, loathsome, and pestilential. These places are filled by a population of many thousands of miserable creatures. The houses in which they live are unfit even for stys; and every apartment is filled with a promiscuous crowd of men, women, and children: all in the most revolting state of filth and squalor. In many of the houses there is scarcely any ventilation; dunghills lie in the vicinity of the dwellings; and from the extremely defective sewerages, filth of every kind constantly accumulates. In these horrid dens the most abandoned characters of the city are collected; from whence they nightly issue to disseminate diseases, and to pour upon the town every species of crime and abomination.”—Will any man after this tell me that it is to any purpose to take children for the purposes of education during two hours a day, and then turn them back for twenty-two to such scenes of vice, and filth, and misery? I am quite certain this statement is not exaggerated, I have been on the spot and seen it myself; and not only there, but I have found a similar state of things existing at Leeds, at Manchester, and in London. It is impossible for language to describe the horrid and disgraceful scenes that are exposed to the sight in these places, and I am sure no one can recollect, without the most painful feelings, the thousands and hundreds of thousands, who ought to be the subjects of any system of education, that are hopelessly congregated in these dens of filth, of suffering, and infamy.

Turn, then, to the invaluable report of Mr. Chadwick on

the sanitary state of the population, which has just been presented to the House. He shews clearly how indispensable it is to establish some better regulations with regard to the residences of the people, if you wish to make them a moral and religious race, and that all your attempts at their reformation will be useless, if steps are not taken to promote their decency and comfort. He says, amongst the conclusions at which he arrives towards the end of his report:—"That the formation of all habits of cleanliness is obstructed by defective supplies of water; that the annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death or wounds in any wars in which the country has been engaged in modern times; that of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage, relieved from the poor's-rate in England alone, it appears that the greatest proportions of deaths of the heads of families occurred from the above specified and other removable causes; that their ages were under forty-five years—that is to say, thirteen years below the natural probabilities of life, as shewn by the experience of the whole population of Sweden; that the younger population, bred up under noxious physical agencies, is inferior in physical organization and general health to a population preserved from the presence of such agencies; that the population, so exposed, is less susceptible of moral influences, and the effects of education are more transient, than with a healthy population; that these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, improvident, reckless, and intemperate, and with habitual avidity for sensual gratification; that these habits lead to the abandonment of all the conveniences and the decencies of life, and especially lead to the over-crowding of their homes, which is destructive to the morality as well as to the health of large classes of both sexes; that defective town-cleansing fosters habits of the

most abject degradation, tending to the demoralization of large numbers of human beings, who subsist by means of what they find amid the various filth accumulated in neglected streets and by-places." Now, Sir, can any one gainsay the assertion that this state of things is cruel, disgusting, perilous?—indifference, despair, neglect of every kind—of the household, the children, the moral and the physical part—must follow in the train of such evils; the contemplation of them distresses the standers by, it exasperates the sufferer and his whole class, it breeds discontent and every bad passion; and then, when disaffection stalks abroad, we are alarmed, and cry out that we are fallen upon evil times, and so we are; but it is not because poverty is always seditious, but because wealth is too frequently oppressive.

This, Sir, completes the picture I desired to lay before the House; it has been imperfectly, and I fear tediously drawn. There is, however, less risk in taxing the patience than in taxing the faith of indulgent hearers. I have not presumed to propose a scheme, because I have ever thought that such a mighty undertaking demands the collective deliberation and wisdom of the executive, backed by the authority and influence of the Crown. But what does this picture exhibit. Mark, Sir, first, the utter inefficiency of our penal code—of our capital and secondary punishments. The country is wearied with pamphlets and speeches on gaol-discipline, model-prisons, and corrective processes; meanwhile crime advances at a rapid pace; many are discharged because they cannot be punished, and many become worse by the very punishment they undergo—punishment is disarmed of a large part of its terrors, because it no longer can appeal to any sense of shame;—and all this, because we will obstinately persist in setting our own wilfulness against the experience

of mankind and the wisdom of revelation, and believe that we can regenerate the hardened man while we utterly neglect his pliant childhood. You are right to punish those awful miscreants who make a trade of blasphemy, and pollute the very atmosphere by their foul exhibitions; but you will never subdue their disciples and admirers, except by the implements of another armoury. You must draw from the great depository of truth all that can create and refine a sound public opinion—all that can institute and diffuse among the people the feelings and practices of morality. I hope I am not dictatorial in repeating here, that criminal tables and criminal statistics furnish no estimate of a nation's disorder. Culprits, such as they exhibit, are but the representatives of the mischief, spawned by the filth and corruption of the times. Were the crimes of these offenders the sum total of the crimes of England, although we should lament for the individuals, we might disregard the consequences; but the danger is wider, deeper, fiercer; and no one who has heard these statements and believes them, can hope that twenty years more will pass without some mighty convulsion, and displacement of the whole system of society.

Next, Sir, observe that our very multitude oppresses us; and oppresses us, too, with all the fearful weight of a blessing converted into a curse. The King's strength ought to be in the multitude of his people; and so it is; not, however, such a people as we must shortly have; but in a people happy, healthy, and virtuous; "*Sacra Deûm, sanctique patres.*" Is that our condition of present comfort or prospective safety? You have seen in how many instances the intellect is impaired, and even destroyed by the opinions and practices of our moral world; honest industry will decline, energy will be blunted, and whatever shall remain of zeal be perverted to the worst and

most perilous uses. An evil state of morals engenders and diffuses a ferocious spirit; the mind of man is as much affected by moral epidemics, as his body by disorders; thence arise murders, blasphemies, seditions, every thing that can tear prosperity from nations, and peace from individuals. See, Sir, the ferocity of disposition that your records disclose; look at the savage treatment of children and apprentices; and imagine the awful results, if such a spirit were let loose upon society. Is the character of your females nothing?—and yet hear the language of an eye-witness, and one long and deeply conversant with their character; “They are becoming similar to the female followers of an army, wearing the garb of women, but actuated by the worst passions of men; in every riot or outbreak in the manufacturing districts the women are the leaders and excitors of the young men to violence. The language they indulge in is of the most horrid description—in short, while they are demoralised themselves, they demoralise all that come within their reach.” People, Mr. Speaker, will oftentimes administer consolation by urging that a mob of Englishmen will never be disgraced by the atrocities of the Continent. Now, Sir, apart from the fact that one hundredth part of “the reign of terror” is sufficient to annihilate all virtue and all peace in society, we have never, except in 1780, and a few years ago at Bristol and Nottingham, seen a mob of our countrymen in triumphant possession. Conflagration then and plunder devastated the scene; nor were they forgotten in the riots of last year, when, during the short-lived anarchy of an hour, they fired I know not how many houses within the district of the Potteries.

Consider, too, the rapid progress of time. In ten years from this hour—no long period in the history of a nation—

all who are nine years of age will have reached the age of nineteen years ; a period in which, with the few years that follow, there is the least sense of responsibility, the power of the liveliest action, and the greatest disregard of human suffering and human life. The early ages are of incalculable value ; an idle reprobate of fourteen is almost irreclaimable ; every year of delay abstracts from us thousands of useful fellow-citizens ; nay, rather, it adds them to the ranks of viciousness, of misery, and of disorder. So long, Sir, as this plague-spot is festering among our people, all our labours will be in vain ; our recent triumphs will avail us nothing—to no purpose, while we are rotten at heart, shall we toil to improve our finances, to expand our commerce, and explore the hidden sources of our difficulty and alarm. We feel that all is wrong, we grope at noonday as though it were night ; disregarding the lessons of history and the Word of God, that there is neither hope nor strength, nor comfort, nor peace, but in a virtuous, a “ wise, and an understanding people.”

But, if we will retrace our steps, and do the first works—if we will apply ourselves earnestly, in faith and fear, to this necessary service, there lie before us many paths of peace, many prospects of encouragement. Turn where you will ; examine the agents of every honest calling, and you will find that the educated man is the safest and the best in every profession. I might quote the testimony of distinguished officers, both military and naval, and they will tell you that no discipline is so vigorous as morality. I have here the earnest declaration of various manufacturers, that trustworthiness and skill will ever follow on religious training. You have heard the opinions of the judges at the late special assizes, more particularly the charge of that eminent lawyer and good man, Chief Justice Tindal. I have read

correspondence of the clergy in the disturbed districts, and they boldly assert, that very few belonging to their congregations, and none belonging to their schools, were found among the insurgents against the public peace; because such persons well know that, however grievous their wrongs, they owe obedience to the laws, not on a calculation of forces, but for conscience' sake.

Nor let us, Sir, put out of mind this great and stirring consideration, that the moral condition of England seems destined by Providence to lead the moral condition of the world. Year after year we are sending forth thousands and hundreds of thousands of our citizens to people the vast solitudes and islands of another hemisphere; the Anglo-Saxon race will shortly overspread half the habitable globe. What a mighty and what a rapid addition to the happiness of mankind, if these thousands should carry with them, and plant in those distant regions, our freedom, our laws, our morality, and our religion!

This, Sir, is the ground of my appeal to this House; the plan that I venture to propose, and the argument by which I sustain it. It is, I know, but a portion of what the country requires; and even here we shall have, no doubt, disappointments to undergo, and failures to deplore; it will, nevertheless, bear for us abundant fruit. We owe to the poor of our land a weighty debt. We call them improvident and immoral, and so many of them are; but that improvidence and that immorality are the results, in a great measure, of our neglect, and, in not a little, of our example. We owe them, too, the debt of kinder language, and more frequent intercourse.—This is no fanciful obligation; our people are more alive than any other to honest zeal for their cause, and sympathy with their necessities, which, fall though it often-times may on unimpressible hearts, never fails to find some that it comforts, and many

that it softens. Only let us declare, this night, that we will enter on a novel and a better course—that we will seek their temporal, through their eternal welfare—and the half of our work will then have been achieved. There are many hearts to be won, many minds to be instructed, and many souls to be saved: “*Oh Patria! oh Divúm domus!*” —the blessing of God will rest upon our endeavours; and the oldest among us may perhaps live to enjoy, for himself and for his children, the opening day of the immortal, because the moral glories of the British empire.

The following TABLE, showing the state of parts of London, which it was intended to quote, was accidentally omitted.

The London City Mission Report of two districts just examined, 1842:—

In a small district immediately contiguous to Holborn	
Hill, found, families	103
Consisting of, persons	391
From six years and upwards, could not read	280
Of these, above twenty years of age	119
In five courts and alleys in the Cow-cross district:—	
Heads of families	158
Cannot read	102
Young persons, between seven and twenty-two	106
Cannot read	77

“Can we be surprised,” says the Report, “at the number of public criminals? Neighbourhoods such as these chiefly supply our jails with inmates. So late as October last there were in the House of Correction alone, 973 prisoners, exclusive of children, and out of these 717 had no education at all.”

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DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION:

ITS NECESSITY AND ITS PRACTICABILITY:

ESPECIALLY AS IT REGARDS COLLEGES.

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE THALIAN AND PHI-DELTA SOCIETIES OF
OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat — Cicero.
Veritas nihil veretur, nisi abscondi. — Terence.*

CHARLESTON, S. C.

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1846.

CORRESPONDENCE.

OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY,
November 13, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—

As a Committee of the Phi-Delta Society, we respectfully solicit a copy of your very appropriate and profound address, delivered by you before the Thalian and Phi-Delta Societies on yesterday, that it may be published, and its very important views of Education be widely disseminated.

Very respectfully,

THOS. W. WOOLFOLK }
ROBT. IVERSON } Committee.
W. H. HALL, }

REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

MIDWAY, Nov. 14, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—

Hoping that the interests of the University, and the general cause of Denominational Education may be advanced by a publication of my Address, I cheerfully comply with your request, and remain, with sentiments of the highest respect,

Most sincerely yours,

THOMAS SMYTH.

MESSRS. WOOLFOLK, IVERSON, & HALL.

P R E F A C E.

It is high time that the public should be made acquainted with the distinction between DENOMINATIONAL and SECTARIAN Education, two things essentially distinct, but, in the common understanding, even of intelligent men, one and the same. To point out, however, the *difference*, and not merely the *distinction* between these two things, will be one object in this address. *

It is equally necessary that the public mind should be led to discriminate between denominations who cannot, or, at least, do not, teach christianity in all its essential *credenda*, or things to be believed, and its *agenda*, or things to be performed, without indocinating the minds of their pupils with all the peculiarities of their ecclesiastical and ritual system,—and those who can, and do, leave these things in their proper sphere, and imbue the minds of their pupils only with the essential spirit and principles of christianity. On this point, also, some hints will be offered, which may give to many a new and encouraging aspect of the much *mis*-understood system of Presbyterianism. But the entire argument will be found as applicable to other evangelical denominations, as to the one of which the author is a member.

This discourse is addressed, with whatever ability the author possesses, and with whatever force the facts and arguments may wield, to the thinking minds among our people. With them the question of Education rests; their interests it involves; and by them must it be decided. And while the author would most respectfully solicit the attentive consideration of our rulers, legislators and politicians, as well knowing how mighty is their influence in moulding the opinions of their constituents, yet he is also aware how irresistible are the united and intelligent opinions of the wise and prudent among the people. Let, then, the fathers and mothers of our land study and examine this matter. It will soon be forced

* This confusion runs as a latent sophism through the whole of the arguments used against Denominational Education. Denominational Education, however, is used to define a Religious Education, which, to be secured, must be under denominational direction and control, though it is not designed to teach denominational or ecclesiastical peculiarities. See latter part of the Address.

upon them. Already is the controversy it involves making progress, and, ere long, it must become a great, if not THE great national question. It may well be asked, "Do ye not understand the signs of the times?" And we may well hear the twice repeated instruction of the wise man, "a prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself, but the simple pass on and are punished."*

For the reasons stated, and the nature of the occasion, the subject is not treated on religious grounds, but only on grounds of political and general expediency and necessity. To christians, however, there are reasons in favour of the system advocated, which make it imperatively binding upon them, and demand their united energies in carrying it forward. For if a direct, efficient and distinctive religious influence can be secured in the government and instruction of any institution IN NO OTHER WAY, then every motive and command by which the Bible urges parents to "train up their children" from infancy to independent and mature manhood, "in the way they should go,"—that is, "to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord" teaching them all things whatsoever Christ has commanded,"—obligates them to patronize this plan, and to give to it their prayers, co-operation and support, until it is rendered adequate to all the wants of our growing republic. If these divine requisitions include all that is essential to secure the greater blessing, that is the establishment of religious principles, habits and character, they must also include that constant and thorough religious culture and influence which can alone lead to such a result; and if they include the great end, even the personal and everlasting salvation of the soul, they must make necessary that continual enforcement of "line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little," by and through which God works in the hearts of men. "Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth" And God, therefore, in making it the duty of his Church to provide for the attainment of these ends, has also made it her duty to use diligently all the means by which education, like godliness, "may be profitable for the life that now is, and also for the life that is to come," and to secure, therefore, for the young, a certain and an efficient religious education. And if there is any one part of education, more than another, which requires to be imbued with the restraining and sanctifying influences of the gospel, it is a college education, for then passion is strongest, temptation greatest, and restraint weakest.

The author would not have felt warranted, notwithstanding his own convictions of the importance of the subject, in presenting it to the world, had it not been suggested for his discussion on this occasion, and had not the publication of the address been requested by many highly influential men, and also by the prefixed communication, to which he felt bound to yield an assent.

*Prov. xxii. 3, & xxvii. 12. See the quotations from the N. Y. Evangelist and New Jersey society, in the Appendix.

A N ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE THALIAN AND PHI-DELTA SOCIETIES:

Although I appear before you almost without note of warning or time for full preparation, I have, nevertheless, fearlessly thrown myself into the engagement, animated by the glorious nature of the subject which has been suggested for discussion, and the hope that I may be able, through you, and the lustre of this occasion, to give to it greater prominence and a more considerate and general attention.

My theme is DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION—its necessity and its practicability,—especially as it regards colleges: and my object will be to show that society will, and must be, educated; that education to be a blessing, and not a curse, must be religious; that a religious education can most effectually be imparted by institutions under the control of some one denomination;—and that denominational colleges are both necessary and practicable, and free from any valid objection.

As it regards education in general, the controversy is now nearly at an end. Its importance, its value, its paramount worth, its absolute necessity as a qualification for the duties and privileges of the present advanced condition of society,—and the indisputable right which every man who is born within society and made subject to laws, has to its reception—these are truths now universally admitted. These *were* formerly matters of grave discussion and angry dispute. These *are* still reprobated heresies under every system of civil or ecclesiastical despotism—where, as in Italy, and in Austria, in Turkey and in China, free-born citizens are taught,—to use the language of the Austrian catechism,* that “subjects ought to conduct themselves as faithful slaves towards their masters, whose power extends over their goods as well as their

*Italy, Austria and the Pope, by Joseph Massini. London 1845, p. 52.

persons." But throughout protestant Christendom these are no longer, thank God, problematic questions to be determined by experiment, but demonstrated theorems, or rather admitted principles and ultimate facts, so that the man who questions or denies them is regarded as a traitor to his species and a conspirator against the dearest rights and liberties of humanity. And one thing is most certain, that whether it is or is not true that civilization is more beneficial to a community than barbarian ignorance, and that it is in a state of darkness rather than in a condition of light that erroneous views and evil practices are most likely to stalk abroad—it is no longer in the power of man to check the progress either of civilization or of knowledge. The people have now awoke to a full consciousness of their importance and their dignity, and are determined to think and speak for themselves, and to assert their rights against the tyranny of priestcraft on the one hand, and of lordly aristocracy on the other.

Knowledge, like the angel of the apocalypse, has now clothed herself with wings, and is seen flying in the midst of heaven and proclaiming her truths to all the nations, and kindreds, and tribes, and people of the earth. Her voice is the universal *press*,—her carrier the illimitable power of steam; and her messengers the winds. For good or for evil, for weal or for woe, for better or for worse, she is now the common property of all men, free and unshackled as the air we breathe.

For ourselves we rejoice that such is the fact. It is as it should be. Man is less physical, than he is intellectual, and less intellectual than he is spiritual. The ties that bind him to the earth are transient,—it is his relation to eternity that stamps upon him inconceivable dignity and incalculable worth. Man's happiness or misery, therefore, consists not in what he outwardly either enjoys or wants. Nakedness, hunger and distress of every kind, have been cheerfully borne when the heart was satisfied, while pomp and wealth, and luxury, and every form of earthly grandeur have operated like the chains and fetters of a guilty felon, only to aggravate the misery of a heart which was not right, and not at rest. It is, therefore, proper that the gem of every soul should be freed from those incrustations by which ignorance surrounds it,

and that the spirit into which God has breathed the life of immortality should be at liberty to expand its wings; to soar above terrestrial enjoyments; to hold converse with nature in all her wonderful and glorious works; and to wander in its illimitable musings, through the bright regions of eternity.

The father of philosophy has made it a proverbial truth that "scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt, quid ignorantio caussae destituit effectum."*

This truth, however, which is now simplified into the declaration, that "knowledge is power," like all great and fundamental truths, is only the borrowed wisdom of that CELESTIAL Organum which was "given by inspiration,"—since it was there written thousands of years ago, that "wisdom is profitable to direct," and that "a wise man is strong, yea a man of knowledge increaseth strength!"†

Without knowledge man is the giant chained down to the rock of an ignoble destiny; with it he is that same Prometheus bringing down intellectual fire even from the skies. Without it the soul is but the golden mine unopened and unemployed; with it, it is that golden ore coined, and circulated in streams of wealth throughout the world. Without it man is but an infant of days, a passive instrument in the hands of others, the tool of cunning, the dupe of folly, the slave of sensuality, the instrument of any and every evil; with it he is a free agent, capable of reasoning, independent in his own judgment, and under the guiding influence of foresight and of wisdom.

The mind of man is this world's true dimension,
And knowledge is the measure of the mind:

Since

Learning is an addition, beyond
Nobility or birth.

Knowledge therefore is power; the power by which mind may accomplish its own purposes; the organ of intellectual sense by which it observes all things; and the soul of the intellectual body by which it carries into effect its determinations and its plans.

*Novum Organum. Aphorism iii. in Bacon's works, vol. ix. p. 191. "Knowledge and human power are synonymous, since the ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect."

†See Proverbs xxiv. 5.

And would any man see of what effect it is in advancing the power of individuals whether as kings or subjects, politicians or warriors, citizens or relatives; whether as the contemporaries of the present, the inheritors of the past, or the precursors of the future age;—let him read “The two Books of Francis Bacon on the Profession and advancement of learning, Divine and Human.”

“Felix qui potest rerum cognoscere causas,
 Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
 Subjicit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.”

The glory of knowledge is, that it makes man master of himself, of his reason, his belief, his understanding, and of his will; and that it thus elevates man to the throne of his own heart, and gives him dominion over all the powers, faculties, passions and affections of his nature.

Such is the power of knowledge over man individually, and as he who has become master of himself is mightier than he who has subdued a city, so does this power over a man's own mind and heart, enable him to exercise the same power over others, yea over *their* minds and understandings and wills, and by consequence over their bodies and their physical energies. Knowledge, therefore, is the true theatre of Orpheus, of which ancient poets sung, “where all beasts and birds assembled; and forgetting, their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge; which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or that sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.”

The NECESSITY of knowledge or education, and the POWER of knowledge, cannot therefore be controverted. But these premises being granted, a wide field is still open to inquiry, and there are

many roads in which those premises may guide us, and many conclusions to which they lead. Knowledge is not, and cannot be of one kind; for ever since man "ate of that forbidden tree," knowledge has been characterized by evil as well as good, and its power exerted to corrupt as much as to purify. Evil thoughts, evil imaginations, evil purposes, evil seeds have now become incorporated with knowledge, and while its fountain pours forth the streams of happiness and joy, it also sends forth the bitter floods of misery and destruction. And if, as the Bible asserts; as all believers in it have ever testified; and as the universal and uncontradicted experience of the world proves; man is now, in his understanding darkened, in his judgment perverted, in his tastes sensualized, and in his passions and propensities depraved, it must be at once perceived that as is man, such will be that knowledge current among men and most acceptable to them.

Knowledge then is power. It makes men giants. It constitutes them kings and conquerors. It clothes them with irresistible influence over themselves and others. But what then? as is man such will be the end aimed at in the exercise of this power. Knowledge puts into his hands the club of Hercules, but his heart incites him to wield that club for the destruction, and not for the salvation, of his species. Knowledge clothes him with a coat of impenetrable mail, but his heart leads him to employ it in resisting and warding off the influences of truth and righteousness, and holiness.

Knowledge gives to a man the hundred eyes of Argus, the hundred hands of Briareus, and the wings of Mercury; it has imparted as immense power to the intellectual man, as mechanical engines have given to the physical man; it is the steam-engine of the moral world, the lever of Archimedes transferred from matter to mind, and furnishes to the statesman and politician, the sceptic and the utilitarian, the materialist and the epicurean, and the self-interested promoters of every vice, an instrument more powerful than could be wielded by any other means;—but the evil heart of unbelief will only employ this inconceivable power in diffusing through every vein and artery of the social system, the deadly poison of depravity and vice.*

* See Bell's description of his own system.

Knowledge then is power, but that power may be wielded by the madman who scatters abroad fire and death. In short, knowledge is, in itself considered, MERE POWER, and depends, for its influence, upon the manner in which that power is exerted. It is therefore either the hand of Midas which converted every thing it touched into gold, or the head of Medusa which turned every thing upon which it looked, into fiery serpents whose bite was death.

It is now, therefore, almost as generally admitted, as that knowledge is necessary to the individual and to the community, that to be truly beneficial and not fatally injurious, that knowledge must be imbued with the spirit and power of true religion. There is a chain of moral sequences as inseparable as any of the laws of nature. Freedom is necessary to human happiness; virtue is necessary to freedom; knowledge is necessary to virtue; truth is necessary to knowledge; and the will, authority, and word of God are the only *source, rule, and standard* of truth. As man, therefore, is an emanation from God, so is his well-being derived only from Him, and the last link that binds together in peace and prosperity the families of a nation is fastened to "the throne of the eternal." There is no other foundation under heaven, or known among men, upon which the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness of a community can rest, than the knowledge, belief, and practical infusion of deep religious truth. And we do affirm, and venture to ask, whether events every where, and in every age, throughout the world's history, "in all manner of dialects," do not throng the memory, and with loud and emphatic protestation corroborate the decision of Scripture, that "righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is a reproach and ruin to any people." A state is civilized, stable and happy, in proportion as law and right predominate over individual passion and self-will; and hence the only true and lasting civilization consists in the infusion of divine truth into all the arts, habits, laws, and customs of the social polity. This is the salt of the earth, the leaven of society; and revealed truth, inwrought into the texture of the social constitution, this alone can preserve a state from lapsing deeper and deeper into hopeless barbarism.

The freedom of a commonwealth depends on the combination of two things. One is what Machiavel calls its orders, that is, the forms and customs, and the different classes, assemblies, and bodies, with different powers and privileges attributed to them, into which society is divided, and by which it is governed. This embraces all the forms by which the framework of the constitution is distinguished, and it is, of course, necessary, in order to the enjoyment of popular liberty, that these forms shall be popular, and give opportunity for popular direction and control. There can be no *security* except under wise laws, voted by the best men, sanctioned by the love and approbation of the people; and there can be no *peace* except where there is harmony between the governors and the governed; where the government is the intelligence of the country directing it, and the people the arm of the country executing its decrees.

But, let the constitutional forms of a country be as perfect as they may, there is essential to freedom, another important element, and that is, the spirit and character of the people. On the mutual conformity and harmony of these things the preservation of liberty depends; but of the two the latter is unspeakably the most important, the *sine qua non* of abiding happiness, and permanent liberty. While this remains, the former cannot be essentially undermined, nor can they, in any case, be destroyed, except by a military conquest, which would soon be reconquered and overthrown. Let this remain, and under any of the forms of government, a people will be happy and free. But let this be lost, and under the freest of all civil constitutions, that same people will be miserable and enslaved. So that it is true, as Machiavel has well said, that when a people are corrupt, a free government can neither be maintained if they already enjoy it, nor ever established if they enjoy it not. And the history of Greece and Rome, and of all ancient kingdoms will prove, that those forms and orders of government, which are most adapted to secure and to maintain liberty while the people remain uncorrupt, and under the influence of religious views which are in some good measure true and powerful;—that on the other hand these very forms become injurious to that liberty, when the same people have become scorp-

tical in faith and corrupt in morals. And hence, in all the ancient nations, we find that in their earliest periods they were imbued with the pure traditional remains of the patriarchal faith, of which the leading doctrines are found imbedded in their earliest and purest legal institutes.* And hence also is it true that when that faith in any nation had become corrupted by superstition and idolatry, and those morals which spring from it had sunk into selfishness, sensuality, and unprincipled ambition,—it was found impossible to govern, and preserve the peace and order of society under the original forms of a free and popular government, and that it became necessary that the constitution should be adapted to the manners of the people, and the absolute and uncontrolled power of a monarchy, a despotism or a dictatorship be substituted for the gentler polity of a republic, or of a limited monarchy.† The unvarying testimony of all experience, therefore, demonstrates the conclusion, that among a corrupt and irreligious people a free commonwealth can neither be *established nor maintained*.‡

A representative government and free institutions are not, therefore, the cause, but the effect; the result, and not the antecedent; the visible forms in which the already settled opinions and long cherished principles of a nation are embodied; and the organs by which those principles are developed and carried out into action. These institutions, therefore, must as surely be wanting, or hasten to decay, where a people are steeped in moral and religious bondage, as a healthy body must become feeble and languid when there is a diseased vitality. And on the other hand, let the spirit of a nation be imbued with the genius of pure and undefiled religion, and it will soon develop the organs and the beautiful proportions of a free, manly, and noble constitution, and as certainly preserve and perpetuate the equitable sanctions, rights, privileges, and laws which such a free constitution implies.

It is in vain, therefore, that mere speculative and philosophising economists tell us that the happiness and liberty of a people depend on their wealth, and capital, and means of personal comfort

*See this subject fully illustrated as it regards the Romans, &c., in the *American Biblical Repository* for October, 1843, p. 346, &c.

†See the same work and article, p. 348-351.

‡See Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King* in works, vol. 3.

and enjoyment. For what influence could these exert in subduing passion, extirpating vice, and keeping in check envy, selfishness, malice, and every other evil work? Is it not rather apparent that the very abundance of such means of enjoyment would only overflow the spring-head of that general corruption; luxury, and indulgence which must ever terminate in disorder, anarchy and ruin.

But some will tell us, that the general education and enlightenment of the people will accomplish all that is necessary to the establishment and the perpetuity of freedom. This is the great modern panacea of philosophers and politicians, which is to heal all the diseases, and secure the perfect health, of the body politic. But has the world, I ask, by all its wisdom and education ever yet succeeded in establishing and perpetuating free institutions, or real personal liberty? Were not Egypt, Greece and Rome civilized and enlightened beyond, perhaps, any modern kingdom? And was not the period of their greatest enlightenment the very period of their greatest depravity, corruption, anarchy, misrule, and final enslavement to military tyrants? They were—and their history is in accordance with what philosophy and reason would teach us to expect. For knowledge is power, power to carry out, to execute, and to gratify to the utmost excess, the desires, appetites and passions of the breast, and where these are corrupt, selfish, ambitious and depraved, it makes these evil passions omnipotent for evil, and all the laws and institutions that might restrain them impotent for good. Mere human and scientific knowledge, as its advocates delight to tell us, is an ocean which is to overflow the world. Yes! it is an ocean, but like that ocean it is as fearful in its tempests as it is useful in its calm; as destructive in its inundations as it is healthful in its tides; as overwhelming in its rocks and shoals, and eddies and whirlpools, as it is invaluable as a channel for a free and unlimited trade;—and when it is once roused into action by popular commotion, when it is once upheaved into mountain billows by the fierce passions of an ungodly, unholy and irreligious populace, that neither fear God nor man,—where are the laws, the forms, the orders, or the institutions, however free and popular, that can for a moment sustain the shock of its irresistible

might? The diffusion of MERE SCIENTIFIC knowledge and education, therefore, among a people, all intelligent men are now constrained to regard as a dangerous state of things, because it makes them powerful only for evil, if they are not so educated as to be made powerful for good.*

For unless such knowledge and education are imbued with the spirit and principles of religion, their advantages to individuals and to society are not only, to a great extent, lost, but they become the fruitful sources of aggravated mischief, corruption and misrule to any community.

This MUST be the case from the very nature and constitution of the human mind. For intelligence and education increase the power and ability of the mind to act out its purposes. They enlarge and strengthen the desires, while they do not enlighten, purify, or, invigorate the conscience; they extend the thirst for gratification, without augmenting the means of resisting temptation; they enable the heart, which is naturally "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," to throw around vice a delusive appearance of reason, necessity, fashion and respectability; they address themselves to the proud and selfish feelings of the unrenewed heart, and in proportion to their acquisition and successful attainment, they inflate the mind with pride, haughtiness, contempt of others, envy and jealousy of more successful or eminent rivals for the fame and honour of society, and with a towering ambition which sets at defiance all the counsel of prudence, all the restraints of religion, all the claims of philanthropy, and will not even have God to rule over or controul it. "As he proceeds his intellect grows in strength, and becomes rampant with confidence. It exults in detecting the weaknesses and failings of others; it glories in its own resources; it is filled with self-sufficiency, and swollen with self-conceit; and as the very frequency with which it may have formed theories and pictures of morality and religion too often renders it insensible to the practical obligations of both, it soon acknowledges no master, pronounces its own light to be sufficient,—scorning to yield reverence even to the High and

* See Archbishop Whateley's "Dangers to the Christian Faith."—p. 78-81.

Holy One; who alone is light, and truth, and life, and goodness. Every unsanctified intellect thus becomes a tyrant; every master-intellect a master-tyrant. The more splendid the talents, the deeper the shades that are cast on a nature already, alas, very dark, and very depraved! The more towering the genius, the more tremendous the engine for spreading devastation through the empire of truth and order, godliness and sobriety." "Where great men are wicked, there wickedness is great."

Mere intellectual education is, then, a misdirected education, and leads to ill-proportioned attainments in knowledge; to an ill-balanced growth of the mental powers; and produces a species of monomania or partial insanity. Earth, and earthly things, form the horizon which bound the mental view. Heaven, and the things which are spiritual and divine, are excluded from its contemplation. The soul becomes "earthly, sensual, and devilish," an archangel ruined, lost, and abandoned to the pursuits of ungodliness, to swell with its mightier powers that host who are urging war against the truth and order and holiness heaven.

Such *must* be the effects of a mere enlargement and cultivation of the mental powers, without a proportionate enlargement and cultivation of the moral and spiritual affections, as appears from an a priori examination of the mental constitution. And such *HAS BEEN* its influence, as is proved by the unimpeachable testimony of all past experience during the ages that are gone by. So that you have only to point me to any individual like Alexander, Cæsar, Augustus, Nero, or in modern times a Hildebrand, a Napoleon, a Cæsar Borgia, a Voltaire, a Mirabeau, a Rousseau, a Robespierre, a Byron, a Burns, a Shelly, or any one of a host of others, who were pre-eminent in mere intellectual power, and I will point you to one who has proved himself, as it regards the entire humanity of his being, a moral monster, deformed and defective, and therefore either a misanthrope, or a murderer and polluter of his species, and as surely miserable, unhappy, and ill at ease in his own heart, as he has become the source of such misery to others. Nor do I know a more affecting lesson in the whole history of the world than

the confessions, self-upbraidings, and evident incapacity to fulfil the duties and destinies of life, either to their own comfort or the good of society, of such lofty spirits as Byron, Burns and Rousseau.

Nor is this experience of past ages belied, but on the contrary most abundantly confirmed, by the events and experience of our own age. France was never as distinguished for her learning and intellectual developement as when her Encyclopedists, Economists, Illuminati, poets, and orators cast from them the word and the truth of God; undertook to reform, remodel, and regenerate society by the wisdom of man; and precipitated France, and a great part of Europe, into that moral chaos, where atheism, anarchy, fear, terror, and wild despair, in company with teachery, blood, and murder, reigned in hellish tumult, turned earth into a Pandemonium, and Paris into one great cauldron of blood, and filled the world with tears, and groans, and yells of unearthly suffering, whose dying echoes still wail in every night-wind's sigh.

Contrary too to the anticipations of the most fearful philanthropists, facts have every where proved that the progress of mere intellectual developement has been every where followed by the progressive increase of immorality, insubordination, and crime.

From very full tables of the city of Glasgow and the county of Lanarkshire in Scotland it appears that of the whole criminals committed, *sixty-eight* per cent are educated, and only about 22 per cent uneducated, that is to say, the educated criminals are to the uneducated as two to one. The proportion is about the same of the whole criminals of Scotland, and it appears from the details given in Mr. Buckingham's travels in America, that the same proportion holds good in all the prisons in the United States.

"And it is particularly worthy of observation, that it is in the more educated districts of the lower and middle wards that the increase of detected crime has been so rapid." And this was, too, during a period when the workmen enjoyed high wages, when the population was increasing 37 per cent, when manufacturing produce had doubled, when a new source of wealth in the iron

mines and manufactures had been opened, and an extension of manufacturing industry and wealth, unparalleled in the whole annals of civilization.

Self-government has here been tried on the greatest scale, and under the most favourable circumstances for the last forty years, and it has landed the community in 100,000 practical heathen within its bounds, in the continual existence of upwards of 6,000 unrelieved paupers in a single city, in the advance of serious crime at a rate four times as fast as the increase of the people, and in the diminution of the chances of life to an extent of five-and-twenty per cent in ten years."

Now Scotland is the great example to which the advocates of secular education constantly point, as illustrating the effect of intellectual cultivation upon the character of mankind; and boundless have been the eulogiums pronounced upon the moral virtues, steady character, and provident habits of that once held the most intellectual portion of the European population. Doubtless, as long as Scotland was an agricultural or pastoral country, and education was based upon religion—when the school-house stood beside the church, Scotland *was* a virtuous country, and its population deservedly stood high in the scale of European morality. But since manufactures have overspread its great towns, and a population has grown up in certain places—educated, indeed, but without the means of religious instruction, and almost totally destitute of religious principle—the character of the nation, in this respect, has entirely changed; and it is a melancholy fact, that the progress of crime has been *more rapid in that part of the British dominions, during the last thirty years, than in any other state in Europe.* It appears from the evidence laid before the Combination Committee, in a late Session of Parliament, that the progress of felonies and serious crimes in Glasgow, during the last sixteen years, has been, beyond all precedent, alarming, the population having, during that period, advanced about seventy per cent, while serious crime has increased FIVE HUNDRED per cent. Crime over the whole country is advancing at a very rapid rate, and far beyond the increase of the population. In England, the committals which, in 1813, were

7164, had risen in 1837 to 23,612,—that is to say, they had tripled in twenty-four years. This advance will probably be considered by most persons as sufficiently alarming throughout England, but it is small, compared to the progress made by Scotland during the same period, where serious crimes have advanced from 89 in 1805, to 3418 in 1838; being an increase in four-and-twenty years, of more than THIRTY-FOLD.*

The celebrated statistical writer, Moreau, thus sums up the progress of crime in the United Kingdom for the last thirty years:—"The number of individuals brought before Criminal Courts in England has increased five-fold in the last thirty years; in Ireland, five and a half; and, in Scotland TWENTY-NINE-FOLD. It would appear that Scotland, by becoming a manufacturing country and acquiring riches, has seen crime advance with the most frightful rapidity among its inhabitants."†

Farther, the Tables below, compiled from the Parliamentary Returns of crimes tried in Scotland in 1837 and 1838, will show how extremely ill-founded is the opinion, that the majority of criminals are *uneducated* persons.‡

It is unnecessary to multiply evidence of a fact so perfectly

* Parliamentary Returns.

† Moreau's *Statist. de la Grand Bretagne*, ii. 297.

‡ OFFENDERS.

		Number.	Could neither Read nor Write.	Could Read and Write imperfectly.	Could Read and Write well.	Received a Superior Education.	Education not ascertained.
1837.	Males.	2391	445	1345	479	65	57
	Females.	735	248	427	41	3	16
		3126	693	1772	520	68	73
1838.	Males.	2609	353	1529	569	91	67
	Females.	809	198	541	61	2	7
		3418	551	2070	630	93	74

1837. 1838.
 Total Uneducated, 693. 551
 Total Educated, 2360. 2793

Thus the uneducated criminals in Scotland are not so much as a *fifth* of the educated, and while the former are declining in numbers, the latter are rapidly increasing.

apparent, of the total inadequacy of mere secular education to check the progress of crime in the British Islands. But a very singular and most interesting confirmation of the same principles has been afforded by the criminal returns of France, in the whole eighty-six departments of which it has been found that, with hardly one single exception, the amount of crime is *just in proportion to the degree of instruction which prevails*; and that it is nowhere so prevalent as in those towns and departments where education has been carried to the highest pitch. This extraordinary fact which, as Mr. Bulwer very candidly admits, has fairly overturned our highly preconceived ideas on the subject, is deserving of the most serious attention. Its authenticity is called in question only by that numerous class who will believe no facts which do not fall in with their own preconceived ideas.

Returns of exactly the same character have been obtained from the statistics of America, and are to be found in M. Beaumont and Tocqueville's able work on the Penitentiary System of this country; but the details are numerous, and it is sufficient to refer to the following quotation from that work:—
 "It may seem that a state having every vent for its industry and agriculture, will commit less crime than another which, equally enjoying these advantages, does not equally enjoy the advantages of intelligence and enlightenment. Nevertheless, we do not think that *you can attribute the diminution of crime in the North to instruction*, because in Connecticut, *where there is far more instruction than in New York*, crime *increases* with a terrible rapidity; and if one cannot accuse knowledge as the cause of this, one is obliged to acknowledge *that it is not a preventive.*"*

There are, however, Tocqueville tells us, some institutions in America in which instruction does produce the effect of reforming even the most abandoned criminals. But mark the kind of education which, according to his high authority, has this effect. "The education in these houses is a *moral*

* Beaumont and Tocqueville on the Penitentiary System of the United States, p. 147.

education ; its object is not merely to load the memory, but to elevate the soul. Do not lie, and do as well as you can are the simple words with which children are admitted into these institutions. Their discipline is entirely founded on morality, and reposes on the principles of true philosophy. Every thing is there calculated to elevate the minds of the persons in confinement, to render them jealous of their own esteem, and that of their equals. To obtain this object, they make a feint of treating them from the beginning, like men, and as already the members of a free society." But as Scotland is the country to which the supporters of intellectual education uniformly refer in confirmation of their favourite tenets in regard to the influence of education on public virtue, I am anxious to make it evident that it affords not the slightest countenance to their principles, but the strongest confirmation of those which have now been advanced. Scotland as she was, and still is, in the rural and pastoral districts, and Scotland as she is, in her great towns and manufacturing counties, are as opposite as light and darkness. Would you behold Scotland as she was, enter the country cottage of the as yet untainted *rural* labourer ; you will see a frugal, industrious, and contented family, with few luxuries, but fewer wants, bound together by the strongest bonds of social affection, fearing God, and scrupulous in the discharge of every moral and religious duty ; you will see the young at the village school, under the shadow of the neighboring church, inhaling with their first breath the principles of devotion, and preparing to follow the simple innocent life of their forefathers, who repose in the neighbouring churchyard ; you will see the middle-aged toiling with ceaseless industry, to enable them to fulfil the engagement contracted by the broken sixpence,* or maintain the family with which Providence has blest their union ; you will see the grey-haired seated in the armchair of old age, surrounded by their children and their grandchildren, reading the Bible every evening to their assembled descendants, and every Sunday night joining with them in the song of praise.

* Bride of Lammermoor.

Such was, and, in many places, still is, Scotland under the Church, the schoolmaster, and the Bible."

"Would you behold Scotland as she now is in the manufacturing districts under the modern system, which is to supersede those antiquated prejudices? Enter the dark and dirty change-houses, where twelve or fourteen mechanics, with pale visages and wan cheeks, are assembled on Saturday evening, to read the journals, discuss the prospects of their trades'-unions, and enliven a joyless existence by singing, intoxication, and sensuality; listen to the projects sometimes formed for offering violence to the obnoxious operative, or intimidating by threats other peaceable and industrious citizens; hearken to the gross and licentious conversation, the coarse and revolting projects which are canvassed, the licentious songs which are sung, the depraved tales told, the obscene books often read in these dens of iniquity; follow them on, as they wander all night from change-house to change-house, associating with all the abandoned females they meet on the streets at these untimely hours, drinking a half-mutchkin here, a bottle of porter there, a gill at a third station, and indulging, without scruple, in presence of each other, in all the desires consequent on such stimulants and such society. Observe them continuing this scene of debauchery through all Saturday and Sunday night, and returning to their work, pale, dirty, unwashed, and discontented, on Monday or Tuesday morning, having been two nights out of bed, absent from their families, and spending almost all their earnings in profligacy, happy if they have not been worked up, at the close of this long train of debauchery, to engage in some highway-robbery or house-breaking, which consigns many of them to exile or the scaffold. Such is Scotland under the schoolmaster, the journalist, and the distiller; and, grievous as the picture is, those practically acquainted with the habits of many of our manufacturers will not deem it overcharged." So speaks one of her sons.

It has, I know, been thought that these calculations are wrong. But Mons. M. A. Quatelet in his recent and elaborate "Treatise on Man, and the developement of his faculties," which has been

published in several languages,* in the chapter on the propensity to crime, says, "Thus all things being equal, the number of crimes against persons, compared with the number of crimes against property during the years 1828 and 1829 was greater, according as the intellectual state of the accused was more highly developed; and this difference bore especially on murders, rapes, assassinations, blows, wounds, and other severe crimes." Again, "It is remarkable that several of the poorest departments of France, and, at the same time, the least educated, such as Creuse, Indre, Cher, Haute-Vienne, Allier, &c., are at the same time, the most moral, whilst the contrary is the case in most of the departments which have the greatest wealth and instruction. These apparent singularities are, I think, explained by the observations which have been made above. Morality increases with the degree of education in the late kingdom of the Low Countries, which would lead us to believe that the course of education was better." And in giving his "conclusions" from all the facts analysed, he says, "12th. Education is far from having so much influence on the propensity to crime as is generally supposed. Moreover, moral instruction is very often confounded with instruction in reading and writing alone, and which is most frequently an accessory instrument to crime."

To use the language of Mr. Goadley in his recent letters from America: 'Fruit and progress,' says the Baconian philosopher, or one who assumes the name, (meaning thereby, the 'fruit' of sensual enjoyment, and the 'progress' of civilization, and the 'arts of life') 'are the great ends and objects of our being, the tests of true philosophy.' Well, we have now been acting upon that principle in England for a great number of years, and it must be confessed, with great success—that is, we have made wonderful discoveries; we have dived into the secrets of nature, and forced powers and elements, hitherto unknown, to minister to us; we have accumulated unimagined wealth; we have brought nearly to the perfection of luxury the art of living; and what is the result? Is England merrier now than she used to be? more contented,

* Republished in Edinb., 1842, by Chambers. See p. 84, 89, 95, Published also in Germany and Italy.

more loyal, more religious? Alas, the united voice of the press, the parliament, the nation, answers 'No.' And yet people flatter themselves that nothing more is wanted than a further development of the same system, a more consistent carrying out of the same principle, in order to remedy the evils which exist; and here in America, where all manifestly tends to a far more rapid consummation of the same result, where the same principles are at work, unchecked by the counteracting causes which linger among ourselves, every effort seems to be made to allow them full and undisturbed action."

Such proofs of the necessary influence of a mere intellectual development of the powers of man, are leading very generally to the conclusion that EDUCATION, UNLESS WHEN IT IS A RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, is a curse, and not a blessing to any Society. "Religious and moral education," says Cousin, is the first want of a people. Without this every other education is not only without real utility, but in some respects dangerous. If, on the contrary, religious education has taken firm root, intellectual education will have complete success, and ought, on no account, to be withheld from the people, since God has endowed them with all the faculties of acquiring it, and since the cultivation of all the powers of man secures to him the means of reaching perfection, and through that, supreme happiness."

Guizot has also said, "There is one thing demands our zeal above all others—I mean moral and religious instruction. "You know," he says in his letter to the primary teachers of France, "that virtue is not always the concomitant of knowledge, and that the lessons which children receive may become pernicious if addressed only to the understanding."

"That religion," says Bolingbroke, "is necessary to strengthen, and that it contributes to the support of Government, cannot be denied, without contradicting reason and experience both." Again, "To make Government effectual to all the good purposes of it, there *must be* a religion; this religion must be national, and this national religion must be maintained in reputation and reverence." The iron-hearted Robespierre in that ever memorable conclave which voted that there was no God, could

boldly protest against the political inexpediency of the decision ; exclaiming, "If there were no God ; a wise Government would invent one !" Napoleon, according to the authority of a modern French statesman, was heard on one occasion to declare :—"No society can exist without morals ; and there can be no sound morals without religion. Hence, there is no firm or durable bulwark for a State, but what religion constructs ; let, therefore, every school throughout the land, assume the precepts of religion as the basis of instruction. Experience has torn the veil from our eyes."

It may be very interesting as a practical and most conclusive illustration and proof of the different results of a religious education, and an attempt to elevate a people by any other means, to allude to the present condition of what were originally the same people in Wales and in Ireland.

"Less than a century ago," says Mr. Lewis, "so late as the Rebellion of 1745, the Highlands of Scotland were peopled with rude and half-savage clans, attached to the grossest superstitions of Popery, and following their chiefs to the field of battle in any quarrel, just or unjust, in which they might engage, destitute of the smallest tincture of letters or of religious knowledge, and requiring a series of forts and garrisons to keep them from rebellion and internal feuds. It has been too little observed how marvellous, in the lapse of a century, has been the change in the Highlands of Scotland. It has been still less observed in its cause. The Highlands have been planted with Protestant pastors, speaking the language of the natives, and they have heard, for a century, Christ preached in their mother-tongue. They have had parochial schoolmasters to teach their children, established by the care of the Church. To the parochial schoolmasters, too few in number for parishes so extensive in their boundaries, the General Assembly added 130 more, teaching, in English and Gaelic, the youth of the Highlands. The Bible has not only been translated, but everywhere circulated, and the Psalms have long since been given to them in their native tongue to be sung in their cottages and churches. The natural result of these efforts of a resident, preaching, teaching, and zealous clergy, is now visible in the quiet and good order of those once-disturbed districts, where assassina-

tion, robbery, and fire-raising are unknown, and where the absentee landlords of England and Ireland may spend whole days and nights in autumn in roaming its mountains and valleys in search of game, undisturbed by aught but the respectful salute of the natives to the stranger. No part of all Scotland is at this moment so thoroughly Protestant and Presbyterian in its feelings as just those very Highlanders, whose ancestors fought and fell at the battle of Culloden for the restoration of Prelacy and the Pretender. What a contrast to the Highlands of Ireland! In 1745, they were in the same state as the Highlands of Scotland, under the darkness of Popery, ready to follow their chiefs in any quarrel, and zealous like them for Popery and the Pretender. But a century has passed, and, while the one population now rank among civilized and christianized men, the other remain the wild Irish still, ignorant, superstitious, vindictive, that know no law but the law of force, and can hardly be restrained by the presence of an armed soldiery or a disciplined police from breaking out at every interval into deeds of savage violence and cruel revenge. Yet, are they not the same race with the Celts of the mountains of Scotland, speaking the same language, and, a century ago, of the same religion, manners, habits, and customs? Who has made them now so widely to differ but that Church which, to the Scottish Celts, has been a nursing-mother, feeding their children with 'the finest of the wheat, and with honey out of the rock satisfying them,' while the Church of Ireland has been to the Celts of Ireland a careless, unfeeling step-mother, that left her charge to roam in the wilderness, fed by strange shepherds, or devoured by wolves?*

The position is, therefore, I think, now demonstrated, that education, when it is not imbued with the spirit of religion, is power put into the hands of any people for evil and not for good; and that instead of benefiting, it will prove injurious to any nation.† As

* This might be argued also from the entire disproportion between *reason* or *intelligence* and *brute force* when armed by passion. *Religion alone* can controul, and even convert into good, such force. See Butler's Analogy part i, c. 3.

See also the result of the non-religious colleges of India under the support of the British government. See Duff on India and India missions, p. 270, 271 and elsewhere at large and 583 584, 589.

† The state of the colleges in Holland powerfully confirms our conclusion, as represented by Dr. Capadose to the Free Church of Scotland. "But, unheard-of fact! in place of the article which promises equal protection to all religions, the

union with God was the original law of man's nature, so is re-union with him essential to the perfection, harmony and happiness of his moral being. And to lead to this consummation every thing not only in the ordinances and teaching of christianity, but also "the whole experience of life, all that befalls and belongs to him in it, his domestic position, his social position, whatever is his, whatever lies around him" are all made to work together to form one comprehensive scheme of discipline devised by infinite wisdom for the purpose of contributing to the accomplishment of that great design. The great end and aim of education, therefore, is not to fit and prepare men for a successful scramble for the loaves and fishes, the gold and silver, the honours and emoluments, or any of the beggarly elements of earth,—but to secure the renovation of a heart which has fallen away from God, by the operation of truth upon the mind and character.

"Knowledge is not then a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrasse for a wandering and variable

Government, in order not to please the Roman Catholics, has not only forbidden all religious instruction in the schools of the State, but even hinders, under a thousands pretexts, the any special schools for the children of the lower classes, at the cost of private individuals, and established upon a free Christian foundation, should be placed beside other schools, and thus interfere with the monopoly of instruction which the Government has arrogated to itself. All those of the class of citizens who have learned, by the grace of God, that schools in which instruction in the Word of life is forbidden cannot be blessed, and who have not the means of giving their children private masters, are placed in the terrible alternative, either to allow them to grow up without instruction of any kind, or to expose them to the pernicious influence of an instruction from which every religious element and the truths of the holy Word of God have been strictly separated.

"I do not require, then, to express to you the anguish of true Christians for the future days of their poor country! For what can one expect from a generation of whom the great majority multiply and grow without having been nourished "by the sincere milk of the Word," and who are surrounded by the insidious snares of infidelity on the one hand, and the bold efforts of Romish priests on the other? Oh! how are these principles of infidelity encouraged, which strew everywhere the road to that lordly Rome which in all places raises her head, and shows herself the same mother of lies as in the times of the Reformation. And when we turn our regards towards academical instruction—ah, well, a new desolation! We have three universities; and in two of them they teach an infidel science—a modified Rationalism—a system of doctrine in which vital truths, such as the Trinity—the Divinity of our Saviour—the inspiration of the Sacred Writings—the expiation or death of Christ to satisfy divine justice—the personality of the Holy Spirit—all that forms the foundation of our holy religion—is denied in the most insidious manner. And it is under such a teaching that our young ministers are prepared for the preaching of the gospel!! For many years some laymen (and in my humble way I have the privilege of being of that number) have made reclamations and appeals against these enormities; but we have had no further success than opening the eyes of many."—*Home & Foreign Miss. Record of the Free Church.*

mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; but a rich storehouse, for the glory of the creator, and the relief of man's estate."*

Religion, therefore, must be included not only as one of the many branches of instruction to which the attention is directed, but it must be the pervading and controlling principle of the whole, to which all the others are subordinated, and for which the foundation is to be laid and all the details regulated. Nature herself teaches, that all kinds of physical good are, in her estimation, not once to be compared to the very lowest moral acquirements. These man shares, though it is true in a higher degree, with the brute creation; while the moral and religious capacity are altogether peculiar to man. A complete moral machinery is, therefore, implanted in the human mind. The moral and religious faculties are the first which are developed, and the only ones, which can, in fact, be cultivated at all during the earliest years of childhood. Children are incapable of learning any thing else, than what is connected with one or other of these branches of education. In these they are, however, capable of making rapid and permanent progress. Their faith is unhesitating and complete, their imagination fitted to comprehend what is mighty and sublime, and their affections ready to give themselves up to the influence of love and kindness as exhibited in the character and ways of God. Moral attainments, also, are accompanied by the calm consciousness of dignity, self-approvel and peace, and excite the admiration and approval of others, while the highest intellectual attainments, when not accompanied by religion, lead only to personal dissatisfaction, degradation and misery. In every way, therefore, does nature point out the immeasurable superiority and supreme importance of moral and religious, above mere physical and intellectual attainments. "We believe that, if it be really wished to repair to the most authentic sources, and to labour with a view to permanent, as well as to immediate results, in the culture of the human being, we must draw our informa-

* Bacon's Works, vol. i., p. 251.

tion, not from any vague theory or speculation, but from the consideration of the experimental facts of the nature of man himself, and of the condition in which it has pleased God to place him. If we go to Scripture, as to the highest record of that which most concerns us, we are assured that his natural life upon earth is a life that perishes like the grass,—that it flourishes in the morning, and that in the evening it is gone. If such be the case, is it not natural and incumbent upon us that we should direct our attention to that imperishable life which lies beyond the grave; that we should not pretend we are educating a man, when, in point of fact, our efforts only have reference to the temporary incidents of this earthly state, which is the state of his infancy; and have no reference to that future state, which is the state of his manhood and full developement? If, again, we look to the institutions of our religion, do we not find that all our children are already in covenant with God; that they are already dedicated to him by baptism, and after they have been so dedicated, and during the very first days or weeks of infancy have been stamped with His seal, is it to be supposed that when their faculties begin to ripen and expand, they are to be trained up without the knowledge of the life-giving truths of revelation? If we look to the nature of the human mind itself, if we consider its longings, how comprehensive is its range, how great its capabilities, how little its best and highest faculties are satisfied with the objects that are placed before us upon earth; how many marks this dispensation bears of being a temporary, and as it were an initiatory dispensation,—is it not monstrous to pretend that we are giving to the human being such a cultivation as befits his nature and his destiny, when we put out of sight all the higher and the more permanent purposes for which he lives, and confine our provision to matters which, however valuable, (and valuable they are in their own place) yet of themselves bear only upon earthly ends? Is it not a fraud upon ourselves and our fellow-creatures,—is it not playing and paltering with words, is it not giving stones to those who ask for bread, if, when man, so endowed as he is, and with such high necessities, demands of his fellow-men that he may be rightly trained, we impart to him,

under the name of an adequate education, that which has no reference to his most essential capacities and wants, and which limits the immortal creature to objects that perish in the use."

Just as surely, therefore, as "the mind is the man, and the knowledge is the mind," so that "a man is what he knoweth," and "the truth of being and the truth of knowing is all one," just so sure is it that as God is truth and its only source, rule, and standard, and as all true wisdom cometh down from above,—an education which is not positively religious, is irreligious, profane, contrary to the NATURE, capacities, and wants of man, and leaves him in a condition of moral inanition, ignorance, depravity, and wild disorder. And since, as we have seen, education of some kind must be given, and will be had, the conclusion is forced upon us, that our people must have a religious education or our liberties are gone. For, if the spirit and character of a people is the essential element in the establishment and perpetuity of *any* peaceful and prosperous kingdom, how much more is this necessary in a *commonwealth*, where every man is a component part of the Government, and gives tone to its character, and shape to its laws.* Just in proportion, therefore, as education is increased and elevated, must the religious and moral instruction which are combined with it, be increased. For there may be,—and let this considera-

* "Better, far better, that every such school should be closed, even though the scholars should grow up without education of any kind, than that they should be trained up with prejudices against the Bible, such as those which its official exclusion from the schools, as a sectarian book, is calculated to create. Without the inculcation of that system of morality which the Bible reveals, the mere instruction in letters will prove a curse rather than a blessing; and if, superadded to the neglect of moral training, there be inculcated a contempt for the Bible by nicknaming it a sectarian book, the youth coming forth from such schools will be prepared to infect the moral atmosphere in which they live and spread the contagion of vice throughout the community.

"Well did that Christian patriot, Doctor Channing, who has so recently left his country and the world to feel and mourn his loss, exclaim, "The exaltation of talent, as it is called, above virtue and religion, is the curse of the age. Talent is worshipped, but if divorced from rectitude, it will prove more a demon than a God." For in the language of another gifted writer, "Better that men should remain in ignorance, than that they should eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge only to be made more subtle and powerful adversaries of God and humanity." And yet such must be the practical fruit of Common Schools thus dishonored, perverted, and prostituted to the service of this crusade against the Bible."—*Dr. Reese*.

See also, Powell on Education, p. 44, 53, 79, 80. Smith's Wealth of Nations; B. v. ch. i. Tocqueville, vol. ii. p. 319, 153, 155, and vol. i. p. 349, 351, and 428.

tion be well weighed,—spiritual knowledge conveyed, and yet it may be so conveyed as to be useless, because disproportionate to the worldly knowledge which is imparted. And just so far as this is the case,—so far as the intellect is strengthened by the acquisition of science, professional learning, or general literature, without being proportionately exercised in spiritual subjects,—just so much the more will the mind be open to infidel and skeptical objections which it finds itself unprepared to meet; and thus be led to throw off from itself, as a vulgar or outworn garment, that system of divine truth which it does not appreciate, only because it does not fully understand it;—which is full of difficulties only because it is so full of unexamined matter;—and which is so distasteful, only because a taste and a relish for it have not been properly formed. Not being trained up in the way he should go, the man follows in that path of worldliness in which he was trained, and being brought up in the nurture of science and not of the Lord, when he is old, he casts off the Lord that bought him and goes after the idols of the heart, of the affections, and of the understanding.*

But if such a religious education is essential, the question arises, can it be imparted by the state or government? Now it will admit of a very strong argument whether in this country at least, if not every where, it is competent for the government to interfere with the education of the people in any other way, than by encouragement, or such an equalized tax for educational purposes as will allow every citizen to designate the particular institutions to which he wishes his tax to go. On this basis colleges managed by the State might be acceptable, or even preferable to some, and by their example useful to all.

State education, except in the way and on the plan suggested, as Tocqueville and other writers teach, tends to centralize power

* See this picture filled out in the melancholy history and course of Mr. Brownson as depicted by himself in his work, "My Progress in Error," who has run like an unchained and untamed beast of the forest, through every species of error and delusion, until now he is fanatically in love with the Pope, and mad for the substitution of the free! tolerant!! and republican!!! system of Popery, with its literature too!!! in the place of the republican Protestantism of America.

in the hands of the government; and as its patronage is exclusive, to form a body within the nation which, as it has the power, stability, and wealth of the government, must more and more fill up the place of an aristocracy, and undermine that principle of self-government, local association, and municipal control which is fundamental to the theory of republican institutions.* May not the exclusive support of some institutions also check the improvement of education, by destroying the great stimulus to all progress, namely the necessity for exertion arising from competition and rival institutions? Does not such exclusive patronage also remove the teachers of the youth of a country from an immediate responsibility to the people, and thus convert colleges, as Adam Smith says, from being the seminaries, into the dormitories of learning, where, like Rip Van Winkle, they wake up to improvements some centuries after they have been discovered.†

May it not also be questioned whether the Legislature of any State is the most competent body to direct its education. Not to say that such bodies may often be under the control of their least educated and enlightened members, it is certain that they have not the time necessary for the work, while local and narrow views may affect their whole proceedings, and thus legalise, stereotype, and perpetuate an erroneous, defective, or useless system, while they impede, by their exclusive endowments, the progress of other and independent institutions.‡ And

* Democracy in America, vol. 2., p. 325, 326, 339 and 342.

† Bacon is of the same opinion, "It is not to be forgotten," says he, "that the dedicating of foundations and donations to professorial learning, hath not only had a malign influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments; for hence it proceedeth, that princes find a solitude in respect of able men to serve them in causes of state, because there is no education collegiate which is free."

In his "*Table Talk*," Hazlitt expresses himself of the same opinion. "Our universities," says he, "are in a great measure become cisterns, to hold, not conduits, to disperse knowledge. The age has the start of them that is, other sources of knowledge have been opened since their formation, to which the world have had access, and have drank plentifully at these living fountains, from which they are debarred by the tenour of their charter, and as a matter of dignity and privilege. All that has been invented or thought in the last two hundred years they take no cognizance of, or as little as possible; they are above it; they stand upon the ancient land-marks, and will not budge; whatever was not known when they were endowed, they are still in profound and lofty ignorance of."

‡ On this point let us learn instruction from the English State Universities,

then too, may it not be argued that the education of their own minds, and those of their children, is one of those inalienable rights which can never be given up by any individual, or by any body of men, and one of those rights therefore, which *is not* given up to society, and with which its legislators have no right to interfere except in that mode of voluntary taxation which will allow individual opinion to promote the common welfare, and yet to secure that education it regards as essential to the welfare of its own children? Besides, can any man show that the assumption of the control, and the endowment of some particular Colleges, and other schools, out of many, is not an incipient alliance between the State and certain opinions there inculcated, which may be either religious or irreligious, moral or immoral? Education assuredly cannot be neutral. It must either be Christian, Jewish, or Infidel; and as Christian either Presbyterian, Romish or of some other denominational form. Hence in making such an exclusive selection, the State must enter into alliance with one or other of those forms; and if so, then is not the State prepared, whenever the majority shall will it, to ally itself, through the all-powerful instrumentality of the education of the leading minds of the people, either with infidelity, or with some form of religion, since there is no alternative? And if it is objected that education is essential to the welfare of a people, and cannot be adequately supported but by the State, then it may be replied, that religion is still more essential and that the support of its manifold wants requires a still more munificent endowment, and that if the State identifies itself with

for they are not voluntary or independent denominational Colleges.

In the Westminster Review for September, 1844, in an article on the Ethics of Politicians, based upon the report of the Parliamentary Committee on opening letters, which practice involves say they, theft, lying, forgery, treachery, rogue-making and tyrannous injustice, says "We have long considered the state of our Academical and University education to be the cause of half the errors committed in legislation, but of all the evils to be traced to this fruitful source, none are greater than the moral canker they occasion. The ethics of Archdeacon Paley, and Professor Sewel,—political expediency on the one hand, and blind submission to authority on the other,—the transformations of Ovid and the history of the Punic wars, leave no place for the decalogue or any sound interpretation of its meaning; and the result in after life, when our high-born University graduates appear at the Council board, as the world has seen with astonishment, is a formal recognition of PETTY LARCENY as a fundamental maxim of State policy." p. 117.

some one form of the one, it ought to do so with the other also.*

“ 'Tis liberty which gives the flower
 A fitting life—its lustre and perfume,
 And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
 Except what WISDOM† lays on evil men, is evil—
 Hurts their faculties, impedes their progress
 In the road to science,—and begets,
 In those who suffer it, the sordid mind,
 'The bestial wish, the meagre intellect,
 Unfit to be the tenant of man's noble form.”



But waiving, for the present, this argument,—which we merely present for the consideration of inquiring minds and not as in itself necessary to our conclusions, nor in any way designed as an attack upon State institutions in themselves considered,‡ and which might be extended—may we not affirm, that whatever the State may attempt to do on the subject of education and of colleges, except on the plan of an equalized support, it cannot provide for the people either in its schools or in its Colleges, that THOROUGH, PROPORTIONATE, AND EFFICIENT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION and controul, which we have already seen is essential in order to reap the full benefits of education. This impossibility arises from the very nature of the case;—from the genius of our civil constitution, which knows no religious party; from the existence nevertheless, of various parties in the State, all differing on the subject of religion, and all tenaciously adhesive to their peculiarities of opinion; and from the utter impracticability, therefore, of identifying itself either with no religion, or with Judaism, Christianity, or Infidelity, without at the same time allying itself with one party and arraying against it all the rest, and without overthrowing the cardinal principles of our free institutions. And the experiments made on this subject, by almost every State throughout the country, have universally proved, and are now every where in glaring evidence demonstrating the fact, that it is utterly impossible to combine with any State institution,—whether schools or colleges,—a direct, systematic, efficient and predominating religious influence, since this could be done only by allowing

* See Appendix No. 1.

† By this, Cowper here unquestionably means piety, or evangelical religion.

‡ Our States, in the absence of any other institutions, and in the existing views of Society, could not have done better than they have, and therefore are deserving of great praise. But of course if better informed they will not be unwilling to devise even more liberal things.

some one denominational system to be energetically carried out. On this subject it is unnecessary, and it might be invidious, to dwell, but from a recent extensive tour over the greater portion of the country, I am of the opinion that the conviction is becoming very general, that any attempt on the part of the State to imbue its education with a decidedly religious character is Utopian and vain, and cannot be sustained.*

And hence we are brought to the conclusion that since education will and must be given to the people; since this education, to be beneficial and preservative of the institutions of the country, must be religious; and since such a religious education cannot be given by institutions exclusively patronized by the State, and therefore avowedly destitute of any direct and efficient religious management, instruction and controul; it must be given by religious denominations themselves.

To this conclusion, however, there are a host of objections all clamouring for audience, and like the winds of Æolus, overwhelming us with their boisterous confusion. But if our premises are immoveable, and our conclusion from them fairly and logically drawn, then all such objections are unavailing, and unworthy of consideration. There is nothing,—however plain, practicable, or necessary,—against which objections may not be raised; and the only question which can ever be entertained by the ear of true wisdom is,—Is the end aimed at necessary to be secured, and are the means proposed the only reasonable or practicable method by which that end may be reached? These points being determined, it has no more to say to the thousand queries whether this method may not be liable to difficulties; but laying aside all such enervating discussions and diletanti reasonings, it girds itself for the task before it, and gives all diligence to work out the end proposed by every means in its power.

Let it not then be said, that this scheme is impossible. "Impossible," cried Mirabeau to his Secretary, "never name to me that blockhead of a word." What is there which practice and manly effort might not actually avail to accomplish. The first of all things then, is to gird ourselves for the actual doing.

* See Appendix No. 2.

to know that we actually either must do, or, as the Irish say, "come out of that." "It is not,"—to use the striking words of a very powerful though eccentric writer,* "it is not a lucky word this same *impossible*: no good comes of those that have it so often in their mouth. Who is he that says always, 'there is a lion in the way?' Sluggard, thou must slay the lion then; the way has to be travelled!" "All difficulty, and this difficulty too, is as a nightmare; the instant you begin to *stir* under it, the difficulty is, properly speaking, gone. Difficulty once manfully fronted ceases to be difficulty. Once rightly girded up, how many things will present themselves as *double* which now are not *attemptible*."

What Christian denominations then ought to do, they *can*,—and when once made to realize their obligations, they *will* do. The power of Christian principle is almost omnipotent. It can accomplish any thing but impossibilities. It brings into operation every power and principle of our nature, "body, soul and spirit," which are all considered but as "a reasonable sacrifice." And while Christian principle thus brings to bear upon the cause it supports, all the might of man, it also secures the co-operation of the still mightier power of God, who is able to work in his people to do whatsoever is in accordance with his will. Do we theorize in thus speaking? Nay, we speak as wise and practical men. For is not the organization and support of the ministry, the erection and preservation of churches, and the maintenance of the ordinances of the gospel, an immeasurably greater task than the support of education, and especially of a few Colleges? If Christianity then accomplishes the greater work, can it not accomplish the less? And if it was able to achieve the former task even in the primitive age of weakness, poverty, and persecution, how assuredly can it do this now in an age of peace, prosperity, general wealth, and unlimited toleration? Did not Christianity found its schools, establish its seminaries, endow its universities, and form even its literature, in the very earliest ages?† Were

* Carlyle's *Chartism*, p. 96 and 98 Eng. Ed.

† That the entire system of education pursued by the Jews and early Christians was denominational is beyond doubt. The Jewish Synagogues had all schools attached to them. Christ himself and his Apostles acted on

not all the lights of science and education, which twinkled in the otherwise dark and lurid sky of the middle ages, enkindled by the fire of piety and at the altar of religion? Did not the morning star of the reformation and of the revival of letters rise upon Christian minds, and shine more and more unto the perfect day of universal enlightenment, through the combined energies of those mighty men whom God raised up to regenerate the world? And while in the Medi-æval age there were magnificent universities established, and that too, as can be clearly shewn, almost exclusively by private and voluntary endowment,* does not Monsieur Villers,—himself a Frenchman and a Romanist—allow that Protestantism has founded more and better colleges than Popery?† Protestantism sustains itself by knowledge, and its two great auxiliaries are the school and the college. In Scotland therefore, in England among the Dissenters, in the New England colonies of the Pilgrim Fathers, Christians regarded the religiously conducted school and college as equally necessary with the church and the ministry, and hence have their colleges been munificently endowed, and successfully carried on by the exclusive efforts, and management of these Christian bodies.‡ And has not the Free Church of Scotland, besides building near seven hundred churches, supporting as many ministers, and providing largely for its colonial and missionary schemes, actually secured the means to establish a school and a parsonage in every parish, and to endow a college, with the necessary apparatus, library, buildings and revenue? Are not the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists in England, the Presbyterians in Ireland, and the Presbyterians in almost every State in the Union, where they have not already an institution, engaged in the same glorious enterprise of founding and endowing colleges and seminaries of their own?

The scheme, therefore, of denominational education, is as this plan. Hence the number of presbyters in every church. Hence the distinct office of teachers in the Apostolic and early churches. And hence the number of their schools. See *Biblical Repertory* for Jan. 1844, p. 9, 17. *Riddle's Christian Antiquities*; *Dr. Howe on Theological Seminaries, &c.*

* See *Dr. Pusey's Work on Cathedral Institutions.*

† *Essay on the Reformation*, p. 230, 232.

‡ See *Dr. Laings "Religion and Education in America,"* p. 63. *Baird's Religion in America*, ch. xiii., p. 337, Eng. Ed.

practicable, as it is essential to the purity and the permanence of our free institutions. All that is necessary to secure its full and perfect accomplishment, is to establish its religious and obligatory character in the minds of Christians generally, and then the stream of benevolence, which is seeking in its deep and broad channels the most distant and desert regions of the earth, will not fail to supply the fountains of our home education with the water of life and the bread of Heaven, instead of the husks of barren science, and the poison of an irreligious, or partially religious, education. Besides, is it not probable that when our legislators come to examine the subject fully and impartially, an equalized plan may be adopted, by which such institutions may receive that measure of the public support to which they are assuredly entitled, since they represent the convictions and the wishes of those citizens whose views of education they are intended to carry out.

But it may be thought this system will lead to all the evils of a bigotted sectarianism, and is thus opposed to the genius of our institutions. To this objection we reply first, that we have shown that it is the necessary and unavoidable tendency of institutions exclusively supported by the State, to ally themselves with some one sect, either religious or irreligious, or otherwise; as is most generally the case, to lose the benefit of any efficient religious influence and controul; and will any man deny, that any possible evils of sectarianism are infinitely to be preferred, to the certainly destructive results of an irreligious or a non-religious education? But will such evils, I ask, necessarily arise from denominational education? That these evils do exist, and that they are found to exist, and that too, in a State of ignition and violent commotion, and not of cool repose, even among the students of our State institutions, we all know; and they do in fact thus appear among us; not because of the diffusion of true, and sincere, and well-instructed piety, but because of the want of such piety, and of the existence, in its stead, of a nominal, superficial, and therefore bigotted Christianity. Bigotry and Sectarianism are the invariable results of an ill-informed, ignorant, and mere nominal christianity; while liberality, charity, and

mutual forbearance, are as surely the fruits of a deep, sincere and thoroughly instructed piety. The way therefore to undermine sectarianism and bigotry, is to imbue education thoroughly with the spirit and principles of true religion, which will in every case be found, in proportion to its purity, to be peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, and full of mercy, kindly affectioned towards all men, and full of that charity which hopeth all things, and beareth all things. Pure and undefiled religion will thus root out sectarianism and party-spirit, and substitute in their place, zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of man. This is the true foe to intolerance, persecution, and illiberality towards a difference of opinion, since it makes its possessor happy and contented; well established in his own mind; convinced that it is not his office to judge another man's servant, since to his own master each individual must give an account; and that instead of making enemies of those who differ from him, he must become all things to all men, that he may thus lead them to a candid examination of his own views.

Such *would be* the result of a deep, well read, well instructed religious education in contrast with that nominal and imperfect religious education which has so generally abused the name, and brought discredit on the cause, of christianity. And that such *has been* the effect of a thorough religious influence in the schools and colleges of a land, we may appeal for evidence to the growing enlargement and liberality of views,—the kind and gentlemanly deportment as citizens of the civil polity and members of the social circle, and the charity and good-will as fellow citizens in the commonwealth of Zion,—which characterizes the alumni of our New England institutions, and the present members of the Free Church of Scotland, whose *hearts* have been found as open, large and free as their *hands*, and who are as distinguished for their liberality and enlarged philanthropy, as they are for their piety. Besides, it may be clearly shown that different denominations are made to serve the same good ends in the State, that they do in the church;—that they are at once the results and the causes of freedom of opinion and of action;—that they are the best safeguards of purity and liberty;—the most powerful

antagonists of centralized power, and therefore of consolidated despotism;—that they prevent that stereotyped assimilation of character, opinion and manners which operates like a moral stagnation or quagmire upon society;—that they keep the waters of society in a natural and constant motion, and thus preserve it from those earthquake-convulsions which are the result of long confined and accumulated forces;—that they open up more numerous opportunities for advancement, and thus stimulate industry and give impulse to budding genius;—that they secure greater activity, energy, enterprise, and competition;—that they give birth to the only principles which have self-devotion and power sufficient to cope with infidelity;—and that there must therefore be parties in the spiritual *theocracy* if we would have a pure, free, and lasting political *democracy*.*

But it ought still further to be borne in mind that *denominational* education, at least so far as it regards presbyterianism, is not *sectarian* education. The end aimed at, and which we have shown to be absolutely necessary to the best interests of society, is the thorough religious *education* of the people in contradistinction to their mere *instruction* in certain comparatively unimportant branches; and this end, we have seen, cannot be secured by a State education nor by any attempted union of different religious bodies, and must therefore be attained, if attained all, by the efficient and harmonious effects of some one denomination. As therefore, by a State education I mean that which is not only patronized by, but is under the direction and regulating controul of the State; so by a denominational education, I mean that which is under the efficient controul and direction of some religious denomination, to which it looks therefore as the chief source of permanent endowment. The end aimed at therefore, is not to make sectarianized pupils, but to secure an efficient religious government and discipline, and a course of instruction thoroughly imbued and pervaded by the mild and heavenly influence of religious truth. The basis on which such institutions are to be erected, is not any one ecclesiastical system in all its minute peculiarities, but that truly Catholic foundation,—THE BIBLE, THE WHOLE BIBLE,—including

* See Duff on India and India Missions, p. 573, 534, 539.

which we have all religion, and excluding which we have none. But as this basis itself admits of varying construction, in order to give its influence unbroken and undivided effect, it must be exhibited through the interpretation of some one denomination. Now it must be admitted that in this respect the Presbyterian Church stands eminently distinguished among other denominations; and that while she is too commonly believed to be the most narrow, bigotted and peculiar in her doctrinal views, she is in reality most Catholic and liberal, and eminently adapted to be the guardian and patron of a religious education. The Presbyterian Church can endow and govern educational institutions without making them necessarily or essentially, seminaries teaching presbyterianism. The entire standards of our church, which contain the complete code of our doctrinal views and ecclesiastical polity, are not regarded as necessary terms of general membership and christian communion, but are only imposed as the necessary terms of ruling and ministerial office-bearing in the church;* and since therefore our only terms of communion are the fundamental truths of the gospel and the evidences of personal piety, our basis for a denominational education is as broad, as free, and as catholic, as that of God's own blessed word. The wisdom of our fathers is thus stamped, in preeminent glory, upon the elementary or school catechism which is designed and adapted for the instruction of all the members of our church, and of the young generally. The school catechisms of the Episcopal, Romish and some other churches, embody the most peculiar doctrines and ceremonies of those churches.† To introduce them into schools and colleges is therefore, to stamp such institutions with a sectarian, and not merely with a religious character, and to shut the door against all other denominations. Our school catechism however, (as is true also of our larger catechism and confession of faith) is purely doctrinal. "It contains a summary

* See Dr. Janeways Sermon on the Presbyterian Church. Introduction, and p. 32. Hill's Institutes of the church of Scotland, p. 150, 153. Dr. Carlile of Ireland on the use and abuse of Creeds or Confessions, p. 24, &c. Directory for Worship, ch. 7 iv p. 499. Bib. Repertory p. 462 for 1840, and for Oct. of same year. Hodge's Hist. of the Presb. Church, vol. ii. p. 271, 305, 351, 330. Dunlap's Confessions of Faith of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. cxlii. &c., cix, xxxv.

† This does not include the Methodist Church.

remarkably lucid in its order, and comprehensive in its statements of Divine truth; but it contains nothing more. It leaves the door open to men of all denominations who hold the great fundamental doctrines of our faith. This is abundantly manifest from the fact that the shorter catechism is a class-book in almost every school in Scotland." And as it regards the doctrines themselves, while they are now commonly denominated Calvinistic from the able exposition given of them by the immortal Calvin, yet *they are not, and never can have been* peculiar to Presbyterianism, as that term is understood. They were the doctrines of the primitive churches of Great Britain and Ireland. They were taught by the early fathers, and developed in all their peculiarity by the great Augustine. They have ever been held by the purest, the most learned, and the most pious party in the Romish Church, and by the Waldenses, and all other witnesses who testified to the truth during the middle ages. They were the undoubted and universal creed of the English as well as of all the continental reformers, and the avowed tenets taught till the time of James the II, in the English Universities. They have continued to be the faith of the most burning and shining lights in the English church until the present hour, and of all who are termed evangelical throughout the world; and they are the views of all the sound portion of the Baptist and Congregational churches both in England and America. By making these views therefore, the basis of our teaching, we take that creed which a great part of the pure church of God, in all ages and countries, and of all denominations, has agreed in receiving as the creed taught by the Holy Scriptures.

And however objectionable some of these doctrines may be to those who either do not understand, or who misunderstand them, it could be shown, if time permitted, that they have commended themselves, as I have elsewhere proved, even to philosophers and free thinkers, as most powerful in giving to a people energy, and virtue, and political honesty, and military daring, and an indomitable thirst for liberty, which led its possessors, either, as freeman to stand, or freeman to fall; and that they have ever produced the

most steady, moral, peaceable, and law-sustaining community.* When therefore, Europe lay buried in darkness, it was from the Presbyterian colleges of Jowa and Armagh, where thousands of students could be gratuitously supported at one time, that her scholars, teachers, ministers and professors were supplied. And when this country was in its period of infancy, it was to the Presbyterian schools and colleges of Scotland, Ireland and Holland, she was indebted for much of her learning, and for many of those ministers, teachers and literati, whose influence continues to shed a growing radiance over the whole intellectual and social community.

In raising therefore, a Southern Presbyterian University under Presbyterian supervision, and upon the basis of Presbyterian doctrines and the religious influence they are adapted to exert, we enter upon no Utopian or untried experiment, but upon one sustained by the experience of all ages, of all countries, and of all impartial judges. The foundation has been laid broad and deep, amid many difficulties and discouragements, but in trusting faith, unyielding firmness, and buoyant hope. Its progress is slow, but we trust sure. And is not this the law and the evidence of whatever is destined to be great and permanent? The young immortal is left for many long and helpless years to depend upon the care and guidance of others, while inferior animals arrive at once at comparative maturity and independence; and the oak which is to last for centuries, comes forth in feebleness, rises slowly from the earth, and is only rooted and strengthened by the repeated shocks of the wintry tempest. And has not every great man been born in adversity, nurtured in hardship, and thus taught those lessons of energy, perseverance, and indomitable purpose which have elevated him to the highest rank of intelligence and fame? Now, as it is with individuals, so is it also with institutions,—“whom God loves he chastens, and causes to bear the yoke in their youth.” From our present difficulties and

* See the opinions of Sir James Mackintosh, Bancroft, and others in the author's work on “Ecclesiastical Republicanism,” p. 54, 61. See also the chapter on “The Liberty of Presbytery,” p. 202, 254, and Dr. Beecher's Sermons p. 252, 254, and the proofs at p. 231, and see also Appendix where the effects of these doctrines on Literature is shown.

struggles and many disappointments, let us, therefore, derive encouragement, and be stimulated to self-denying effort. The young Hercules, though yet in his cradle, has given you to-day, and on similar occasions, some manifestation of his future strength and vigour; and confident from the history of the past, enduring all things for the present, and hoping all things for the time to come, Ogelthorpe University waits but the opportunity of proclaiming her principles and exemplifying her merits, to receive that favour and support which will secure for her complete success, and place upon her summit the last top stone, amid the triumphal praises of grateful thousands to Him who has crowned her with glory and honour.

May it be a gem in your future crowns, my young friends, that you were among the first alumni of this honoured University. May it be your pride while you live to do her reverence, and your high ambition to reflect honour upon her by lives eminent for patriotism and piety. May it be your highest gratification, according to your ability, in after life to add some stone to her rising grandeur, to enlarge the means and instrumentality of her success, and thus to leave her under lasting obligation to cherish your memory, and revere your character. And thus may you enable her to prove to the country and the world, that the voluntary principle,—that cardinal element in our free and tolerant institutions,—is as powerful and as successful as it regards education, as it is in reference to religion; and that it can give birth to as eminent colleges, well trained and enlightened students, and able and patriotic citizens, as it can stud the land with beautiful churches, and imbue the minds of its ever-growing population with the pure and life-giving principles of heavenly truth.

No. 1.

APPENDIX.

I beg to call especial attention to the following extract from a letter addressed to the author by an eminent chancellor in this State.

“I have,” says he, “a settled conviction that all efforts to educate the youth of the country by the state, will, in the end, prove worse than unavailing. If it be true, as beyond contradiction, it is, that the only firm foundation of social happiness and prosperity consists in an early and deep-rooted inculcation of the principles of christianity ; it follows, of course, that state education must fail. Confined to empty generalities by the fear of offending against, or trenching upon the great diversity of sectarian doctrines and prejudices, which must ever obtain in a free country, the subject of education must be left by their public enactments in a state little short of positive indifference, upon the subject of religion. The position of the instructor must be one of necessary neutrality. He dare not deepen any religious impression in the mind of the pupil, lest he should be accused of a sectarian, proselyting spirit : and, if it be forbidden by circumstances, to urge home the truth in all its strength and vividness upon the heart and conscience of one who is the subject of these impressions, is it not evident, from every man’s experience, that the impressions themselves will evaporate in empty air, and leave this subject more impervious to the sense of religious obligation than if he had never experienced them ? —Those who hope to convey religious instruction in general terms,—that is, as it is sometimes expressed, to convey the elements of a liberal and enlightened religion to the minds of youth, without the admixture of a specific creed, are much mistaken. Such a thing was never done, and never will be done. The heart can only seize, in the first instance, upon truth in some determinate shape. General, indefinite truth, never yet made the *original impression*. The first impression must, in the nature of things, be specific. The process of generalization takes place afterwards. The affections enlarge, the heart becomes liberalized, and a genuine liberality, and a catholic spirit, spring up wherever there is true piety ; but this piety is always found to originate in particulars, and not in abstractions. I sincerely believe that education will be most successful when left to denominational superintendence.”

 No. 2.

“Much is said,” says the New England Puritan, “of the need of a more thorough education of the whole people, as a means of preserving our free institutions. But many whose zeal in the cause of general education is worthy of all praise, have sadly mistaken the way of accomplishing the object which they have so much at heart. For while they incul-

cate the importance of popular education, they are working a divorce between education and religion—are pleading for the exclusion of the Bible, and all effective religious teaching, from our public schools. But it is clear, that the education which made this nation a nation of freemen, was an education in common schools, in which evangelical religion was taught, and in which the Bible was the common reading book: and that was just the opposite of that system towards which we are now tending—a system which excludes all religious teaching except a few negatives and generalities, which can have no effect in the formation of character, unless it be to foster a spirit of indifferentism, and rear a generation of Nothingarians. Such a system of education is a system of warfare upon evangelical religion.

But if it be so, it is no hopeful way of preserving our republican institutions. For if we follow the lights of history we shall find *that evangelical religion has been the foster-mother, both of political freedom and sound and efficient literature.* In no period have the Calvinistic doctrines prevailed in England, as they did at, and just before the time of the Commonwealth. The parliament of England, which deposed King Charles, and called the Westminster Assembly of Divines, may be regarded as a fair index of the prevailing religious sentiment of the nation at that time: and the Westminster Catechism, framed by that Assembly of their choice, and adopted by the Parliament, tells what doctrines the majority of the English nation then held. It seems, that from the time of the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, till the commencement of the Commonwealth, the tone of evangelical doctrine had been rising; and a careful observer of the progress of events, may see that it was the spreading doctrine of Calvinism that exerted a leading agency in breaking up the despotism of the semi-papal monarchs then upon the throne.

And then it is a remarkable fact, that these days of England's Calvinism were the golden age of England's literature. The Edinburgh Review, an unexceptionable witness in such a matter, says, [Vol. 18, page 275,] "There never was anything like the sixty or seventy years which elapsed from the middle of Elizabeth's reign to the period of the restoration. In point of real force and originality of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the time of Leo X., nor of Louis XIV., can come at all into comparison of it. *For in that short period we shall find the names of nearly all the very great men that this nation ever produced,*—the names of Shakespeare, Bacon, Spencer, Sydney, Hooker, Taylor, Barrow, Raleigh, Napier, Hobbes, and many others." To these should be added Milton, Owen, Baxter, Bunyan, Calamy, Lightfoot, Gataker, Ainsworth, Bates, Charnock, Howe, Selden, Hale, Twisse, and others. Lorimer, in his Protestant Church of France, says:—"It is a remarkable fact, as showing the connection between evangelical religion and the higher manifestations of mind, that no persons of national greatness appeared,

from the restoration to the revolution—the days of irreligion, and vice, and persecution—and that in one department at least, of literature, in the 18th century—that of poetry—the first to break loose from the tame formalism of the age, was the evangelical Cowper.”

Thus do we read in the history of England, that evangelical religion gives force and life to a national literature, and a national freedom; and that the negative religion, now so fashionable in some quarters, destroys it. We might deprive the same instruction from the history of Scotland. It was the thunder of John Knox that shook down the fabric of tyranny and popery in that noble little kingdom; and Calvinism furnished Knox the magazines of his thunder. Calvinism did a like work for Switzerland, the adopted country of Calvin; and we need not occupy time in showing how the doctrines of the reformation wrought for liberty, and nursed its growth, in Holland, and many of the German States.

If, then, any one wishes to invigorate and restore the literature of the country—if he wishes to impart new power to our means of education, let him seek to remove every hindrance to thorough religious teaching; let him admit the principle, that morals cannot be effectually taught and enforced, without evangelical motives;—in short let him cease to put asunder what God has joined together, and then he will have less reason to despair of the Republic. But if, trampling on the lights of history, and rejecting all the results of the world's experience, our patriots and patrons of education still hug the theory, that education, cut and squared is the only remedy,—and if they are suffered to sway the precious interests of our national education, then the gloomiest forebodings will be worse than realized. Then our nation's history may be written in this one sentence;—**VITAL CHRISTIANITY REARED ON THIS GROUND A NATION OF FREEMEN; AND ITS ENEMIES AND FALSE FRIENDS PULLED IT DOWN.**

No. 3.

Since writing and delivering the foregoing, I have found the following concurring views in papers received during my absence. The New York Evangelist after showing the necessity of Denominational Common Schools, says:—

“Now, is there any real impracticability in such a plan? Nay, might not the Public School Fund itself contribute to such a plan, by being apportioned properly, for charity, to the schools connected with each church, without any distinction of sect? The Public School system, in this way, would see to it that in each church there was provision for the education of all, while the appointment of teachers, and the arrangement of a system of instruction, would

be with each sect, and more under control of the parents themselves, and of individuals whose attainments and intelligence might fit them for the work.

“ We believe that the voluntary principle would work as well and as happily in education as in religion. At all events, if our public system of education is in danger of running into a negative but practical infidelity—if there is to prevail in it a jealousy of the Bible—if everything is to be taught in it *but* religion, and religion is to be excluded on the plea and pretence of sectarianism, we say, perish such a system, for our country would be ruined by it. It is time that this matter be looked to. Let those who wish an infidel education for their children, set up infidel schools; but let not the Public School system of education be thrown into the hands of irreligious men, or neutralized of all religious influence, or rendered absolutely pernicious by the exclusion of religion, on account of the cry of sectarianism by infidels and sectarians.

“ A system of education is somewhere rotten, which even affords a possible opportunity to infidel demagogues to agitate in it for the exclusion of the Scriptures. A system of education is rotten, and must be injurious, which can become a bone of contention between political parties, or in which teachers are established, and branches and books appointed to be taught according to political bias and favouritism. It is a fearful thing indeed, if the education of our children, the system by which their character and destiny for life, and perhaps for eternity, are to be formed, is to be made a foot-ball, to be kicked about by the miserable struggles of opposing political parties. All boards of education and bands of commissioners had better be in the salt sea sunk, and the business of instruction left in chaos, except so far as private benevolence may take charge of it, than to have these sacred interests become the spoils of party, and the tools of intrigue and influence.

“ The very possibility of this is frightful. One thing is certain. The business of education in our country may far more safely be trusted to the religion of our country, than to the politics of party in our country. Politics may exclude religion, may court sectarianism, may corrupt the system of education to buy a sect; and mere politics never did and never will care one farthing for the real interests of the soul, or the higher objects of education, either for time or eternity. But religion will sanctify education, and in any case will not, cannot, leave the children of our country without an education, or educate them in a practical infidelity. The subject is a great and important one. We hope the attention of Christians will be more awakened to it, and vigilantly fixed upon it.”

And in a Report recently presented to the New Jersey Society for the improvement of Common Schools in urging the same plan it is said :

“ It is not to be expected that our religious and moral citizens, who esteem the Bible the great charter of our civil and religious liberty, will consent to have religion divorced from our public

schools for the purpose of maintaining a state system of instruction. In our Northern and Middle States these form the majority of our citizens. They pay nine-tenths of our taxes, and are the main pillars of all our institutions. And because they make less noise than the infidel and the papist, and make less effort to act in concert for political and party purposes, our legislatures seem more disposed to overlook their interests, and to disregard their wishes. But when the choice is fairly presented to educate their children under that system of compromise which our State schools require, and which so carefully sifts out every thing like evangelical religion, or to break up those systems, they cannot long hesitate. It is too vast a sacrifice to require the three-fourths of the children of a state to be educated infidels, that the other one-fourth may not be instructed in the Christian religion. All the moral, civil, social, temporal, eternal interests of man forbid such a sacrifice." "So that as our state systems of public instruction are now arranged, your committee cannot see how the moral and scriptural training of our youth can be secured under them. And unless these are secured, they feel persuaded that in Christian states the systems should not be permitted to exist. There is also a painful conviction upon their minds, that unless in an indirect way, states in their corporate capacity are unfitted to manage *well*, institutions having to do with the intellectual, social, moral, or even pecuniary interests of the people. Churches controlled by the state are the worst of all churches—purely state colleges are the worst of all colleges; and whether right or wrong, the men of our age have decided that state or national Banks are the worst of all Banks. Even Canals and Rail Roads are said to be best managed by private corporations. And this is owing to the fact, apparently contradictory of a proverb of Solomon that in the multitude of *legislative* counsellors there is not safety, and for the reason that they are not all Solomons, and for the superadded reason, that all things controlled by the state, are so managed as to subserve political and party purposes. They find it more necessary to propitiate the heartless, unprincipled demagogue, than to follow in the paths pointed out by wisdom and experience. So that reasoning on general principles, and from universal results, we are forced to the conclusion, that except in an indirect way, states, and political corporations, are not the bodies to whom the management and details of our public school systems should be entrusted.

"But can these systems be placed on a basis so as to secure the patronage of the State, and the moral, equally with the mental training of our youth? This is a question of the gravest import, and for which your committee has now no solvent. To every plan which suggests itself objections arise, but by no means so fatal as are the objections to the present system." "Hence," says the New York Observer, "it appears that while in New York the Bible and other religious works are excluded *because* they are sectarian, *infidel* works are introduced under the plea that infidelity is not sectarian."





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